THE

HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT GREECE,

ITS

COLONIES AND CONQUESTS;

FROM THE

EARLIEST ACCOUNTS,

TILL THE

DIVISION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF

LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

Εκ μεν τουτων της απαντων προς αλληλα συμπλοκης και παραβασεως, ετι δε ομοιοτητος και διαφορας, μαλιστ' αν τις εφικοιτο και δυνηθειη καταστησασθαι, αμα και το χρησιμον και το τερπνον εκ της ιστοριας λαβειν.

POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

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TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THE Hiſtory of Greece expoſes the dangerous turbulence of Democracy, and arraigns the deſpotiſm of Tyrants. By deſcribing the incurable evils inherent in every form of Republican policy, it evinces the ineſtimable benefits, reſulting to Liberty itſelf, from the lawful dominion of hereditary Kings, and the ſteady operation of well-regulated Monarchy. With ſingular propriety, therefore, the preſent Work may be reſpectfully offered to Your MAJESTY, as Sovereign of the freeſt nation upon earth; and *that* Sovereign, through whoſe diſcerning munificence, the intereſt of thoſe liberal arts, which diſtinguiſhed and ennobled Greece beyond

yond all other countries of antiquity, has been more ſucceſsfully promoted in Your MAJESTY's dominions, than during any former period in the Britiſh annals. That Your MAJESTY may long reign the illuſtrious Guardian of public freedom, and the unrivalled Patron of uſeful learning, is the fervent prayer of

Your MAJESTY's

Moſt dutiful Subject

and Servant,

JOHN GILLIES.

LONDON,
Feb. 10, 1786.



GRAECIAE ANTIQVAE et INSVLARVM CONSPECTVS.


Philippi
Neapolis
Amphipolis
Thessalonica
Stagira
Sinus Singiticus
Lemnos
Tenedos
Abydus
Troia
Alexandria
Sigeum Prom.
Chryse
Sciathus
MARE
Seyros
Chios
Hermus Flu.
Smyrna
Caystrus Flu.
AEGAEVM
Ephesus
Myonte
Miletus
Bargile
CARIA
Halicarnassus
Argolis
Troezen
Mare
Myrtoum
Sicinus
Hiera
Automate
Aegina
Cythera
Aegilia
Crimnotopon Promont.
Claudo
CRETICVM
MARE
Calos
Carpathus
Meridies

PREFACE.

THE following Hiſtory commences with the infancy of Greece, and deſcribes its gradual advancement towards civilization and power. But the main deſign of my Work is confined to the ſpace of ſeven centuries, which elapſed from the ſettlement of the Ionians in Aſia Minor till the eſtabliſhment of the Macedonian empire in the Eaſt; during which memorable period, the arts and arms of the Greeks, conſpiring to excite the admiration and terror of the ancient world, juſtly merit the attentive ſtudy of the preſent age, and poſterity. In the general revolutions of their national confederacy, which, though always looſe and imperfect, was never altogether diſſolved, I have interwoven the deſcription and principal tranſactions of each independent republic, however ſmall or inconſiderable; and, by comparing authors ſeldom read, and not frequently conſulted for hiſtorical materials, have endeavoured to trace, the intricate ſeries, and to explain the ſecret connection, of ſeemingly detached events, in order to reduce the ſcattered members of Grecian ſtory into one perpetual unbroken narrative; a deſign, difficult indeed, and new, yet evidently well calculated

culated to promote the great purpoſes of pleaſure and utility.

In the view which I have taken of my ſubject, the fluctuation of public affairs, and the viciſſitudes of war and fortune, appear ſcarcely the moſt ſplendid, and ſurely not the moſt intereſting, portion of Grecian hiſtory. By genius and fancy, not leſs than by patriotiſm and proweſs, the Greeks are honourably diſtinguiſhed among the nations of the earth. By the Greeks, and by them alone, Literature, Philoſophy, and the Fine Arts, were treated as important concerns of ſtate, and employed as powerful engines of policy. From their literary glory, not only their civil, but even their military tranſactions, derive their chief importance and dignity. To complete, therefore, my preſent undertaking, it ſeemed neceſſary to unite the hiſtory of arts with that of empire, and to combine with the external revolutions of war and government, the intellectual improvements of men, and the ever-varying picture of human opinions and manners.

In the execution of this extenſive plan, might I aſſume any merit to myſelf, it would be that of having diligently ſtudied the Greek writers, without adopting their prejudices, or copying their narratives with ſervility. Many events, highly intereſting to the citizens of Athens or of Sparta, now intereſt no more; concerning many important tranſactions, anciently too familiar to be explained, the Modern Reader will reaſonably expect information. On ſome occaſions, therefore, I found it neceſſary to concentrate and abridge; on others, to dilate and expatiate; but have never ſacrificed that due relation of parts to the whole, and to each other, or violated that unity of deſign which

which I was ambitious to attain in the preſent Hiſtory, by condeſcending to copy or tranſlate. In the Work throughout, I have ventured to think for myſelf; and my opinions, whether well or ill founded, are, at leaſt, my own.

The preſent Hiſtory was undertaken, and a conſiderable part of it written, many years ago; by the advice of ſome perſons of taſte and learning, who, having read my hiſtorical Introduction to the Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, wiſhed to ſee the whole ſeries of Grecian ſtory treated on the ſame plan. My ſituation, and my leiſure, enabled me to meet their wiſh; but before my manuſcript was prepared for the Preſs, my ſtudies were interrupted by the only employment, not enjoined by ſome poſitive duty, which I ſhould have *allowed* (ſuch are the ſanguine hopes of authors!) to ſuſpend my literary labours. During that long interval, different portions of Grecian hiſtory have been ably treated in Engliſh, as well as in foreign* languages. Yet, as moſt of thoſe works ſtill

* Among the foreign works, I diſtinguiſh with pleaſure thoſe of Mr. Meiners of Gottingen. To the author of this Hiſtory it would be very flattering to find the opinions which he hazarded in his Introduction to Lyſias, confirmed in a ſubſequent work of ſuch an admired ſcholar as Mr. Meiners (ſee his Geſchichte des Luxus der Athenienſer, Lemgo, 1782), were it not extremely natural that writers, who draw from the ſame ſources, ſhould advance the ſame facts, and deduce ſimilar concluſions. In the following Hiſtory, my views of the *Pythagorean band*, and of the *Platonic philoſophy*, though ſufficiently remote from vulgar opinion, nearly coincide with thoſe of Mr. Meiners in his Geſchichte des Urſprungs, Fortgangs and Verfalls der Wiſſenchafften in Griechenland; that is, "the Hiſtory of the Origin, Progreſs, and Decay of Philoſophy in Greece:" a work not yet completed, but which, as far as it extends, I will venture to recommend as one of the moſt valuable and accurate treaſuries of Greek learning contained in any modern tongue.

ſtill remain incomplete, and as none of them embrace the whole extent of my ſubject, or at all pre-occupy my plan, I venture to offer the preſent Hiſtory, deeply ſenſible as I am of its imperfections, to the indulgence of the Public.

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THE

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREECE.

CHAP. I.

View of the Progreſs of Civilization and Power in Greece, preceding the Trojan War.—Hiſtory of that War.—Its Conſequences.

CHAP. I. Introduction.

IN the infancy of ſociety, men are occupied with the buſineſs of the preſent hour, forgetful of the paſt, and careleſs of the future.

They poſſeſs neither ability nor inclination to contemplate their public tranſactions in the impartial light of hiſtory, far leſs to treaſure, and to record them. Their recent victories over hoſtile tribes are celebrated in the artleſs ſong [1], or commemorated by the rude monument; but to preſerve any regular ſeries of connected events, is a deſign, which they enjoy not the means to execute, ſcarcely the capacity to comprehend.

[1] Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 43.

BIBL CANT ACAD

CHAP. I.

Their ſimple and obſcure adventures, which thus paſs unremembered by themſelves, rarely excite the inquiſitive curioſity of their more cultivated neighbours. In remote ages of the world, one people became an object of attention to another, only as they became conſiderable; nor before the full maturity of Grecian refinement, did the moſt poliſhed nations of antiquity think of inveſtigating the nature and powers of man in the untutored efforts of ſavage life. The daring ſpirit, and fierce incurſions of the Barbarians in the eaſt of Europe, excited terror and conſternation among the more civilized and more effeminate inhabitants of Leſſer Aſia [2]; but the luxurious pride of the latter never condeſcended to examine the origin and hiſtory of the people who were occaſionally the object of their fears. The only circumſtantial information concerning both the Aſiatics and the Europeans, muſt be derived from the early hiſtorians of Greece; and when we reflect on the innumerable cauſes which conſpire to bury in oblivion the exploits of riſing communities, there is reaſon to wonder that we ſhould know ſo much concerning the ancient ſtate of that country, rather than to regret that our knowledge is imperfect.

It muſt be allowed, however, that our materials for the firſt portion of Grecian hiſtory, are more copious than conſiſtent [3]. The ſubject, indeed, is ſuch,

[2] The Lydians, Phrygians, &c. Hiſtory and Fable atteſt the early civilization, the wealth, and wickedneſs, of thoſe nations. See particularly Herodotus, l. i. c. 93 & ſeq. and Strabo, l. xi. p. 532. & ſeq. and l. xii. & xiii. p. 572.

[3] It is ſufficient to read Thucydides's introduction to his admired hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, to perceive how little correct information could be obtained by that diligent inquirer into the antiquities of his country. If we admit the common chronology, there is reaſon to believe that the ſcattered fragments

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ſuch, as a very cautious writer would chooſe entirely to avoid, ſince, whatever authorities he follows, his narrative muſt, in ſome parts, be liable

ments of Grecian hiſtory were preſerved during thirteen centuries by oral tradition. The tales or rhapſodies of the ἀοιδοι, or bards, were ſucceeded by thoſe of the Cyclic poets, of whom an account is given in Caſaubon ad Athenæum, l. vii. c. 4. Salmaſ. in Solin. & Schwarzius Altdorf in diſſ. de poetis Cyclicis. Compoſition in proſe began with the uſe of alphabetic writing about ſix centuries before Chriſt. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. l. v. c. 29. The firſt proſe writers, or more properly the firſt *writers*, were, Pherecydes of Syros; Acuſilaus of Argos; Hellanicus of Leſbos; Hecatæus and Dionyſius, both of Miletus; the laſt of whom flouriſhed in the 65th Olymp. 520 B. C. and immediately preceded Herodotus. From the work of Herodotus, which forms, as it were, the ſhade between Epic Poetry and Hiſtory, we may judge of the writings of his predeceſſors; from whom, together with the Cyclic poets, Anaximenes of Lampſacus, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great, and Diodorus Siculus, who lived in the time of Julius Cæſar, compiled the firſt books of their very extenſive but inaccurate collections. Apollodorus, Hyginus (and many others whoſe works are now loſt) combined the more ancient records, whether in proſe or verſe, with the additions and embelliſhments of the lyric and tragic poets. When the Greek learning became known to the Romans, this compound of hiſtory and fable furniſhed the ſubject and the incidents of innumerable tragedies to Ennius, Accius, Livius Andronicus, &c. After the downfal of Rome, learning took refuge in the eaſtern world. The antiquities and early hiſtory of Greece again became objects of ſtudy among the natives of that country; but the heterogeneous maſs of truth and fiction was rather amalgamated, than purified, by Malala, Cedrenus, Tzetza, Conſtantinus Manaſſes, and other Greeks of the middle ages. See Heine, Not. ad Æneid. II. and Voſſius de Hiſtoric. Græcis. With few exceptions, the Greek writers may be pronounced extremely careleſs in matters of chronology. Herodotus, who has been emphatically ſtyled the father of profane hiſtory, commonly reckons by the ages of men. The accurate hiſtories of Thucydides and Xenophon, where the time of each event is preciſely aſcertained, comprehend no more than a period of ſeventy years. Even in their time, chronology ſeems not to have been cultivated as a ſcience, ſince the firſt ſpecimen of that kind is ſaid to have been given by Demetrius Phalerius, in his

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to objection [4]. Yet it ſeems eſſential to the integrity of the preſent work, to explain from what aſſemblage of nations the Greeks were formed, and by what fortunate ſteps they arrived, from feeble beginnings, to that condition of manners and ſociety in which they are deſcribed by Homer; whoſe immortal poems, like a meteor in the gloom of night, brighten the obſcure antiquities of his country.

First inhabitants of Greece.

The traditions of the Greeks agree with the authentic records of ſacred hiſtory, in repreſenting the countries afterwards known by the names of Thrace, Macedon, and Greece, as peopled at an earlier period than any other portion of the weſtern world. The ſouthern corner of Europe, comprehended between the thirty-ſixth and forty-firſt degrees of latitude, bordering on Epirus and Macedonia towards the north, and on other ſides ſurrounded by the ſea, was inhabited, above eighteen centuries before the Chriſtian æra, by many ſmall tribes of hunters and ſhepherds, among whom the Pelaſgi and Hellenes were the moſt numerous and powerful [5]. The barbarous Pelaſgi venerated Inachus, as their founder; and for a ſimilar reaſon, the more humane Hellenes reſpected Deucalion.

The Pelaſgi and Hellenes.

From

his αρχοντων αναγραφη, about the middle of the fourth century before Chriſt. The labours of Demetrius were corrected and extended by Philochorus in his Αττις. The hiſtorian Timæus, who flouriſhed in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, firſt arranged his narrative in the order of Olympiads, which began 776 B. C. His contemporary Soſibius gave a work, intitled χρονων αναγραφη; Apollodorus wrote the συνταξις χρονικη; and on ſuch Chronologers reſts the credit of all later compilers, as well as of the Arundelian marbles, which were compoſed only 264 years before Chriſt.

[4] What Strabo (l. ix.) ſays of the firſt hiſtorians of Attica, "that they differed widely from each other (πολλα διαφωνουντες)," may be applied to all prophane hiſtories of thoſe early times.

[5] Marm. Oxon. Epoch. 6. Apollodor. Biblioth. l. ii.

CHAP. I.

The latter divided into Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians.

From his ſon Hellen, they derived their general appellation, which originally denoted a ſmall tribe in Theſſaly [6]; and from Dorus, Eolus, and Ion [7], his more remote deſcendants, they were diſcriminated by the names of Dorians, Eolians, and Ionians [8]. The Dorians took poſſeſſion of that mountainous diſtrict of Greece, afterwards called Doris; the Ionians, whoſe name was in ſome meaſure loſt in the illuſtrious appellation of Athenians, ſettled in the leſs barren parts of Attica; and the Eolians peopled Elis and Arcadia, the weſtern and inland regions of the Peloponneſus [9]. Notwithſtanding many partial migrations, theſe three original [10] diviſions of the Hellenes generally entertained an affection for the eſtabliſhments which had been preferred by the wiſdom or caprice of their reſpective anceſtors; a circumſtance which remarkably diſtinguiſhed the *Hellenic*, from the *Pelaſgic* race. While the former diſcovered a degree of attachment to their native land, ſeldom found in barbarians, who live by hunting or paſturage, the latter, diſdaining fixed habitations, wandered in large bodies over Greece, or tranſported themſelves into the neighbouring iſlands; and the moſt conſiderable portion of them gradually removing to the coaſts of Italy and Thrace, the remainder melted away into the Doric and Ionic tribes. At the diſtance of twelve centuries, obſcure traces of the Pelaſgi occurred in ſeveral Grecian cities; a diſtrict of Theſſaly always retained their name; their colonies continued, in the fifth century before Chriſt, to inhabit the ſouthern coaſt of Italy, and the ſhores of the Helleſpont: And in thoſe widely ſeparated countries,

[6] Thucydid. l. i. c. 28.
[7] Strabo, l. viii. p. 383.
[8] Herodot. l. i. c. 56. and l. vii. c. 94.
[9] Diodor. Siculus, l. v.
[10] Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

CHAP. I.

countries, their ancient affinity was recogniſed in the uniformity of their rude dialect and barbarous manners, extremely diſſimilar to the cuſtoms and language of their Grecian neighbours [11].

Colonies from Egypt and the Eaſt.

Greece, when delivered from the turbulence of a rugged race of men, who never attained much conſideration, either in the territories where they originally dwelt, or in thoſe to which they afterwards removed, was not left to be ſlowly civilized by the progreſſive ingenuity of the Hellenic tribes. The happy poſition of a country, which, forming as it were the frontier of Europe with Aſia, is divided only by a narrow extent of ſea from Egypt and Syria, and ſituate within reach of thoſe parts of the eaſt which were anciently moſt flouriſhing and populous, naturally invited the viſits of travellers, and attracted the eſtabliſhment of colonies. Theſe tranſient viſits, or temporary ſettlements, were marked by many ſignal benefits, the memory of which was long preſerved by the gratitude of Greece, and the merit probably exaggerated by her fondneſs for panegyric. Even thoſe Grecian communities, which juſtly claimed the honour of ſuperior antiquity, acknowledged themſelves indebted to ſtrangers for the moſt important diſcoveries, not only in religion, but in agriculture and the arts; and contented themſelves with the glory of having diffuſed a borrowed light over the melancholy gloom of ignorance which overſpread their neighbours [12]. But national vanity at length produced a material change in the tradition. When the refined deſcendants of the rude Greeks viewed with complacence their own ſuperiority in arts and arms to all the nations around them, they began to ſuſpect

[11] Herodot. l. i. Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. i. Pauſan. l. viii.
[12] Iſocrat. Panegyr. paſſim.

ſuſpect that the Gods alone were worthy to have reared the infancy of a people, who eminently excelled the reſt of mankind. To the Gods, they transferred the merit of the many uſeful inventions communicated by the generous humanity of their ancient viſitants; an oſtentatious fiction coloured by a faint ſemblance of truth, ſince the worſhip of ſeveral divinities was introduced at the ſame time, and by the ſame perſons [13], who made known the arts moſt ſubſervient to the purpoſes of human life [14].

New colonies from the ſame countries.

While fable thus diſguiſed the benefits conferred by the firſt tranſitory voyages into Greece, hiſtory preſerved the memory of four ſucceſſive eſtabliſhments erected there by foreigners. From the middle of the ſixteenth, to the middle of the fourteenth century before Chriſt, an inundation of Egyptians, Phenicians, and Phrygians overflowed the Hellenic coaſts. The cauſes aſſigned for theſe emigrations are extremely conſonant to the manners of remote antiquity, as deſcribed by ſacred and prophane authors: Hatred of a rival, impatience of a ſuperior, in one inſtance the perſecution of a brother and an enemy, and, in general, that uneaſy reſtleſſneſs of diſpoſition, which univerſally prevails among men, who have become ſenſible of their own powers, without having ſufficiently learned to direct them to the happy purſuits of arts and induſtry [15]. The principal colonies were conducted by Cecrops [16], and Danaus, Egyptians, who reſpectively ſettled in Athens and Argos; Cadmus, A. C. 1556.

[13] The Tytans, Idæi Dactyli, Triptolemus, &c. Compare Diodor. Sicul. l. v. and Iſocrat. Panegyr.

[14] Idem, ibid.

[15] Iſocrat. Hellen. ſub initio. Pind. Olymp. 1.

[16] Strabo, l. ix. and Plut. in Theſeo.

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1485. 1493. 1350.

mus [17], a Phœnician, who founded Thebes in Bœotia, and Pelops, a Phrygian [18], whoſe deſcendants, intermarrying with thoſe of Danaus, king of Argos, and Tyndareus, king of Lacedæmon or Sparta, acquired, in the perſon of Agamemnon, ſo powerful an aſcendant in the Peloponneſus [19]. The family of Deucalion ſtill reigned in Theſſaly; but Thebes, Athens, Argos, and Sparta, which in all ages were regarded as the principal cities of Greece, thus fell under the dominion of four foreign lines of princes, whoſe exploits and glory, and misfortunes, are immortalized by the firſt and nobleſt productions of Grecian genius [20].

Improvements introduced by theſe colonies into Greece.

The countries, which theſe adventurers abandoned, had not, according to modern ideas, attained a very high degree of maturity in laws and government. Yet it cannot be doubted, that the natives of Egypt and the Eaſt, were acquainted with many improvements unknown to the Hellenic tribes. Conjectures are not to be placed in the rank of facts; yet, in matters ſo ancient and obſcure, we may be allowed to conjecture from the only facts on record, that the invaders of Greece introduced into that country the knowledge of the Phenician alphabet; improved the practice of agriculture; multiplied the rites of religion; diſcovered to the Greeks ſeveral uſes of the metals; but, on the other hand, gradually adopted, in their turn, the

[17] Strabo, ibid. and Iſocrat. Hellen.

[18] Iſocrat. Panathen. Thucydid. l. i. Diodor. l. iv.

[19] Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. l. iv. Iſocrat. Panathen.

[20] The works of Homer and Pindar, and the writings of the Greek Tragedians. In theſe, and ſcarcely any where elſe, the ſtories of Cadmus, Semele, Bacchus, Amphitryon, Hercules, Œdipus, &c. may be read with pleaſure and advantage; for as Strabo, l. ix. ſays, "All there is monſtrous and tragic land."

the Grecian language, and generally conformed to the Grecian cuſtoms and inſtitutions [21].

The Phenician alphabet.

The introduction of the Phenician alphabet was an improvement too delicate and refined to be immediately attended with any important conſequences. The groſs underſtandings of the Hellenes could not eaſily comprehend the utility of ſuch an ingenious invention The knowledge of it was acquired and preſerved by a few individuals [22] of more enlightened minds: but the far greater part were long contented with the ancient mode of picture writing, which, however limited in its application, ſeemed ſufficient to expreſs the ſimplicity of their rude ideas.

Several uſes of the metals.

The Phenicians were well acquainted with the precious metals as the medium of exchange. But the uniform tranſactions of the Greeks, as yet required not any ſuch nicety of refinement. Even during the Trojan war, cattle, being the commodity of moſt general demand, was univerſally regarded as the moſt convenient meaſure of value [23].

It

[21] Compare Herodotus, l. v. c. 59. l. vii. paſſim. Montfaucon, Palæograph. Græc. l. ii. Plin. l. v. c. 56 & 57. Hyginus, Fab. 274. and Ephorus apud Diodor. l. v.

[22] Herodotus mentions three inſcriptions on three tripods, conſecrated in the temple of Iſmenian Apollo. The firſt, of Amphitryon; the ſecond, of the ſon of Hippocoon; the third, of Laodamus the ſon of Eteocles. The inſcriptions on the ſhields of the heroes who beſieged the capital of Eteocles, are noticed by Æſchylus, in his tragedy, intitled, "The Seven "againſt Thebes." Yet we know from Homer, Iliad vi. that when Prætus ſent Bellerophon to the king of Lycia, he gave him, not a written letter, but σηματα λυγρα, mournful ſigns. Writing could not be common till many centuries afterwards, ſince the firſt written laws were given in Greece only ſix centuries before Chriſt. Herodot. l. ii. Strabo, l. vi.

[23] In a well-known paſſage, Homer after mentioning other articles, with which the Greeks purchaſed wine, adds, αυτοισι βοεσσι,

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Extenſion of agriculture.

It is not eaſy to determine whether gold or iron be more advantageous to man, the one by exciting his induſtry, the other by ſeconding that induſtry in all the variety of uſeful arts. The diſcovery of iron in Greece afforded the neceſſary implements of agriculture, the gradual extenſion of which alike improved the ſterility of the ſoil, and the rudeneſs of the inhabitants. Before the arrival of the Egyptian colonies, the cultivation of the ground might occaſionally employ the divided induſtry of ſcattered families; but this valuable art was not conſidered as an object of general concern. Cecrops firſt engaged the wandering hunters or ſhepherds of Attica, to unite in villages of huſbandmen. Corn, wine, and oil rewarded their uſeful labours[24]; and theſe productions being acquired by common toil, were regarded,

βοεσσι, "with oxen themſelves." Some ſcholiaſts and commentators have imagined, that the βους of Homer, was a coin ſtamped with the figure of an ox, ſaid to have been introduced by Theſeus. Vid. Plut. in Theſeo. But were it allowed, which is very improbable, that Theſeus had a mint, it would ſtill be improbable that Homer meant ſuch a coin; for in the epiſode of Glaucus and Diomed, he ſays, that the former gave his golden armour, worth an hundred oxen, for the brazen armour of the latter, worth only nine. Now we know from Pollux Onomaſt. l. ix. c. 7. that the coin βους, at whatſoever time it was introduced, continued to be valued at two drachmas. Diomed's arms, therefore, upon the ſuppoſition of the ſcholiaſts, muſt have been worth about nine ſhillings; and Glaucus's, which were of maſſy gold, worth only nine pounds. Talents of gold are often mentioned by Homer. They were propoſed as prizes to combatants, and offered as dedications in temples, but too valuable to ſerve as current ſpecie. Homer and Herodot. paſſim. νομισμα, money, is derived from νομος, law, becauſe, as Ariſtotle ſays, ου φυσει, αλλα νομω, ἐστι, "the "origin of money is not natural, but conventional and arbi- "trary." But in Homer's time, the word νομος was uſed in a quite different ſenſe: νομισμα muſt therefore have been derived from it at a later period. Com. Iliad. l. xx. v. 249. and Ariſtot. Ethic. Nicom. l. v. c. 5.

[24] Pauſan. l. iii. Æſchyl. Eumen.

regarded, with the ground itſelf, as a common property[25].

Religious rites.

The idea of an excluſive and permanent right to all the uſes of a piece of land, whether belonging to communities or to individuals, is one of the moſt important ſteps in the progreſs of ſociety. In Greece, this invaluable right was immediately followed by ſuch inſtitutions as tended to ſecure its enjoyment, and to check the injuſtice of man, who is ſeldom willing to acquire, by ſlow labour, what he can raviſh by ſudden violence. The ſalutary influence of religion was employed on this neceſſary occaſion. We are told by ſeveral writers, that the practice of agriculture, and the rites of religion, were introduced at the ſame time[26]. But the ſame authors inform us, that their pretended founders of religious worſhip aboliſhed the uſe of living ſacrifices[27]; a cuſtom, which evidently ſuppoſes the prior eſtabliſhment of an ancient and more bloody ſuperſtition. Yet in this humane prohibition, we may perhaps diſcern a laudable attempt to correct the barbarity of the Greeks, and to raiſe the new profeſſion of agriculture above the antient employment of hunting.

The Hellenes diffuſe their colonies and language over Greece;

Before and during the time that the Hellenic tribes received continual acceſſions of population from diſtant countries, they were no leſs diligent in ſending forth their own colonies. As they originally ſubſiſted by hunting, fiſhing and paſturage, a large

[25] The τεμενος, or *cut* of ground ſo often mentioned in Homer, as beſtowed by general conſent on admired kings and chiefs, might have ſuggeſted this obſervation, which ſeems to have eſcaped notice, though attended, as we ſhall find, with very important conſequences.

[26] Diodor. Pauſan. Apollod.

[27] Θεως καιροις αγαλλειν, ζωα μη σινεσθαι. Porph. de Abſtinent.

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a large extent of territory was requiſite to ſupply them with the neceſſaries of life. They were not afflicted by the oppreſſive terrors of deſpotiſm; they were long unacquainted with the gentle, but powerful, operation of regular government; and, without being ſubject to the one or the other, it is ſcarcely poſſible for men to live together in large ſocieties. When any of their communities ſeemed inconveniently numerous, they divided it into ſeveral portions, of which the principal kept poſſeſſion of their original ſeats, while the others occupied and peopled the ſurrounding territories. It was thus that the Eolians diſperſed through many parts of the Peloponneſus; the unfortunate Siſyphus[28], who founded the city of Corinth, being a deſcendant of Eolus, and the anceſtors of the wiſe Neſtor, who reigned in Sandy Pylos, being ſprung from the ſame Eolic race[29]. A conſiderable diviſion of the Ionians ſettled along the ſouthern ſhores of the Corinthian gulph, in the province which, eighty years after the Trojan war, changed the name of Ionia for that of Achaia[30]. The territory beyond the Corinthian iſthmus was parcelled out among innumerable ſub-diviſions of the Hellenic tribes[31]. When the continent of Greece ſeemed ſufficiently populous, the Athenians gave inhabitants to the iſle of Eubæa; and many centuries before the famous eſtabliſhments formed by the Greeks on the coaſt of Aſia Minor, of Italy, and of Thrace, the Dorians had ſent a colony to Crete[32], and the Eolians, under the conduct of Dardanus, had planted the eaſtern banks of the Helleſpont[33]. During the Trojan

[28] Και σισυφον ιησιδιον κρατιερα αλγια εχοντα. Homer Odyſſ.
[29] Pauſan. in Corinth. & Meſſen.
[30] Strabo, l. vii.
[31] Strabo, l. vii. Pauſan. & Diodor.
[32] Diodor. ibid. Strabo. l. vii. p. 496.
[33] Servius in Æneid. III.

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Trojan war, the inhabitants of thoſe various and widely ſeparated countries ſpoke the ſame language that was uſed among the Hellenes, and acknowledged the general influence of the ſame principles and manners. Unleſs it is ſuppoſed, therefore, that not only the Phrygians, but the Phenicians and Egyptians, originally ſpoke the ſame Hellenic tongue, it ſeems reaſonable to conjecture, that the colonies conducted by Cecrops, Cadmus, and Danaus, gradually adopted the language of the Aborigines of Greece[34].

A ſingle reflection appears ſufficient to prove, that they likewiſe conformed to the Grecian inſtitutions of government. The inflexible rigour of deſpotiſm, which has in all ages prevailed in [35] Egypt and

together with their inſtitutions of government.

[34] Herodotus, l. v. c. 58. ſays, that the colony of Cadmus changed their ſpeech, being ſurrounded by the Ionians, an Hellenic tribe. He ſays further, that together with their language, they changed the power of ſome of their letters. He acknowledges that the Cadmeians, or Phenicians, communicated to the Ionians the uſe of letters; but the Ionians, he ſays, adapted the Phenician alphabet to the ſounds of their own language. The eaſtern tongues are in general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much diſputed whether the ancient Orientals uſed any characters to expreſs them. Their languages, therefore, had an inflexible thickneſs of ſound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumſtance denotes, in the Greeks, organs of perception more acute, elegant, and diſcerning. They felt ſuch faint variations of liquid ſounds, as eſcaped the dulneſs of Aſiatic ears, and invented marks to expreſs them. They diſtinguiſhed, in this manner, not only their articulation, but their quantity, and afterwards their muſical intonation, as ſhall be explained hereafter, in treating of the Grecian muſic and poetry.

[35] The government of the Egyptians as well as of the Aſiatics, is uniformly repreſented in ſcripture as an abſolute monarchy. Herodotus and Diodorus mention ſome laws of the Egyptians, which ſeem to circumſcribe the power of their kings. But theſe laws, if well examined, will confirm the obſervation in the text.

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and the Eaſt, was unknown to the conquerors of Troy. Since the abſolute power of kings was not acknowledged during a long period of war and danger, requiring the ſtricteſt military ſubordination; and ſince the Greeks preſerved their freedom, after the increaſing wealth of many centuries had a tendency to prepare them for ſervitude, it cannot reaſonably be imagined, that an Oriental ſyſtem of oppreſſion ſhould have prevailed in the more early ages of poverty and independence[36].

Happy ſituation of Greece for commerce.

The Phenicians being conſidered as the principal navigators and merchants of the ancient world, it is commonly believed that the example of the Phenician colonies firſt taught the Greeks to brave the dangers of the ſea, and to maintain a commercial intercourſe with each other, as well as with foreign nations. But it is ſufficient to throw a glance on the geography of Greece, to perceive how naturally commerce, without foreign aid, might have ariſen ſpontaneouſly in that highly favoured country. The continent, *itſelf* waſhed on three ſides by the ſea, is ſurrounded by innumerable iſlands, abounding in excellent harbours. The variety of ſoils and productions is greater, perhaps, than in any other part of the world, of an equal extent. All the ſhores of the Mediterranean, comprehending the moſt beautiful, and anciently the moſt flouriſhing part of the earth, are more acceſſible to Greece than to any neighbouring country. Yet it appears from the light of hiſtory, that the Greeks did not early avail themſelves of their fortunate ſituation, or

text. They were eſtabliſhed, not in favour of the nation at large, but of the prieſts and ſoldiers. The throne of Egypt was ſupported by the altar, and defended by the ſword; and what deſpotiſm can be upheld but by the ſame means?

[36] See the principles eſtabliſhed by Tacitus de Mor. German.

or of the ſuppoſed leſſons of their Phenician inſtructors.

Circumſtances which retarded the progreſs of ſociety in Greece.

Face of the country.

Many circumſtances conſpired to prolong the infancy of their nation, and to retard, during ſeveral centuries, their improvement in commerce, as well as in agriculture, and the other uſeful arts. The ſurface of Greece is more indented by creeks and rivers, and more roughened by mountains and promontories, than that of any other part of Europe. Theſe natural diviſions kept the different communities in a ſtate of ſeparation and hoſtility. The ideas of their ancient conſanguinity, and common origin, were weakened or effaced by the recent confluence of foreigners. They could not travel beyond their own narrow diſtricts without being expoſed to the inſults of enemies. Theſe inſults excited reſentment; mutual injuries were offered and retorted; each city was at war with all its neighbours; thus did the *ſmallneſs* of the Grecian States, a circumſtance which, during the happy ages that form the ſubject of the preſent hiſtory, tended to break the force of cuſtom and opinion, and to encourage that noble emulation ſo favourable to the progreſs of virtue and ſcience, produce, in leſs fortunate times, an effect of the moſt oppoſite nature, choke the ſeeds of order, and repreſs the feeble ſhoots of arts and humanity.

Smallneſs of the different ſtates.

The coaſts ravaged by pirates.

The metals, originally deſtined to promote the peaceful labours of man, were converted into powerful inſtruments of deſtruction; and, while the land was ravaged by the ſword, the ſea was covered with pirates. The Phenicians, the Carians, and the inhabitants of the Greek iſlands in general, conſidered navigation, not as the means of uniting nations by mutual intercourſe and commerce, but as a happy expedient for enabling the poor and the brave

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brave to plunder the rich territories of their leſs warlike neighbours. The coaſts of Greece, though in early times their bleak forbidding aſpect might have repelled the avarice of freebooters, yet on account of the proximity of their ſituation, and the valuable cargoes of hardy ſlaves in which they abounded, were continually infeſted by naval depredations. The unfortified places near the ſhore ſurrendered without reſiſtance; the fruits of their painful induſtry were plundered or deſtroyed, and the moſt valuable portion of their inhabitants dragged into captivity. The practice of piracy and invaſion was not a temporary reſource of war, prompted by neceſſity, or a juſt revenge; it grew into an ordinary profeſſion, which was ſo far from being deemed diſhonourable, that it conferred much glory and renown on thoſe who exerciſed it with ſkill and bravery[37].

The inland country invaded by ſavages.

During this diſordered ſtate of ſociety, the arts of peace were almoſt entirely neglected, and Greece was ready to be plunged into the groſſeſt barbariſm, by its domeſtic diſſentions. The irruptions of the Thracians, Amazons, and other northern ſavages, threatened to accelerate this melancholy event, and to complete the ruin of the unhappy Hellenes[38]. But it may be obſerved in the affairs of human life, that any extraordinary meaſure of good or evil commonly leads men to dread, or to expect, a ſudden revolution of fortune; a natural ſentiment which, though liable to be abuſed by credulity and ſuperſtition, is founded on the firm baſis

[37] Thucydid. l. i. ὡς κοσμος καλως τω το δρᾶν. The explanation in the text ſeems more conſonant to Grecian manners, in thoſe ages, than that of the ſcholiaſt, which is tranſlated by Mr. Rochford, "Chez qui la piraterie étoit exercée avec une certaine probité." M. de l'Acad. v. 39.

[38] Lyſias Orat. Funeb.

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baſis of experience. The rudiments of the moſt uſeful deſigns are ſuggeſted always by neceſſity, often by calamity. The inroads of the wild mountaineers of Thrace, and of other barbarians more remote, whoſe deſtructive cruelty may be underſtood by the unexampled ravages with which even the [39] feebler ſex carried on the ravages of war, occaſioned the firſt inſtitution which reſtored ſome degree of preſent tranquillity to Greece, and laid the foundation of its future grandeur.

Circumſtances which tended to civilize Greece.

The northern diſtricts of Theſſaly being peculiarly expoſed to the dangerous fury of invaders, the petty princes of that province entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence[40]. They aſſembled in ſpring and autumn at Thermopylæ, a place afterwards ſo illuſtrious, and then governed by *Amphictyon*, a deſcendant of Deucalion, whoſe name is immortalized in the *Amphictyonic* council. The advantages which the confederates derived from this meaſure, were ſoon perceived by their neighbours. The central ſtates gradually acceded to their alliance; and, about the middle of the fourteenth century before Chriſt, Acriſius king of Argos, and other princes of the Peloponneſus, were allowed to ſhare the benefits and ſecurity of this uſeful aſſociation.

Origin of the Amphictyonic council.

The Argonautic expedition, A. C. 1263.

After this event, the Amphictyons appear to have long confined themſelves to the original purpoſe of their inſtitution. The ſtates, whoſe meaſures were directed by this aſſembly, found ſufficient occupation

[39] The Amazons. See Lyſias Orat. Funeb. and Herodotus paſſim. Yet the exiſtence of theſe warlike females was doubted as early as the days of the emperor Hadrian, as we learn from Arrian: but what is ſaid by that judicious and manly hiſtorian, ſeems ſufficient to diſpel the doubt. See Arrian. Expedit. Alexand. l. vii. p. 156.

[40] Marm. Oxon. E. 5.

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occupation in defending their own territories; and near a century elapſed, before they undertook, by common conſent, any diſtant expedition. But it was not to be expected that their reſtleſs activity could be always exhauſted in defenſive war. The eſtabliſhment of the Amphictyons brought together the chiefs moſt diſtinguiſhed by birth and bravery. Glory and emulation prompted them to arms, and revenge directed thoſe arms againſt the barbarians. Jaſon, Admetus, and other chieftains of Theſſaly[41], having equipped a ſmall fleet in the neighbouring harbour of Iolcus, and particularly the ſhip Argo, of ſuperior ſize and conſtruction to any before known, were animated with a deſire to viſit foreign lands, to plant colonies in thoſe parts of them that appeared moſt delightful, and to retort on their inhabitants the injuries which Greece had ſuffered from ſtrangers[42]. The princes of the north having proclaimed this ſpirited deſign over the central and ſouthern provinces, the ſtandard of enterprize and glory was ſpeedily ſurrounded by the flower of the Grecian youth[43], who eagerly embraced this honourable opportunity to ſignalize their manly valour. Peleus, Tydeus, Telamon, and, in general, the fathers of thoſe heroic chiefs, who, in the ſucceeding age, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre in the plains of Troy, are numbered among the leaders of the Argonauts. They were accompanied by the choſen warriors, and by the venerable prophets, of their reſpective tribes; by an Eſculapius, the admired father of the healing art, and by the divine

[41] Their names are mentioned by Apollodorus, Diod. Siculus, Pindar, Apollonius, &c.

[42] Herodot. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. iv.

[43] Pindar, Pythic. iv.

divine Orpheus[44], whoſe ſublime genius was worthy to celebrate the amazing ſeries of their adventures.

Theſe adventures, however, have been too much adorned by the graces of poetry, to be the proper ſubjects of hiſtorical compoſition. The deſigns of the Argonauts are veiled under the allegorical, or at leaſt doubtful, phraſe "of carrying off the golden fleece;" which, though eaſily explained, if we admit the report that the inhabitants of the eaſtern banks of the Euxine extended fleeces of wool, in order to collect the golden particles which were carried down by the torrents from Mount Caucaſus[45], is yet deſcribed in ſuch various language by antient writers, that almoſt every modern who examines the ſubject, thinks himſelf entitled to offer, by way of explanation, ſome new conjecture of his own. But in oppoſition to the moſt approved of theſe conjectures, we may venture to affirm, that the voyage to Colchis was not undertaken with a view to eſtabliſh extenſive plans of commerce[46], or to ſearch for mines of gold, far leſs to learn the imaginary art of converting other ſubſtances into that precious metal[47]; all ſuch motives ſuppoſing a degree of ſpeculation and refinement unknown in that age to the gallant but uninſtructed youth of Theſſaly. The real object of the expedition may be diſcovered by its conſequences. The Argonauts

 fought,

[44] The teſtimony of Plato de Repub. l. x. of Iſocrates in Buſirid. ſufficiently atteſt the poetical fame of Orpheus. The Argonautica, and other works aſcribed to him, are collected by Eſchenbachius, and publiſhed at Nuremberg 1702. That theſe, however, are the productions of a much later age, appears from innumerable circumſtances, ſome of which are mentioned by Fabricius, Bib. Græc. vol. i. p. 120.

[45] Strabo, l. xi. p. 499.

[46] Euſtach. in Homer.

[47] Suidas, Memoires de l'Academ. v. 9. Exped. Argon.

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fought, conquered, and plundered[48]; they ſettled a colony on the ſhores of the Euxine[49]; and carried into Greece a daughter of the king of Colchis, the celebrated Medea[50], a princeſs of Egyptian extraction, whoſe crimes and enchantments are condemned to an eternal infamy in the immortal lines of Euripides.

Important conſequences of the Argonautic expedition.

Notwithſtanding many romantic fictions that diſfigure the ſtory of the Argonauts, their undertaking appears to have been attended with a conſiderable and a happy effect on the manners and character of the Greeks. From the æra of this celebrated expedition, we may diſcover not only a more daring and more enlarged ſpirit of enterpriſe, but a more deciſive and rapid progreſs towards civilization and humanity. The ſullen and unſociable chiefs, whoſe acquaintance with each other moſt commonly aroſe from acts of mutual hoſtility, hitherto gave full ſcope to the ſanguinary paſſions which characteriſe barbarians[51]. Strength and courage were almoſt the only qualities which they admired: they fought and plundered at the head of their reſpective tribes, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring diſtricts were regarded as fit objects only to excite their rage, and gratify their rapacity.

Change of manners.

But theſe gloomy warriors, having exerted their joint valour in a remote expedition, learned the neceſſity of acquiring more amiable virtues, as well as of adopting more liberal notions of the public intereſt, if they pretended to deſerve the eſteem of their equals. Military courage and addreſs might alone procure them the reſpect of their immediate followers, ſince the ſafety of the little

[48] Diodor. ibid.
[49] Xenoph. Anabaſ.
[50] Euripid. Med.
[51] This was the brazen age deſcribed by Heſiod, Oper. & Di. l. i. p. 142—155. and by Plutarch in the life of Theſeus.

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little community often depended on the warlike abilities of the chieftain; but when ſeveral tribes had combined in a common enterpriſe, there was leſs dependance on the proweſs of any ſingle leader. Emulation and intereſt naturally rendered all theſe leaders as jealous of each other, as deſirous of the public applauſe; and, in order to acquire this applauſe, it was neceſſary to brighten the luſtre of martial ſpirit by the more valuable [52] virtues of juſtice and humanity.

The heroic age.

When this glorious field firſt opened to the ambition of the Greeks, they cultivated it with a degree of induſtry equally ardent and ſucceſsful. Innumerable were the exploits of Hercules, of Theſeus, and of the divine ſons of Leda[53], and undertaken with infinite toil and danger, to promote the intereſt and ſafety, not of their particular tribes, but of the general

[52] Heſiod marks this change of manners. It happened between the expedition of the Argonauts and the ſiege of Thebes, ſince the latter was the firſt exploit in which his new race of men, γενος δικαιοτερον και αρειον, were engaged. See Heſiod. Oper. & Di. l. i. v. 155—165.

[53] "In order to obtain the immortal fruits of merit," ſays Ariſtotle, in his beautiful Ode to Virtue,

ὁ διος Ηρακλης,
Ανδας τε κυρσοι, πολλα πονεντλασας,
Εργοις σαν αγρευοντες δυναμιν·
Σοις δε πονοις Αχιλλευς,
Αιας τ' Αιδαο δομον ηλθον.

This ode, which is preſerved in Diogen. Laert. in Ariſtot. and and in Athenæus, l. 15. c. 16. proves the mind of the Stagyrite to have been as lofty as capacious; and, while it comprehended the whole circle of ſcience, capable of reaching, in Lyric poetry, the higheſt hights of Pindar and Horace. The latter, probably, had Ariſtotle in view, in ode 3. b. 3.

Hac arte Pollux, & vagus Hercules
Innixus, arces attigit igneas.

But in the order of his names, he is not ſo faithful to chronology.

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general confederacy. The Grecian woods and mountains abounded in lions, boars, and other fierce animals[54], that often roamed from their haunts, and ſpread terror and deſolation through the adjoining vallies. The vallies themſelves teemed with men of brutal ſtrength and courage, who availed themſelves of the weakneſs of government to perpetrate horrid deeds of violence and cruelty. The firſt worthies of Greece, animated rather with the daring and uſeful, than with the romantic ſpirit of chivalry, ſet themſelves with one accord to remedy evils which threatened the exiſtence of ſociety. Their adventures have, doubtleſs, been embelliſhed by the elegant fancy of poets and orators; but they will remain eternal monuments of generous magnanimity, which ſacrifices the inſtinctive love of eaſe and pleaſure to the acquired taſte for glory and renown[55].

The war of Thebes. A. C. 1225.

The laws of war and peace gradually improved with the progreſs of humanity; and the firſt general enterpriſe, which ſucceeded the expedition of the Argonauts, proves that whole communities, as well as individuals, had begun to reſpect the virtues moſt eſſential to public happineſs. The war of Thebes has deſerved, therefore, to be recorded; while the more antient hoſtilities between the Hellenic tribes, of which juſtice was not even the pretence, but luſt or avarice the only cauſe, and wealth or beauty the only prize, are univerſally condemned to oblivion. Contempt of an antient oracle, the involuntary crimes of Oedipus, and the unnatural cruelty

[54] In the ſhield of Hercules, Heſiod deſcribes a boar fighting with a lion, and almoſt prevailing in the combat. That animal was no leſs terrible on the oppoſite coaſt of Aſia than in Greece, as we learn from Herodotus, l. i. c. 34, & ſeq.

[55] Pauſan. l. i. Iſocrat. Hellen. Encom. & Panegyr. Lyſias & Demoſthen. Orat. Funebr.

cruelty of his ſons, involved the royal family of Thebes in that maze of calamities, appropriated in all ages, from Sophocles[56] to Voltaire, as favourite ſubjects of the Tragic Muſe. Eteocles and Polynices (theſe were the miſerable ſons of Oedipus) having haſtened the death, and drawn down the maledictions, of their unhappy father, agreed to ſway, by turns, the Theban ſceptre. Eteocles, the elder brother, reigned during the firſt year; but his ambitious temper, corrupted by the honours of royalty, refuſed to reſign the throne at the appointed term of his command. His rival, Polynices, married the daughter of Adraſtus, king of Argos, who enabled his ſon-in-law to aſſert, by force of arms, his juſt pretenſions to the alternate inheritance. The allied princes, reinforced by Tydeus, Capaneus, and three other chiefs, marched to Thebes at the head of ſeven bands of armed followers, who inveſted the ſeven gates of the city. The Thebans, impatient of confinement within the walls of a place ill provided in ſupplies, yielded to the martial ardor of Eteocles, and repelled the aſſailants by a vigorous ſally, in which the moſt illuſtrious combatants fell on both ſides, and the wretched brothers periſhed by mutual wounds. The cauſe of the war being removed by this horrid cataſtrophe, the the Argives craved leave to bury their dead; but the Thebans, exaſperated againſt the daring invaders of their country, returned them an anſwer, which, according to the principles of that age, bid defiance to the dictates of nature, and the precepts of religion. In this extremity, Adraſtus, the only chief who ſurvived the battle, had recourſe to the humane

[56] I might have ſaid Æſchylus, whoſe "Seven againſt Thebes" is founded on the hiſtory related in the text. But the name of Sophocles will bring to the mind of every reader of taſte and humanity, the Oedipus Tyrannus, and particularly the Oedipus Coloneus.

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humane piety of the Athenians, who, uninfluenced by motives of ambition or intereſt, took arms in defence of public juſtice, and compelled the cruel obſtinacy of the Thebans to grant the laſt melancholy honours to the aſhes of their deceaſed enemies[57]. At the diſtance of ten years, the more fortunate ſons of the chiefs, who had fallen before the Theban walls, reſented, with the fury of religious rage, the indignities that had been impiouſly offered to the manes of their fathers. They again laid ſiege to the guilty city, deſtroyed the lives and property of many of the inhabitants, dragged many into captivity, and compelled the remainder to acknowledge, as their king, the infant ſon of the injured Polynices[58].

Circumſtances which favoured the progreſs towards internal tranquillity in the Grecian ſtates.

In their progreſs towards civilization, the Greeks perceived the advantage of political confederacy, before they became fully ſenſible of the benefits of civil union. The neceſſity of providing for defence againſt the aſſaults of foreign enemies, and the natural dictates of intereſt and ambition, unfolded the idea of a federal aſſociation between different communities, before the members of any one ſtate had been ſufficiently united in the ſyſtem of domeſtic policy. Various cluſters of towns and villages, ſituate in winding vallies, divided by lofty mountains, acknowledged the authority of kings or chieftains, who led forth their warlike youth to glory and danger. Summoned to arms againſt foreign enemies, they readily flocked to the ſtandard of their king, and received, with implicit ſubmiſſion, his commands in the field: but when no common cauſe

[57] Lyſias Orat. Funeb.

[58] Conſer. Homer. l. iv. v. 337 & paſſim. Heſiod. Op. & Di. Æſchyl. Septem contra Thebas. Lyſias Orat. Funeb. Statius. Thebaid. Apollod. l. iii. Diodor. l. iv. Pauſan. in Bæotic.

cauſe rouſed their emulation, or excited their valour, the inhabitants of each little townſhip aſpired at independent juriſdiction, and the nominal ſubjects of the ſame prince often terminated their differences by the deciſion of the ſword[59].

The example of Crete.

To cement ſuch diſorderly communities by laws and government, required an acquaintance with ſome more civilized people, among whom the effects of this happy union viſibly prevailed. Such an example fortunately occurred in the wiſe inſtitutions and policy of the Cretans, which are repreſented not only as the moſt antient, but the beſt regulations, that ever were eſtabliſhed in any portion of the Grecian territory[60]. The celebrated iſland, which fable has dignified with the imaginary honour of giving birth to ſome of the gods[61] of Greece, poſſeſſed the real merit of communicating to that country many uſeful improvements. It had been early planted, as we had occaſion already to obſerve, by a colony of Dorians. This colony, which received various[62] acceſſions from Greece, enjoyed two advantages above their brethren on the continent. Their inſular ſituation left them expoſed, indeed, to naval depredations, but delivered them from thoſe fierce incurſions by land, which often disfigured and deſolated the mother country. A favourable gale wafted the unſkilful mariners of antiquity from the ſhores of Crete to the capital of Egypt. The facility of communication thus introduced between the two countries an habitual intercourſe, from which the barbarous iſlanders had nothing to loſe, and every thing to gain. Rhadamanthus,

Peculiar circumſtances of that iſland.

[59] Thucydid. l. i. Plut. in Theſeo.

[60] Plat. de Leg. & in Minoe. Ariſtot. Pol. l. ii. Plut. in Lycurg.

[61] Heſiod. Theog.

[62] Homer. Iliad. l. xix. v. 172. &c.

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thus[63], and others of their early kings or chieftains, whom intereſt or curioſity carried into Egypt and the Eaſt, appear to have had ſagacity to obſerve, and dexterity to employ, ſeveral of the inventions and inſtitutions of thoſe powerful and civilized kingdoms, for the uſeful purpoſe of confirming their own authority, and bridling the fierce paſſions of their countrymen.

The elder Minos.

The elder Minos is peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for promoting this beneficial deſign. The doubtful appellation of Son of the Ocean, which, perhaps, he might derive from his numerous voyages, leaves it uncertain whether he was a native Cretan, or a foreigner. In the countries which he had viſited, he obſerved certain families inveſted, from time immemorial, with unbounded honours, as the immediate vicegerents of the divinity. The uncultivated, but freeborn genius of Greece, always rejected this odious profanation; yet it ſeemed poſſible to Minos to acquire that reſpect for his office, which he would have vainly ſolicited for his perſon. We are not informed by what virtues, civil or military, he acquired before the eſtabliſhment of his laws, an extraordinary influence among the Cretans. But as ſlaves multiplied to ſuch a degree in the iſland during his reign, that agriculture and the mechanic arts were exerciſed by them alone, there is reaſon to conjecture that he had been extremely ſucceſsful in war againſt his neighbours, and no leſs equitable in dividing the booty among the various Cretan tribes who followed the fortune of his arms. However this may be, it appears from the general evidence of antiquity, that Minors had addreſs to perſuade men prone to wonder and to believe, among whom, whatever dazzled the imagination announced the

[63] Strabo, l. x p. 480.

the preſence of a divinity, that their favourite hero was admitted to the familiarity of the gods[64]. From them he pretended to derive an invaluable ſyſtem of laws, which he was enjoined to engrave on tables of braſs. From Jupiter he received the regal ſceptre, which entitled him to adminiſter theſe laws, but obliged him to reſpect them. By command of the ſame god, he founded the cities of Cnoſſus, Cydonia, and Pheſtus, and united the diſtant ſubjects of his wide-extended domain, by ſuch regulations as ſerved alike to ſupport the authority of the prince, and to maintain the rights of the people[65].

Expedition of Theſeus into Crete. A. C. 1234.

The beautiful arrangement of this political edifice ſtruck the diſcerning eye of Theſeus, the illuſtrious ſon of Ægeus, king of Athens, in his celebrated expedition to Crete, during the reign of the ſecond Minos. The laſt mentioned prince joined the ſplendor of military renown to the famed wiſdom of his reverend anceſtor. His maritime force exceeded the united ſtrength of his neighbours; he ſubdued ſeveral of the circumjacent iſles; and while he permitted his own ſubjects to ravage the coaſts of Greece, under pretence of lawful war, he effectually checked the piratical depredations of the Carians, Lycians, and Phenicians, which had hitherto proved ſo frequent and ſo deſtructive[66]. Athens experienced the effects of his power and ambition, and reluctantly ſubmitted to a diſgraceful tribute of ſeven youths, and as many virgins[67], which

[64] διος μεγαλα οαριστης. Odyſſ. l. 19. v. 179. which Horace tranſlates,

Jovis arcanis Minos admiſſus. L. 1. Ode 8.

[65] Strabo, l. x. p. 480. Plato in Minoe. Diod. l. v.

[66] Thucydid. l. i.

[67] Odyſſ. l. xi. v. 320. & Virgil, Æn. 6.

Tum pendere pœnas
Cecropidæ juſſi, miſerum! ſeptena quotannis
Corpora natorum.

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which was cruelly exacted by a nation who ſubſiſted on the labour of ſlaves. The tributary captives were drawn by lot from the body of the people, who trembled at the annual return of the Cretan veſſel. Diſcontents aroſe againſt the government of Ægeus, who ſeemed to bear the indignity with too much tameneſs; when his heroic ſon, with a patriotiſm congenial to his character, generouſly offered his life in the ſervice of his country[68]. The fame of Theſeus had already reached the ears of Minos, who reſpected his virtues; and this reſpect was converted into admiration, on beholding the Athenian prince a voluntary captive. Minos treated him with the affectionate kindneſs of antient hoſpitality; gave him his daughter Ariadne in marriage; and declared the Athenians thenceforth free from a contribution equally cruel and ignominious. Theſeus reaped great glory from this tranſaction. The veſſel in which he ſailed, continued to be annually ſent, for more than eight centuries afterwards, to return thanks to Apollo, in his favourite iſland of Delos[69]; and the fortunate voyage to Crete was celebrated by ſacrifices, and other ceremonies, handed down to the lateſt times of the Athenian republic[70].

Theſeus communicates the Cretan improvements to Attica.

Many extraordinary circumſtances, invented by the poets, disfigure events, which are otherwiſe ſufficiently authenticated. The unnatural amours of the abominable Paſiphaë, and the bloody feaſts of the monſtrous Minotaur[71], have been faithfully tranſcribed,

[68] Ipſe ſuum Theſeus pro caris corpus Athenis
Projicere optavit.—— Catullus.

[69] Plato. Phædo.

[70] Plut. in Theſeo.

[71] Hìc crudelis amor tauri, ſuppoſtaque furto
Paſiphaë, &c.

The judicious Virgil places theſe ſtrange ſtories in the ſculptured porch of an antient temple.

tranſcribed, from one age to another, in the tireſome compilations of injudicious mythologiſts; but it ſeems not to have occurred to thoſe writers, that the expedition to Crete laid the foundation of the improvements afterwards introduced by Theſeus into the Athenian government. The inſtitutions and manners of that iſland preſented a picture of more regular compoſition, and more harmonious colouring, than could be ſeen in any part of the Grecian continent. Various ſocieties of freemen, all united under one government, all equal among themſelves, and all ſerved by ſlaves; no private property in land; the men eating at public tables, and their families ſubſiſting from the common ſtock; the youth regularly trained to the gymnaſtic exerciſes, navigation and war; a ſevere morality enforced by law; honour the reward of age and merit; and the whole community acknowledging the prerogative of an hereditary king, who derived his authority from Jupiter, but who was no longer intitled to the divine protection than he continued to obſerve juſtice, and to maintain the unalienable privileges of his ſubjects[72]. Impreſſed with the ſalutary inſtitutions, which he beheld in this flouriſhing iſland, Theſeus, upon his acceſſion to the throne of his father, was ambitious to imitate them in his native country. The rudeneſs of the Athenians, indeed, admitted not the introduction of written laws. But the ſcattered villages of Attica were perſuaded to embrace the regulations of the capital[73]; to unite in common ceremonies of religion; to acknowledge the reciprocal obligations of ſubjects; and, while they aſſerted the right of citizens, to reſpect, during peace

[72] Ariſtot. Polit. l. ii. c. 9. &c. Strabo, ibid. Plato de Leg.

[73] Thucydid. l. ii. Plut. in Theſeo.

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peace and war, the ſacred prerogative of royal majeſty.

Thence diffuſed through Greece.

The improvements in domeſtic policy, thus introduced into Attica by the example of Crete, and the wiſdom of Theſeus, were gradually adopted by the neighbouring provinces[74]. At the commencement of the Trojan war, all the Grecian ſtates had embraced one uniform ſyſtem of government, uniting the independent ſpirit of European freedom with the reſpectful veneration of Egyptian and Aſiatic ſuperſtition[75]. This ſingular frame of policy, compoſed of materials ſeemingly incapable of alliance, was peculiarly well adapted to great and generous undertakings; and unleſs the divine, though limited authority of kings, had fortified the other inſtitutions which ſerved to tame the ferocity of the Greeks, there is reaſon to doubt whether their leaders could have engaged above an hundred thouſand ſtubborn barbarians to undertake a diſtant and difficult enterpriſe, much leſs have detained their reluctant impatience during ten years in the ſiege of Troy.

This enables the Greeks to undertake the Trojan war.

Deſcription of Greece; its ſtrength and reſources.

Before we examine the cauſes and the incidents of this celebrated ſiege, to which the exploits hitherto related ſeem but unworthy preludes, it may be proper to take a ſhort view of the ſtrength and reſources of the two nations, who were eager to ſhock in a conflict, that totally deſtroyed the one, and proved extremely ruinous to the other. Excluſive of the provinces of Epirus and Macedonia, which long remained barbarous and uncultivated, the continental poſſeſſions of the Greeks were nearly equal to Scotland in extent, marked with ſtill bolder features, and bleſſed with a warmer ſun. In its length, the whole country is almoſt equally divided

[74] Dionyſ. Halic. l. v. [75] Homer, paſſim.

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divided by two oppoſite gulphs, compreſſing between them a mountainous neck of land, to the breadth of only five miles, into the peninſula of Peloponneſus, and the territory extending northwards, from the extremity of the Corinthian iſthmus to the ſouthern frontier of Macedonia [76]. The Peloponneſus, ſcarcely two hundred miles in length, and one hundred and forty in breadth, is every where interſected by mountains, particularly the towering ridges of Zarex and Taygetus. During the flouriſhing ages of Greece, this ſmall peninſula contained ſeven independent communities, of unequal power and fame, which ranked in the following order: The comparatively large, and highly diverſified, territory of Laconia; the fruitful vale of Argos; the extenſive coaſt of Achaia; the narrow but commercial iſthmus of Corinth; the central and mountainous region of Arcadia; together with the more level countries of Elis and Meſſenia, which are throughout better adapted to tillage than any other provinces of the Peloponneſus [77]. The Grecian poſſeſſions beyond the Corinthian iſthmus were more conſiderable, extending two hundred and ſixty miles from eaſt to weſt, and one hundred and fifty from north to ſouth. They were naturally divided, by the long and intricate ridges of Olympus, Pindus, Oeta, and Oſſa, into nine ſeparate provinces; which, during the celebrated ages of Grecian freedom, were occupied by nine independent republics. They comprehended the extenſive and fertile plains of Theſſaly and Bœotia, both of which were, in early times, much expoſed to inundations; and the latter, abounding in ſubterranean caverns, was peculiarly ſubject to earthquakes; the leſs fertile, but more ſecure territory

[76] Strabo, l. vii. [77] Strabo, ibid. & Pauſan. Meſſen.

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tory of Attica; the weſtern provinces of Ætolia and Acarnania, encompaſſed on one ſide by dangerous ſeas, and confined on the other by almoſt impaſſable mountains; and the four ſmall rocky diſtricts of Phocis, Doris, Locris, and Megara [78].

It has been obſerved, that theſe names and diviſions, which remained to the lateſt times, are pretty accurately marked by Homer, whoſe poems continued, through ſucceeding ages, to be the approved ſtandard and legal code, to which neighbouring communities appealed, in adjuſting their diſputed boundaries [79]. This obſervation, however, muſt be qualified chiefly by two exceptions. During the Trojan war, the extenſive province of Theſſaly ſent forth above a fourth part of the whole Grecian ſtrength, and was divided among many warlike leaders. It might naturally be expected, while agriculture and paſturage were the principal occupations ſubſervient to human life, that a country, abounding in plains and meadows, ſhould excel in population and in power [80]. When commerce, navigation, and the mechanic arts enriched and adorned the middle and ſouthern diviſions of Greece, the northern diſtrict of Theſſaly loſt its ancient pre-eminence. The ſecond exception aroſe from the extenſive power of the houſe of Pelops, which, as already mentioned, had, by fortunate marriages and rich ſucceſſions, acquired dominion over the northern and eaſtern parts of the Peloponneſus, formerly containing ſeveral independent principalities, and, after the misfortunes of Agamemnon and his family, again divided into the immortal republics of Sparta, Argos, Corinth, and Achaia.

From

[78] Strabo, ibid. [79] Plut. in Solon. [80] Plato in Menon.

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From this general view of the country, it will not appear remarkable, that, in an age when every able-bodied man was a ſoldier, Greece ſhould have raiſed an army of an hundred and two thouſand men. The Acarnanians alone, for reaſons unknown, ſent no forces to Troy. But the continent was aſſiſted by the generous efforts of Crete, of Rhodes, and of many ſmaller iſlands, which were ſubject to their reſpective princes, or governed by the wide extended dominion of Agamemnon. The veſſels collected for tranſporting theſe forces to Aſia, amounted to twelve hundred ſail. They were equipped at little expence, and built with little ingenuity, moved by only one bank of oars, and entirely unprovided with decks or anchors. Their complement varied in different veſſels; ſome contained an hundred and twenty, others only fifty men, who appear to have been equally acquainted with the military art, as practiſed in that remote age, and with the rude ſimplicity of ancient navigation [81].

Number of the Grecian ſhips and troops.

The celebrated kingdom of Priam, againſt which this armament was directed, occupied the eaſtern banks of the Helleſpont, the ſouthern coaſt of the Propontis, and the northern ſhores of the Ægean. From the river Eſepus to the promontory of Lectum, the Trojan dominions extended in length two hundred miles; but their breadth was far leſs conſiderable, being irregularly compreſſed between three ſeas, and the lofty ridges of mount Ida. This delightful and pictureſque country, which excelled Greece in fruitfulneſs of ſoil and ſoftneſs of climate [82], was diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Helleſpontian, from the large inland province,

Deſcription of Troas, or Leſſer Phrygia.

[81] Thucydid. ibid. Homer, paſſim.
[82] Hippocrat. de Loc.

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History of that country.

province, which bore the common name of Phrygia [83]. The leſſer, or Helleſpontian Phrygia, was planted, according to tradition, by a Grecian colony, about two hundred years before the Trojan war. The ſimilarity of religion, language, and manners, ſufficiently juſtified that opinion, and ſeems to have induced the moſt diligent inquirers of antiquity to regard not only the Trojans, but the Lycians and Pamphylians, as ſcattered branches of the Hellenic nation [84], which diſtance of place had gradually cut off from all communication with the trunk. The Aſiatic Greeks were expoſed to none of thoſe unfavourable circumſtances already mentioned, which long retarded the improvement of their brethren in Europe. The fertile and extenſive plains of Aſia offered them the materials of more powerful kingdoms than Greece could afford; and, inſtead of being haraſſed and endangered by the continual incurſions of northern ſavages, they enjoyed the vicinity of the Phrygians and Lydians, nations deſcribed as flouriſhing in wealth and peace from the remoteſt antiquity [85]. From the prevalence of the Grecian language and cuſtoms on the one hand, and the name of the country on the other, it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Trojans were a mingled race of Greeks and Phrygians, collected by Dardanus, anceſtor fifth in degree to old Priam.

This adventurer, whoſe parentage Homer leaves uncertain, by calling him ſon of Jupiter [86], founded a city on one of the many weſtern branches of mount Ida, commanding a beautiful and fertile plain, and watered by the immortal rivers Simois and

[83] Strabo, l. xiii.
[84] Herodot. l. vii. Strabo, l. xiv.
[85] Herodot. l. i. Dionyſ. Halic. l. i. Suidas in voc. Ανακος.
[86] Iliad, xx. v. 215.

and Scamander [87]. The new ſettlement flouriſhed under his ſon, the wealthy Erichthonius, who, by the judicious management of his mares and ſtallions, ſupplied the neighbouring kingdoms with horſes of a ſuperior breed. His ſucceſſor, Tros, communicated his name to the territory, which was often called Troas, and to the celebrated city Ilion, which his ſon Ilus, having removed his reſidence from the mountain, built on the adjoining plain. Laomedon, the ſucceſſor of Ilus, fortified the town of Ilion, or Troy, with walls of ſuch uncommon ſtrength, that, in the language and belief of the times, they were deemed the work of the gods [88]. Whether he defrauded his ſuppoſed auxiliaries of their promiſed rewards and ſacrifices, or ſupplied the expence of this undertaking by deſpoiling their ſacred ſhrines, it is certain that the guilt of Laomedon was believed to entail calamity on his unhappy deſcendants.

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His ſon Priam, however, long enjoyed the deceitful gifts of fortune, before he was overtaken by the vengeance of heaven. Having attained old age in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of a throne, he was ſurrounded by a numerous and flouriſhing family, beloved by his ſubjects, and reſpected by his neighbours. Yet this amiable, but too indulgent prince, was deſtined to feel the ſharpeſt pangs of human miſery.

Reign of Priam.

Hereditary feuds ſubſiſted between the anceſtors of Priam and thoſe of Agamemnon, when the latter quitted their eſtabliſhments in Aſia, to ſeek new ſettlements in Greece. The inſult offered to Ganymede, a beautiful Trojan youth, by the bru-

Cauſes of the Trojan war.

[87] Homer, Iliad, xx. v. 216, &c. Strabo, lxiii.
[88] Homer and Strabo, ibid.

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tal fury of Tantalus [89], was retorted on Menelaus, the fourth in deſcent from this infamous prince, by the rape and detention of his queen, the celebrated Helen. Paris, the ill-fated ſon of Priam, was the author of this new injury. But reſentment for the wrongs of his houſe, formed not the only motive which engaged the youthful levity of Paris to diſhonour the ſiſter-in-law of Agamemnon. Helen was the daughter of Tyndareus, king of Sparta. The illuſtrious honours of her family were adorned by the generous magnanimity of her brothers, Caſtor and Polydeuces, whoſe exploits ſhone conſpicuous in all the military expeditions of that gallant age. But the native luſtre of Helen needed not the aid of foreign ornament. Even in the tender age of childhood, her opening charms had inflamed the heart of Theſeus [90], the moſt admired, and the moſt virtuous of the Grecian chiefs. The fame of her beauty increaſed with her ripening age, and her perſon became an object of eager contention among thoſe who, by birth or merit, were entitled to aſpire at the invaluable prize. Tyndareus, ſolicitous to prevent the violence of a ſecond lover (for, agreeably to the manners of his age, Theſeus had carried her off by force), bound the various ſuitors by oath to defend the honour of his daughter, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of her charms to the man who ſhould be honoured with her choice [91]. The princely mien and inſinuating manners of Menelaus, were preferred to the more ſolid

Beauty and adventures of Helen, daughter of the king of Sparta.

[89] It has been obſerved, that the Story of Tantalus, father of Pelops, was probably the invention of a later age. It is certain that, whatever might prevail in Phrygia, the unnatural paſſion, which diſgraced the later times of Greece, was unknown in that country during the heroic ages. Natal. Com. l. ix. c. 13.

[90] Plut. in Theſeo.

[91] Thucydid. l. i. c. 9.

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ſolid qualities of his numerous competitors. Having married the heireſs of Tyndareus, he ſucceeded, in her right, to the Spartan throne[92]. The graceful pair had not long enjoyed the honours of royalty, and the ſweets of conjugal union, when their happineſs was interrupted by the arrival of the ſon of Priam, the handſomeſt man of his age, and ſingularly adorned with the frivolous accompliſhments that often captivate the weakneſs of a female mind. Though a ſoldier of no great renown, Paris had ſtrongly imbibed the romantic ſpirit of gallantry which[93] prevailed in the heroic ages, and was diſtinguiſhed by an ardent paſſion for beauty, which, notwithſtanding the general ſoftneſs of his unwarlike character, enabled him to brave every danger, in purſuit of his favourite object. Animated by the hope of beholding the inimitable model of what he moſt adored, he ſeized the opportunity afforded him by a voyage of Menelaus into Crete, viſited the dominions of his hereditary enemies, and ſolicited the rights of hoſpitality at the Spartan court.

She marries Menelaus, who ſucceeds to that kingdom.

Character of Paris, ſon of Priam.

His perſon, his accompliſhments, his addreſs, and ſtill more the voluntary hardſhips which he had endured for her ſake, ſeduced the inconſtant affections of the Grecian queen. Enamoured of the elegant ſtranger, ſhe abandoned her country and her huſband, and having tranſported her moſt valuable treaſure within the Trojan walls, defied the reſentment of Greece, and the vengeance of heaven.

Who ſeduces and carries her to Troy

It

[92] Pauſan. Lacon.

[93] Perſeus had carried off the African Meduſa; Jaſon, Medea of Colchis; Theſeus, the Amazon Antiope; Hercules, Megara, Iole, Deaneira, &c. The hiſtorical poets of the heroic ages might have ſaid, with Arioſto,

Le donne, i cavalier, l'arme, gli amori,
Le corteſie, l'audaci impreſe io canto

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The Greeks determine to recover her.

It was now the time for Menelaus to crave the ſtipulated aſſiſtance of his ancient rivals. His demand was enforced by the authority of Agamemnon[94]. At the ſummons of the two brothers, the confederates aſſembled at Ægium, the capital of Achaia; confirmed the obligation of their former promiſe; ſettled the proportion of troops to be raiſed by each prince; determined the time and place of their departure; and named Agamemnon, the moſt powerful among them, to the chief command, in an expedition which ſo deeply concerned the honour of his family.

Sail to Troy under the command of Agamemnon.

Aulis, a ſea-port of Bœotia, was appointed for the place of rendezvous and embarkation[95]. Before the whole armament ſailed from thence, Ulyſſes, king of Ithaca, and, what may ſeem extraordinary, the injured Menelaus, undertook a ſolemn embaſſy to Troy, in order to demand reſtitution and reparation; but returned highly diſguſted with their reception and treatment. Some members of the Trojan council had the barbarity to propoſe putting them to death. Their juſt indignation increaſed the warlike ardour of their aſſociates. But contrary winds long retarded their departure. The Trojans had time to ſtrengthen their ramparts, to collect arms and proviſions, and to ſummon the aſſiſtance of their diſtant allies. The martial ſpirit of the age, together with a ſenſe of common danger, brought many powerful auxiliaries to Priam. His cauſe was defended by the hardy mountaineers, who covered the back of his kingdom; by the Carians, Lycians, and other nations of Aſia Minor, extending from the mouth of the river Halys to the ſouthern extremity of Celicia; and by the Pelaſgi, Thracians, and Pæonians, fierce barbarians who inhabited

[94] Thucydid. ibid.

[95] Heſiod, Oper. & Di-

inhabited the European ſide of the Helleſpont and Propontis. Confiding, however, rather in their domeſtic ſtrength, than in foreign aſſiſtance, the Trojans determined to defend their native ſhores againſt hoſtile invaſion. The debarkation of the Greeks was purchaſed by much blood. Having effected a deſcent, they encamped on the Trojan plain, but loſt the only opportunity which they enjoyed during many years, of cruſhing at once the power of their enemies; who immediately ſhut themſelves up within their impenetrable walls, leaving the city open only on the ſide of Mount Ida, from which they received corn, cattle, and other neceſſary ſupplies.

Effect a deſcent on the Trojan coaſt.

Agamemnon, as there was reaſon to expect from the manners of his age, had been more induſtrious in collecting a great army, than provident in contriving means by which it might keep the field. The proviſions, tranſported from Greece, were ſpeedily conſumed, while the operations of the ſiege promiſed little hope of ſucceſs, the Greeks being unacquainted with any military engines fitted to make an impreſſion on the Trojan walls. With ſuch a numerous army, they might have converted the ſiege into a blockade; but ſcarcity of ſupplies compelled the greater part of them to quit the camp. The reſource of ravaging the adjacent country ſoon exhauſted itſelf. Many betook themſelves to cultivating the rich vales of the Cherſoneſus, whoſe induſtrious inhabitants had recently been expelled, or deſtroyed by the fierce incurſions of the barbarous Thracians[96]. Others had recourſe to piracy, ſcoured the neighbouring ſeas, ravaged the unprotected coaſts of the Helleſpont and Ægean, and plundered or demoliſhed ſuch unfortified places as

Cauſes which protracted the ſiege of Troy.

[96] Thucydid. l. i.

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as acknowledged the dominion, or aſſiſted the arms of Troy [97]. Theſe ravages excited the rage of the Aſiatics, and rendered them more hearty in the cauſe of their confederates. In this manner nine ſummers and winters elapſed, without affording the nearer proſpect of a deciſion to the conteſt; but, in the tenth year of the war, the ſeeming misfortunes of the Greeks precipitated the downfal of the proud city of Priam. A dreadful peſtilence invaded the camp of the beſiegers, and long continued to rage with unabating fury. This calamity was followed by the well known quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, which deprived the Grecian army of its principal ſtrength and ornament. The Trojans derived new ſpirits from the misfortunes of their enemies; they ventured to abandon the protection of their walls, boldly aſſailed the Grecian camp, and riſked ſeveral engagements, in moſt of which they were victorious. In the laſt of theſe, the beloved friend of Achilles was ſlain by the arm of Hector, the braveſt and moſt generous of the Trojan race. This event, which was infinitely more dreadful than death to the affectionate ardour of the Grecian chief, ſtifled his hitherto inexorable reſentment againſt the proud tyranny of Agamemnon. His return to the camp reſtored the declining fortune of the Greeks; and the indignant fury of his rage was quenched in the deteſted blood of Hector, whoſe patriotic valour had long been the firmeſt bulwark of his father's kingdom. The deſtruction of Troy [98] ſoon followed the death of her darling hero. The city, whether taken by ſtorm or by ſurpriſe, was ſet on fire during the night; moſt of the citizens periſhed by

That city taken in the tenth year of the war.

[97] Homer, paſſim.

[98] We ſhould probably know ſomething more of the hiſtory of the Trojan war, if the works of Piſander remained. Mas crobiu-

by the ſword, or were dragged into captivity; and only a miſerable remnant eſcaped through the confuſed horror of raging flames and expiring kinſmen.

Future fortunes of Troy.

The burning of Troy happened eleven hundred and eighty-four years before the Chriſtian æra. Neither the city nor territory ever aſſumed, in any ſucceeding age, the dignity of independent government[99]. The ſea-coaſt was planted eighty years after the Trojan war, by new colonies from Greece; and the inland parts ſubmitted to the growing power of the Lydians, whoſe arms overſpread and conquered all the fineſt provinces of Leſſer Aſia[100].

The calamitous return of the Greeks.

The Greeks had recovered poſſeſſion of the admired beauty of Helen; they had taken complete vengeance on the family[101] and nation of her unhappy ſeducer; but the misfortunes, which were the natural conſequence of the Trojan expedition, left them little reaſon to boaſt of their victory. Of five Bœotian commanders, only one remained, and the ſiege had been proportionably fatal to the leaders

crobius, in ſpeaking of the plagiariſms of the Romans from Greek writers, has the following paſſage: "Quæ Virgilius "traxit a Græcis, dicturumne me putetis, quæ vulgo nota "ſunt? . . . vel quod everſionem Trojæ cum Sinone ſuo & equo "ligneo, ceteriſque omnibus, quæ librum ſecundum faciunt, a "*Piſandro* pene ad verbum tranſcripſerit, qui inter Græcos "poetas eminet," &c. Macrob. l. v. c. 2.

[99] I have carefully examined the evidence given by Bochart (Epiſt. num Æneas unquam fuit in Italia), and by Mr. Wood (Eſſay on the original Genius of Homer), to prove that the deſcendants of Æneas reigned in Troy. But notwithſtanding the learned ingenuity of a profound, and the plauſible criticiſm of an elegant ſcholar, the matter ſeems ſtill too doubtful to warrant contradicting the popular opinion.

[100] Herod. l. ii. Thucyd. l. i. Juſtin, l. xviii. Strabo, l. iii.

[101] I dwell not on a ſubject which has been handled by the great maſters of the paſſions. See Virgil:

Forſitan et Priami fuerint quæ fata requiras, &c.

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leaders of other tribes, as well as to their warlike followers. Thoſe who lived to divide the rich ſpoils of Troy, were impatient to ſet ſail with their newly acquired treaſure, notwithſtanding the threatening appearance of the ſkies. Many of them periſhed by ſhip-wreck; the reſt were long toſſed on unknown ſeas; and when they expected to find in their native country the end of their calamities, they were expoſed to ſuffer greater calamities there, than any which they had yet endured. The thrones of ſeveral of the abſent princes had been uſurped by violence and ambition; the lands of various communities had been occupied by the invaſion of hoſtile tribes: even the leaſt unfortunate of thoſe adventurers found their domains uncultivated, or their territories laid waſte; their families torn by diſcord, or their cities ſhaken by ſedition. And thus the moſt celebrated enterprize of combined Greece tended to plunge that delightful and once happy country into barbariſm and miſery[102].

[102] Plato, de Leg. l. iii. Thucyd. l. i. p. 9.

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CHAP. II.

Religion.—Government.—Arts.—Manners, and Character.

CHAP. II. Introduction.

THE ancient Greeks had ſtrongly imbibed an opinion, that the country in which they lived was peculiarly favourable to the dignity of human nature. The voluptuous climates of Aſia, produced invention and ingenuity, but ſoftened the tempers of men into a fitneſs for ſervitude. The rigorous ſeverity of European ſkies gave ſtrength and agility to the limbs, and hardy boldneſs to the mind, but chilled the fancy, and benumbed the finer feelings of the ſoul. The inhabitants of the eaſt and ſouth were degraded below the condition of humanity, by an unfortunate abuſe of power, while the turbulent ſons of the north and weſt were incapable, from ignorance and indocility, of ſubmitting to any regular ſyſtem of government. The Greeks alone, poſſeſſing an intermediate ſituation between the extrêmes of cold and heat, united courage and capacity; tempered the ſtern and manly, with the gentler virtues; and enjoyed the double advantage of liberty and laws[1].

The authority of Homer, as an hiſtorian.

This ſplendid obſervation is too flattering to the dictates of national vanity to be haſtily adopted by a cautious inquirer into truth, who will be apt to aſcribe the ſuperior luſtre of Grecian manners, rather to the elegant imagination of authors, than to the intrinſic merit of their ſubject. Yet it muſt be acknowledged,

[1] Ariſtot. Politic. l. vii. c. 7. Iſocrat. Govern. Athen. Panegyric. & Panathen.

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acknowledged, ſeveral circumſtances would lead us to believe, that the great poet to whom we owe our principal information concerning the ancient ſtate of Greece, copied from nature only. The majeſty of Virgil, the ſplendor of Taſſo, and the ſublimity of Milton, are not ſufficient to conceal an effort in thoſe noble writers to maintain the tone which they have aſſumed; a deſire to embelliſh the manners which they deſcribe; an ambition to elevate and adorn their poems by the uſe of a marvellous machinery, which had not its foundation in the experience, and (as to Virgil and Taſſo) ſcarcely in the belief of their own age. In Homer, there is neither embelliſhment, nor effort, nor diſguiſe of any kind; he relates what he has ſeen and heard with unaffected ſimplicity; his ideas and ſentiments are not only clothed in the graces of poetry, but arrayed in the charms of truth; and an amazing diverſity of characters, preſerving amidſt innumerable ſhades of diſcrimination a general air of reſemblance, diſtinguiſh the Iliad and Odyſſey above other poetical compoſitions, and prove them to have been copied, not from the limited combinations of human invention, but from the wide variety of impreſſions in the rich ſtore-houſe of nature. In ſome deſcriptive parts of his poem, Homer doubtleſs yielded to the pleaſing dictates of his inimitable fancy; but it ſeems plain from internal evidence only, that he delineates with minute accuracy the geography, mythology, hiſtory and manners of Greece; and that his obſervations concerning all theſe ſubjects are perfectly agreeable to the opinions and belief which univerſally prevailed among his countrymen. If this matter required the aid of foreign evidence, it might be fully confirmed by the teſtimony of the Greek hiſtorians, who ſupport in every inſtance the veracity of the poet; aſſerting not only the authenticity of the facts which he relates,

relates, but the influence of the cauſes to which he aſcribes them[2].

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It may be obſerved, however, by thoſe who would repreſs the ebullitions of Grecian vanity, that, admitting the poems of Homer as complete evidence concerning the antient ſtate of his country, all the advantage that would follow from this ſuppoſition is, that the Greeks have been accurately deſcribed at an earlier period of their ſociety than moſt other nations; but the ſilence of thoſe nations cannot reaſonably be interpreted as a proof of their inferiority to the Greeks in manners or in policy. The maſterly deſcription of a philoſophic hiſtorian has reſcued the antiquities of one other people from oblivion; and the generous ſpirit of *their* ſimple, but manly inſtitutions, as painted by his expreſſive pencil, is ſcarcely diſgraced by a compariſon with the boaſted cuſtoms of the heroic ages.

Compariſon between the Greeks of the heroic ages, and the Germans as deſcribed by Tacitus.

In the preference of military glory to all other advantages, in the freedom of debate in the public aſſemblies, and in the protection afforded to the rights and liberties of the meaneſt citizen, the treatiſe of Tacitus will equally apply to the Germans and

[2] The nature and tranſactions of the gods, which juſtly ſhock the feelings of the modern reader, are perfectly conformable to the belief of the Greeks. The continual interpoſition of theſe etherial beings in the affairs of human life, is juſtified by Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and all ſucceeding writers. Herodotus, l. i. c. 131. explains the reaſon why the Perſians erected neither temples, nor images, nor altars, by ſaying, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι, "becauſe they did not, like as the Greeks, believe the gods to "partake of a human nature or form." That the gods often appeared in a human ſhape, is taken for granted by Pauſanias in Arcad. and Plutarch, de Muſica. The ſame opinion was firmly maintained by Julian, an orthodox pagan, in a later age. See Gibbon, Vol. II. Many inſtances will occur in the following hiſtory, to prove the exact conformity of Homer's deſcriptions to the general belief of his country.

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and to the Greeks. But there is one material circumſtance wanting in the German, which adds peculiar beauty to the Grecian character. Among the rude inhabitants of ancient Germany, the offices of prieſt and king were not united in the ſame perſon. The rights of religion were adminiſtered by a particular order of men, who might abuſe the ſuperſtitious fears of the multitude to promote their own ſelfiſh deſigns; and the dread of ſuperior powers, though ſometimes employed to enforce the dictates of nature, and to promote the operations of government, might alſo, with equal ſucceſs, be employed to weaken the impreſſions of the one, and to reſiſt the authority of the other. Beſides this unfavourable circumſtance, the ſuperſtition of the Germans was of a dark and gloomy kind, little connected with the ordinary duties of ſociety, recommending principally the practice of courage, the only virtue which there was not any occaſion to recommend; and promiſing, as the reward of what was deemed the higheſt excellence in life, the enjoyment of an infamous paradiſe of immortal drunkenneſs after death[3].

The religion of the Greeks.

The mythology of the Greeks was of a more agreeable, and of a far more uſeful nature. The ſceptre, which denoted the connection of civil power with ſacred protection, was conferred on thoſe who, while they continued the humble miniſters of the gods, were appointed to be the chief, but accountable guardians of the people[4]. The ſame voice that ſummoned the warriors to arms, or that decided, in time of peace, their domeſtic contentions, conducted the order of their religious worſhip, and preſided in the prayers and hymns addreſſed to the divinity. Theſe prayers and hymns, together with the

[3] Tacit. de Morib. German. Mr. Gibbon's Roman Empire.

[4] ποιμενες λαων.

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the important right of ſacrifice (which likewiſe was performed by royal hands), formed the *ceremonial* part of the Grecian religion. The *moral* was far more extenſive, including the principal offices of life, and the nobleſt virtues of the mind. The uſeful quality of courage was peculiarly acceptable to the ſtern god of war; but the virtues of charity and hoſpitality were ſtill more pleaſing to the more amiable divinities[5]. The ſubmiſſion of ſubjects to their prince, the duty of a prince to preſerve inviolate the rights of his ſubjects[6], the obedience of children to their parents[7], the reſpect of the young for the aged, the ſacred laws of truth, juſtice, honour, and decency, were inculcated and maintained by the awful authority of religion. Even the moſt ordinary tranſactions of private life were conſecrated by the piety of the Greeks. They ventured not to undertake a voyage, or a journey, without ſoliciting the propitious aid of their heavenly protectors. Every meal (and there were three[8] in a day) was accompanied with a ſacrifice and libation. The common forms of politeneſs, the cuſtomary duties of civility, were not decided by the varying taſte of individuals, but defined by the preciſe voice of the gods[9].

Its happy influence on ſociety.

It would have anſwered little purpoſe to oppoſe ſalutary laws to the capricious licence of barbarians, without

The ſanctions of their religion.

[5] —— προς γαρ Διος εισιν ἁπαντες
Ξεινοι τε πτωχοι τε.
All ſtrangers and beggars come from Jove. Odyſſ. xiv. 56.

[6] Iliad, xvi. v. 385.

[7] It is not humanity, but the fear of the gods, that is mentioned as the reaſon by Telemachus for not ſending away his mother. Odyſſ. 2.

[8] Αριστον δειπνον δορπος.

[9] The king of the Phæacians does not detain Ulyſſes longer than he chooſes, leſt he ſhould offend the gods. Odyſſ. viii. See alſo the behaviour of Ulyſſes and Telemachus, in the cottage of Eumæus, Odyſſ. xiv. and xvi.

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without guarding thoſe laws by very powerful ſanctions. Whether theſe ſanctions be founded on opinion or on fact is, with reſpect to their influence on the mind, a matter of little moment. The dreaded vengeance of imaginary powers may be equally effectual with the fear of the axe and halter. The certainty of this vengeance was firmly eſtabliſhed in the Grecian creed; and its operation was ſuppoſed to be ſo immediate and palpable, that it was impoſſible for the inattention of men to overlook, or for their addreſs to elude its force[10]. The daring violations of the ſacred law[11] were ſpeedily overtaken by manifeſt marks of the Divine diſpleaſure. "The inſolence and violence of the cor-" rupted youths, ſays Homer[12], cried aloud to " heaven, whoſe decrees were ſoon executed by " the avenging hands of Ulyſſes." The judgments inflicted on guilty communities were ſo familiar to the minds of men, that the poet introduces them by way of ſimiles[13]; and it is evident from his writings throughout, that every important event, proſperous or adverſe, which happened either to individuals or to nations, appeared to the pious reſignation of the Greeks, the reward of their religion and

[10] See the firſt book of Heſiod's poem "Of Works and Days," throughout: and particularly

Ω Περση συ δ' ακουε δικης μηδε ὑβριν οφελλε, from v. 110 till v. 242: and again,

Τοιηδε γαρ ανθρωποισι νομον διεταξε Κρονιων, from v. 274 till v. 291.

[11] Θεμιστας διος. Homer, paſſim.

[12] Odyſſ. i.

[13] See a beautiful example of this, Iliad xvi. v. 385. The expreſſion of Heſiod is remarkable:

Παντα ιδων Διος οφθαλμος, και παντα νοησας
Και νυ τοδε, αικε εθελησι, επιδερκεται, &c.

" The eye of Jove, that beholds all, and obſerves all, looks " upon theſe tranſactions, when he pleaſes; nor does it eſcape " his notice what kind of juſtice is rendered in the city."

and virtue, or the punishment of their irreligion and vice [14]. The merit of the father was often acknowledged in the protection of the son; and the crimes of a guilty progenitor were often visited on his descendants to the third and fourth generation [15].

These observations are confirmed, not only by the writings of Homer and Hesiod throughout, but by almost every page of Herodotus, of Pindar, as well as of the Greek tragedians and historians; and yet they seem to have escaped the notice of some of the most ingenious inquirers into the opinions of antiquity. The authority of Greek writers strongly opposes two systems, which have been supported with great ability, and which have gained considerable credit in the world. The first, that the religion of the ancients had little or no connection with morality: the second, that the governments of Greece could not have been sup-

[14] The success of the Greeks against Troy, proves both parts of the proposition. All the misfortunes of the Grecian chiefs were inflicted as punishments. Oilean Ajax was slain for his presumption by Neptune (Odyss. iv.); and Ajax, the son of Telamon, was a memorable example of the fatal effects of the same vice. When Minerva offered him her assistance, he desired her to go to others, for the enemy would never attempt to penetrate where Ajax fought. Before his departure for Troy, Telamon prayed that the Gods would give valour to his son; when the proud ton, aspiring above the condition of humanity, said, That any man might be brave and victorious by the assistance of the gods; for his part, he expected to obtain glory by his own merit. The gods punished him with madness, and, after exposing him to the ridicule of his enemies, made him fall by his own hands. See the Ajax of Sophocles, from v. 760 to v. 800.

[15] Minerva protected Telemachus on account of his father's merit. Odyss. passim. The misfortunes of the royal families of Thebes and Argos, described in the many tragedies of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, abundantly prove the truth of the last observation.

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ported without the doctrine of a future ſtate [16]. The connection between religion and morality is clearly aſſerted in the various paſſages to which we have had occaſion to allude; and the belief of a future ſtate of retribution cannot, according to the principles of the learned author of the Divine Legation of Moſes, be reckoned neceſſary to the government of men, who are fully perſuaded of the actual and immediate interpoſition of Divine wiſdom and juſtice, to regulate, by temporal rewards and puniſhments, the affairs of the preſent life [17].

As

[16] See Hume's Natural Hiſtory of Religion, and Warburton's Divine Legation of Moſes. The eleventh book of the Odyſſey, which the ancients called the Νεκυομαντια, is the obſcureſt, and, in my opinion, the leaſt agreeable part of Homer. The ghoſts are all condemned to a melancholy dreary ſituation; even the greateſt heroes are very miſerable and dejected; and there is not any mention of the place of reward for the virtuous. Homer ſpeaks of the Elyſian fields but once (Odyſſey iv. ver. 563). Proteus tells Menelaus, that he is not *deſtined to die at Argos*, and that the gods would ſend him εις Ηλυσιον πεδιον και πειρατα γαιης; ſo that, if the language is not metaphorical, Homer's Elyſium was only a delicious ſpot on this earth, and ſituated, according to Strabo's conjecture, on the ſouthern coaſt of Spain. Strabo, l. iii. Ulyſſes (Odyſſ. ii. ver. 600) ſees the image of Hercules in Tartarus; but the hero himſelf, as the poet informs us, was feaſting with the immortal gods. I have never met with any intelligible explanation of this paſſage, the abſurdity of which appeared a proper ſubject of ridicule to Lucian, in Diogen. & Hercul.—Heſiod's Elyſium is more agreeable.

[17] The gods, indeed, are ſometimes engaged in very unwarrantable tranſactions; but theſe are only means to compaſs ſome wiſe and juſt end, which the will of providence, the Διος βουλη, or fate, had previouſly determined. Examples alſo may be brought from Homer, of men attempting to obtain, by coſtly ſacrifices, the aſſiſtance of the gods in acts of injuſtice and cruelty. This muſt be allowed to be an inconſiſtency in Grecian ſuperſtition, or rather in the paſſions which gave it birth.

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Origin of the gods of Greece

As this perſuaſion had ſuch general and happy effects on the manners of the Greeks, it may be proper to conſider its origin, and to deſcribe more particularly the nature and genius of the ſuperſtition to which it gave birth; a ſuperſtition which, two thouſand years after loſing its imaginary authority over the uſeful occupations of men, ſtill preſerves a real power over their moſt elegant amuſements.

not explained in hiſtory.

It belongs not to the deſign of this work to ſearch for the mythological tenets of Greece in the opinions of other nations: a ſubject of inquiry upon which much learned conjecture and much laborious ingenuity have already been very laudably, but I fear not very ſucceſsfully employed[18]. By the dim light of etymology and tradition, and the deceitful glare of legend and fable, inquiſitive men have endeavoured to trace the corrupted ſtreams of Pagan worſhip to the pure fountain of the Jewiſh diſpenſation[19]. But the majeſty of Jehovah is very feebly repreſented by the united power of Homer's divinities: and the mythology of the Greeks is of ſuch a peculiar texture, that, whenceſoever originally derived, it muſt have undergone a particular modification in

[18] Bochart's Geograph. Bryant's New Analyſis. Fourmant, Le Clerc, de la Pluche, &c. Their doctrine is oppoſed in the extraordinary work of Veco Neapolitano, entitled, "Principi di Scienza nuova d'intorno alla comune natura "delle nazione." The third edition of this work was publiſhed at Naples in 1744.

[19] The general doctrine of providence, the rebellion in heaven, the ſtate of innocence, the fall of man, atonement by ſacrifice, a future ſtate of retribution, for which the preſent life is only preparatory: all, or ſome of theſe tenets, are found in the traditions of all nations, Greeks and Barbarians. See Heſiod, Oper. & Di. ver. 110 and ver. 165, and Theog. ver. 725 and ver. 220.

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the Grecian ſoil; nor is it eaſy to concur with the opinion of writers who bring it immediately from Egypt, Chaldea, or Leſſer Aſia, when we conſider that there is not the ſmalleſt veſtige in Homer of the judicial aſtrology which prevailed ſo ſtrongly in the two firſt [20], or of the worſhipping of idols, which almoſt univerſally predominated in the laſt [21].

Philoſophic account of it.

The difficulty of giving ſuch an hiſtorical deduction of the Grecian faith as would not be expoſed to innumerable objections, obliges us to trace its origin in the natural paſſions of the human heart, the hopes, the fears, the wants, the miſery of man, which have in all ages rendered him a prey to the terrors of ſuperſtition [22]. This miſerable paſſion, which, in the civiliſed countries of modern Europe, operates only at diſtant intervals, and chiefly in the unfortunate moments of diſeaſe and danger, maintains a conſtant and uninterrupted power over the minds of barbarians. The diſproportionate force of the ſame principle among rude and among civiliſed men, is aſcribed by a common proverb to the groſs ignorance of the former; but it may, with more propriety perhaps, be deduced from their precarious and unhappy manner of life, the continual dangers to which their exiſtence is expoſed, and the dreadful calamities in which the whole ſociety is too frequently involved [23]. Even among poliſhed nations, the power of reaſon and philoſophy,

[20] Diodorus Sicul. l. ii. Exod. chap. vi. Plin. l. xxx.

[21] The Old Teſtament, paſſim.

[22] Παντες δε θεων χατεισι ἀνθρωποι—"All men ſtand in need "of the gods." Hom. Odyſſey iii.

[23] Δυσυχιας επιτασις και σωτηριας απογνωσις τυχη θεων. Schol. in Homer. Tum præcipuus votorum locus eſt, cum ſpei nullus eſt. Plin. l. viii. c. 16.

phy, however highly it may be extolled when the gentle current of life flows with placid tranquillity, always proves too feeble to reſiſt the mountain torrent and the ſtorm of winter. Under the preſſure of ſudden or inextricable calamity, all thoſe, who are not more or leſs than men, have recourſe to the immediate aſſiſtance of inviſible powers; and in the ſplendid abodes of wealth and power, as well as in the American village or Tartar horde, the æra of a famine, a peſtilence, or an earthquake, is marked by ſincere expreſſions of faith, and commemorated by ſignal monuments of piety [24].

The great pillar of ſuperſtition, raiſed by the anxious paſſions of men, was fortified in Greece by a circumſtance incidental to all nations at a certain ſtage of their political progreſs. There is a period when nations emerging from barbarity, but not yet corrupted by the narrow purſuits of avarice, nor yet ſoftened by the mean pleaſures of luxury, or contracted by the dangerous refinements of a ſelfiſh philoſophy, enjoy a peculiar ſenſibility of character, which exerts itſelf in the ardour of ſocial affection, and ſtrengthens, by a thouſand aſſociations, their belief of inviſible and intelligent powers. To men, thus diſpoſed to wonder and to believe, whatever dazzles the imagination, announces the preſence of a deity; dreams and celeſtial appearances are deemed ſacred and infallible admonitions; the ſilence and thick ſhade of a foreſt fills the ſoul with religious awe; and perſons, diſtinguiſhed by juſtice and piety, eaſily perſuade themſelves and others, that, as

[24] In moſt men, true religion itſelf muſt, from the nature of human paſſions, have the greateſt, becauſe an undivided, influence over the mind, in ſeaſons of inextricable calamity.

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as the beloved favourites of heaven, they are frequently honoured with holy inſpirations, and ſometimes indulged with the viſible preſence and happy intercourſe of their Divine protectors [25]. Not only the religion but the ancient language and manners of Greece, ſufficiently atteſt the exiſtence of this exceſſive ſenſibility, which, in thoſe early times, gave an eaſy victory to the indulgent powers of fancy, over the ſevere dictates of reaſon.

The nature of the gods.

The nature, the characters, and the occupations of the gods, were ſuggeſted by the lively feelings of an ardent, rather than by the regular invention of a cultivated mind. Theſe celeſtial beings were ſubject to the blind paſſions which govern unhappy mortals. Their wants, as well as their deſires, were ſimilar to thoſe of men. They required not the groſs nouriſhment of meat and wine, but they had occaſion to repair the waſte of their etherial bodies by nectar and ambroſia; and they delighted in the ſteam of the ſacrifices, which equally gratified their ſenſes and flattered their vanity [26]. The refreſhment of ſleep

[25] Pauſan. (in Arcad.) calls them ξενοι και ομοτραπεζοι, gueſts and *companions at the ſame table*. Plutarch, in his Treatiſe on Muſic, cites as authorities Anticles and Iſtros, two ancient authors, who wrote concerning the apparitions of the gods. All that has reached the preſent times, reſpecting this curious ſubject, is collected in a diſſertation of John Gottlob Nimptſch (Leipſic, 1720) in which he treats of the number of the divinities who appeared moſt commonly to men; of the form under which they appeared; the uſual time, and general cauſes, of their appearing, and the ordinary circumſtances accompanying it. See alſo Memoires de l'Academie, vol. ix. Mem. ſur les Mœurs des Siècles Heröiques.

[26] Theſe obſervations naturally reſult from Homer; but the doctrine of ſacrifices, as expiations for crimes, ſo univerſally diffuſed over the ancient and modern world, would merit the examination of an able divine.

ſleep was neceſſary to reſtore their exhauſted ſtrength[27], and with the addition of a ſuperior, but limited degree of power, and wiſdom, and goodneſs, the gods of the heroic ages were nothing more than immortal men.

What was wanting in the dignity and perfection, was ſupplied by the number of the gods[28]. Homer only deſcribes the principal and reigning divinities; but Heſiod, who gives the genealogical hiſtory of this fanciful hierarchy, makes the whole number amount to thirty thouſand. Among theſe, every virtue had its protector, every quality of extenſive power in human life had its patron, and every grove and mountain and river, its favourite inhabitants. Twelve divinities[29] of ſuperior rank preſided over the active principles of the univerſe, and the leading virtues of the mind: but even theſe diſtinguiſhed beings were ſubject to the unrelenting power of vengeance[30] and the fates, "who purſue the "crimes of men and gods, and never ceaſe from "their wrath, till they have inflicted juſt pu-"niſhment on the guilty ſons of earth and "heaven[31]."

The

[27] Mercury ſays to Calypſo, he would not have fatigued himſelf by travelling over ſuch a length of ſea and land, without a very powerful reaſon. Odyſſ.

[28] Fragilis & laborioſa, mortalitas in partes iſta digeſſit, infirmitatis ſuæ memor, ut portionibus quiſquis coleret, quo maximè indigeret. Plin. ii. 7.

[29] The Roman religion was mere plagiariſm, ſo that Ennius might well tranſlate two lines of an ancient Greek poet, which includes the names of the principal divinities of Greece and Italy:

Juno, Veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.
ENNIUS apud Apuleium.

[30] Νεμεσις.

[31] Heſiod. Theog.

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Particular effects of the Grecian religion.

The materials which fancy had created, poetry formed into beauty, and policy improved into uſe. The creed of the Greeks, thus adorned and enlarged, became the happieſt antidote againſt the furious reſentment, the ſavage cruelty, and the fierce ſpirit of ſullen independence, which uſually characterize the manners of barbarians [32]. Yet theſe dreadful paſſions ſometimes forced their way through every mound which wiſdom had erected in order to oppoſe their courſe. Laws ſacred and profane were feeble barriers againſt the impetuoſity of their rage. The black vengeance of the heart was exerted in deeds of horror. The death of an enemy could not ſatisfy their inhuman cruelty. They burned with deſire to drink his hated blood, to devour his quivering limbs, and to expoſe his mangled remains to indignities equally odious and abominable in the ſight of gods and men [33]. The powerful influence of religion was directed againſt the wild exceſſes of this ſanguinary temper. The brave Tydeus loſt for ever the protection of his adored Minerva, by a ſingle act of ſavage ferocity. Humanity was inculcated by every precept of reaſon, and enforced by the ſtrongeſt motives of hope and fear. It was a firm article of belief, that hands ſtained with blood, even in the exerciſe of honourable war, were unworthy, till purified by luſtration, to be employed in the moſt ordinary functions of ſacred worſhip [34].

It

[32] Impiger iracundus inexorabilis acer
Negans jura ſibi facta, nihil non arrogans armis.
HORAT.

will be found the general character of all barbarous nations.

[33] See Iliad, iv. ver. 35. Iliad, xxii. ver. 347. Iliad, xxiv. ver. 212.

[34] Homer, paſſim.

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It would require a volume completely to illuſtrate the ſalutary effects of this ancient and venerable ſuperſtition, which was diſtinguiſhed above moſt other falſe religions, by the uncommon merit of doing much good, without ſeemingly occaſioning any conſiderable harm to ſociety. The Grecian tenets, while they inculcated profound reſpect to the gods, tended not to break the ſpirit, or to repreſs the courage, of their warlike votaries. The ancient heroes addreſſed their heavenly protectors in an erect poſture, with the unfeigned ſincerity of manly freedom. They expected to avert the calamities threatened by the anger of their divinities, not by inflicting on themſelves ſuch tortures as could be acceptable only to the mean reſentment of weak and wicked beings, but by repairing the wrongs which they had committed againſt their fellow-citizens, or compenſating, by new attentions, for the neglect ſhewn to the ceremonies of their national worſhip. In *their* eſtimation, the doing of injuries to men, and the omitting of prayer to the gods, were the principal cauſes of the Divine diſpleaſure; the incurring of which, being juſtly conſidered as infinitely greater than all other misfortunes, they were ſolicitous to avert it, not only by an exact performance of external rites, but by a diligent practice of moral duties. The dangerous power of oracles, the abuſed privileges of aſylums, the wild raptures of prophetic enthuſiaſm, the abominable ceremonies of the Bacchanalia, and the horrid practice of human ſacrifice, circumſtances which cover with deſerved infamy the later periods of paganiſm, were all unknown to the good ſenſe and purity of the heroic ages; nor is there to be diſcovered the ſmalleſt veſtige of any of theſe wild or wicked inventions, either in the

writings

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writings of Homer, or of his contemporary Heſiod.

The amiable ſimplicity of their religious ſyſtem was communicated to the civil and military inſtitutions of the Greeks, to the laws of nations as well as to the regulations of internal policy, and to the various duties of domeſtic as well as of ſocial life. The ſentiments of natural reaſon, ſupported by the ſuppoſed ſanction of Divine authority, generally directed the conduct of men in the wide variety of theſe complicated relations; and from one great and luminous principle, deeply impreſſed on the mind, there reſulted an uniform ſyſtem of unaffected propriety of conduct, the contemplation of which will always be agreeable to every taſte that is not perverted by the falſe delicacy of artificial manners, or the illiberal prejudices of national vanity. In order to give the clearer explanation of the ſeveral parts of this beautiful ſyſtem, we ſhall examine the political, the civil, and the domeſtic condition of the Greeks; that is, the relation of the governors to the governed, and of the governed to one another, whether conſidered as ſubjects of the ſame ſtate, or as branches of the ſame family. We ſhall combine the effect of theſe relations with that of the ordinary occupations and favourite amuſements of this celebrated people, and from the whole endeavour to deduce the general eſtimate of their virtues and defects, of their happineſs and miſery.

Political ſtate of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

The common obſervation, that power follows property, though not altogether correct[35], affords perhaps

[35] The ſame property poſſeſſed by one, or by a few, confers much greater political conſideration and influence, than it would confer if diffuſed among the multitude.

perhaps the beſt ſuccedaneum to written laws, for determining the political rights of the different members of ſociety. If we examine by this rule the policies of the heroic ages, we ſhall find that they deſerve the title of republics, rather than that of monarchies. When a warlike tribe ſallied from its woods and mountains, to take poſſeſſion of a more fertile territory, the ſoldiers fought and conquered, not for their leaders, but for themſelves[36]. The land acquired by their united valour was conſidered as a common property. It was cultivated by the joint labour and aſſiduity of all the members of the tribe, who aſſembled at a public table, celebrated together their religious rights, and, at the end of harveſt, received their due ſhares of the annual produce of the ground, for the maintenance of their reſpective families[37]. Superior opulence gave not to one a title to deſpiſe another, nor was there any diſtinction known among them, but what was occaſioned by the difference of perſonal merit and abilities. This difference, however, had naturally raiſed a chief or leader to the head of every ſociety; the frequent neceſſity of employing his valour, or his wiſdom, rendered his merit more conſpicuous and more uſeful; and his ſuperior uſefulneſs was rewarded, by the gratitude of his tribe, with a valuable portion of ground[38], ſeparated from the common property. This was cultivated, not by the hands of his martial followers, who laboured only

[36] The Odyſſey furniſhes innumerable proofs of the limited power of kings. Ulyſſes, on moſt occaſions, puts himſelf on an equal footing with his followers. It is commonly decided by lot, whether he ſhall be one of thoſe who undertake any adventure attended with fatigue and danger. Odyſſ. paſſim.

[37] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

[38] Iliad, l. xii. ver. 310.

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only for the community, but by the captives taken in war, of whom a conſiderable number were always beſtowed on the general[39]. Being accuſtomed to command in the field, and to direct the meaſures, as well as to decide the quarrels, of his aſſociates, he naturally became the judge of their civil differences; and, as the peculiar favour of the gods always attended on ſuperior virtue, he was alſo inveſted with the honourable office of preſiding in their religious ſolemnities. Theſe important functions of prieſt, judge, and general, which had naturally been conferred on the beſt and braveſt character of each particular tribe, were, upon the union of ſeveral tribes into one ſtate, or nation, conferred on the beſt and braveſt of all the different leaders. Before the various ſtates of Greece had united in a general confederacy, the reſources derived from the domains appropriated to the prince (which, unleſs there was ſome particular reaſon to the contrary, were tranſmitted to his deſcendants), had enabled the ſeveral kings and leaders to extend their influence and authority. Their comparative power and ſplendor did not entirely ariſe from the merit of perſonal abilities, but was determined in part by the extent and value of their poſſeſſions: and Agamemnon was appointed to the command of combined Greece, as much on account of his ſuperior opulence, as of his many princely qualities[40]. But whether we examine the pre-eminence that Agamemnon enjoyed over the other princes of the confederacy, which is fully explained in the Iliad, or the authority with which each prince was veſted

[39] In the deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles, Homer clearly diſtinguiſhes the domain of the king from the land of the community. Iliad, xviii. ver. 542.

[40] Thucydid. l. i.

veſted in his own dominions, which is as fully explained in the Odyſſey, or the influence of a warlike chief over the ſeveral members of his tribe, which we have already endeavoured to delineate, we ſhall every where diſcover the limited power of kings, and the mild moderation of mixed government. As in the general confederacy, the councils [41] of princes controuled the reſolves of the monarch, and the voice of the aſſembly [42] was ſuperior to that of the council; ſo in each particular kingdom, the deciſions of the ſenate prevailed over the will of the prince, and the acknowledged majeſty of the people [43] governed the deciſions of the ſenate [44]. If we deſcend ſtill lower, we ſhall find the ſame diſtribution of power in every particular village [45], which afforded a picture, in miniature, of a kingdom, while a kingdom itſelf afforded a ſimilar picture of the whole confederacy.

Their civil regulations.

The ſame ſimplicity which regulated the political ſyſtem, maintained the civil rights of the Greeks. As the price of ſubmitting to the reſtraints of ſociety, a man was ſecured in the enjoyment of his life and property [46]; his moveables were equally divided, at his death, among his deſcendants;

[41] In matters of importance, Agamemnon is generally determined by the council of chiefs, many of whom, on various occaſions, treat him with little reſpect.

[42] It is referred to the general aſſembly, whether it would be better to return to Greece, or to proſecute the ſiege of Troy. Iliad, ii. ver. 110. See alſo Ariſt. Ethic. l. iii. c. v.

[43] Several of the nobles of Ithaca even aſpired to the crown. Odyſſ. 21.

[44] In the Odyſſey, Telemachus threatens to appeal to the public aſſembly, of the injuſtice of the ſuitors, among whom were the principal nobles of Ithaca.

[45] Plutarch in Theſeo. Odyſſ. ibid.

[46] Iliad, xii. Pind. Pyth. Ode iv.

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ſcendants; and the unnatural right of primogeniture, which, in order to enrich the eldeſt ſon, reduces the reſt of the family to want and miſery, was altogether unknown to the equal ſpirit of the Grecian inſtitutions[47]. Cauſes reſpecting property were decided by the firſt magiſtrate, or by judges of delegated authority. The proſecution of murderers belonged to the relations of the deceaſed; they might accept a compenſation in money for the loſs which the family had ſuſtained[48]; but if this was not tendered them by the criminal, or if their reſentment was too violent to admit of any ſuch compoſition, they were entitled to the aſſiſtance of all the members of their tribe, who either puniſhed the murderer by death, or compelled him to leave the ſociety[49]. Theſe uſages, doubtleſs, prove the ideas of the Greeks, concerning criminal juriſdiction, to have been very rude and imperfect: but this diſadvantage was in ſome meaſure compenſated by their ignorance of thoſe legal cruelties, which in civilized nations are too frequently exerciſed, under the ſpecious pretence of juſtice. "In later times," ſays Thucydides, "puniſh-" ments became more ſevere, but crimes were " not, on this account, leſs frequent." The powerful or wealthy offender (he might have added) frequently eluded the vengeance of thoſe ſevere laws; whereas in the heroic ages, there was not

[47] Odyſſ. xiv. If there were no children, the neareſt relations, by the father's ſide, divided the moveable property: αποφθιμενυ δε δα κτησιν δατιονται χηρωσαι. Heſiod. Theogon. The ſame obſervation is made by Homer, Iliad, v.; but there is no mention of ſucceſſion to land or moveable property.

[48] Iliad, ix. Ajax blames the obſtinacy of Achilles, who refuſes ſuch compenſation for an affront, as a man ſometimes accepted for the murder of a ſon or a brother.

[49] There are examples of this in the 14th, 15th, and 23d Iliad.

not any reſpect of perſons, princes themſelves being ſubject to the ſame moderate penalties[50], which were juſtly inflicted on their offending ſubjects.

Regulations reſpecting the duties of domeſtic life.

The perfection of civil and political inſtitutions, which was produced in Greece by the influence of religion, is found in moſt countries to be proportional to their improvements in arts, and their attainments in knowledge; while the happy effects of domeſtic union are frequently moſt numerous and moſt conſiderable among the rudeſt and leaſt cultivated nations. The reciprocal duties of the governor and governed, as well as the mutual obligations of ſubjects, are gradually unfolded and enlarged by the progreſſive ideas of utility; but the tender connections of huſband and wife, of father and ſon, of brothers and kinſmen, excite, without reflection, the warmeſt feelings of the heart, and at once inſpire the affectionate ſentiments of love and friendſhip, of kindneſs and gratitude. The dictates of nature alone ſufficiently maintain the duties which correſpond to the ſeveral relations of blood; her voice is ſtrong and poſitive, in aſſerting *their* obligation; and there is greater danger that theſe ſacred ties ſhould be weakened, or perverted, by the artificial refinements of poliſhed life, than that their influence ſhould continue altogether unknown, or be feebly felt, in the early periods of ſociety.

Agreeably

[50] Thus Midon, the brother of Ajax, was obliged to fly to Phylace. Il. xv. Patroclus, for a ſimilar offence, took refuge with the father of Achilles, Il. 23. Pauſanias (in Eliac) gives examples of the ſame kind in two kings of the Ætolians; and theſe facts are agreeable to the nature of the kingly office in the heroic ages, as deſcribed by Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, l. ii. Hiſt. Rom.

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Agreeably to theſe obſervations, we find in the hiſtory of the heroic ages, the moſt intereſting pictures of conjugal love, of parental affection, and of filial duty. Theſe ſentiments, ſuggeſted by nature, and confirmed by reaſon, were ſtill farther ſtrengthened by the precepts of religion; and their force thus augmented, became ſo ſtrong and irreſiſtible, that it can ſcarcely be conceived by men, among whom faſhion, and vanity, and intereſt, have uſurped the place of more generous and manly principles.

The comforts of a family were anciently conſidered as equal to the benefits derived from ſocial union. To be deſtitute of the one, was deemed no leſs miſerable than to be deprived of the other. And the total baſeneſs of a man's character was expreſſed by ſaying, that he deſerved not to enjoy the rights of a citizen, the protection of a ſubject, or the happineſs of domeſtic life[51].

Marriage.

Marriage was a neceſſary ſtep in order to attain this happineſs, and the inſtitution of marriage was aſcribed by remote tradition to the bounty of the gods. The Greeks of the heroic ages, among whom the rights of weakneſs and beauty were as much reſpected as they afterwards were deſpiſed by their degenerate deſcendants, celebrated the conjugal union with all the pomp of religious feſtivity. The joyous band, carrying the nuptial torches, marched in pomp through the city, to the ſound of the hymeneal ſong[52]; the luſtral waters were drawn from the ſacred fountain Calliroe, and many revered ceremonies, rendered the connection

[51] Αφρηνος ανδρι μιγεντος ουτις εστ' ικεινος. Iliad, paſſim.
[52] Iliad, l. xxiii.

tion of husband and wife equally respectable and binding[53].

Adultery was considered as a crime of the blackest dye, and is always mentioned with the same horror as murder. Persons guilty of these atrocious enormities purchased impunity[54], and more frequently escaped death, by voluntary banishment; but in many cases they were punished by the united vengeance of the tribe which had received the injury. Second nuptials were not absolutely forbidden; but so strong and sacred was the matrimonial tie, that even the death of one of the parties was scarcely thought sufficient to dissolve it; and the survivor, by entering into a new connection, suffered a diminution of fame, and submitted to a considerable degradation of character[55].

Rank of women in the heroic ages.

Two circumstances chiefly have rendered it difficult to explain the rank and condition of women in the heroic ages. The Greek word denoting a wife, is borrowed from a quality which equally applies to a concubine, and the same term is used indifferently to express both. But the women who in ancient Greece submitted to the infamy of prostitution, were generally captives taken in war, who were reduced by the cruel right of arms to the miserable condition of servitude. Hence it has been erroneously inferred that in ancient Greece, wives as well as concubines were the slaves of their husbands. This mistaken notion, it has been attempted to confirm, not only by insisting on the humiliating

[53] Thucydides, l. ii. Meursius Feriæ Græcæ, and the authors there cited.

[54] Odyss. viii.

[55] Penelope was restrained from marrying a second husband: αιδομενην, συνην πωσις, δημοιο τε φημιν. Il. xv.

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condition of the fair ſex in the later ages of Greece, but by expreſsly aſſerting, that, in antient times, they were purchaſed by their huſbands[56]. But this is to ſupport one error by another. Before entering into the ſtate of wedlock, it was cuſtomary for a man to make a mutual exchange of preſents with his intended father-in-law. The Greeks had particular terms to expreſs the preſent which he beſtowed, as well as that which he received[57]. The former, which has no correſponding term in the modern languages, is tranſlated by the more general word "price," which has given riſe to the falſe notion of the purchaſe and ſervitude of women; but the latter, which may with propriety be tranſlated "dower[58]," was given as a proviſion for the wife, both during marriage and after its diſſolution[59], and was ſufficient to deliver her from that ſuppoſed ſtate of dependence on the huſband, which never had any exiſtence but in the imagination of the ſyſtematic writers of the preſent age.

In the modern countries of Europe, women are generally excluded from the ſerious occupations of life, but admitted to an equal ſhare in its gayeſt amuſements. During the heroic ages, they were not abſolutely debarred from the former, although it was impoſſible to aſſociate their natural delicacy and timidity to the warlike labours and pleaſures which formed the principal employments of their huſbands. The intercourſe between the ſexes, therefore, was leſs frequent and

[56] Lord Kaims's Sketches, Thomas ſur la Condition des Femmes, &c.

[57] Εδνα.

[58] Προιξ.

[59] Odyſſ. ii. Telemachus ſays, that if his mother ſhould be ſent from the houſe, he would be obliged to return her dower to her father Icarius.

and general, than would ſuit the refined ſoftneſs of modern manners.

Their occupations and amuſements.

The attention of women was chiefly confined to domeſtic cares, or to the practice of ſuch arts as required neither ſtrength, nor courage, nor wiſdom, but only the patient exertions of mechanical dexterity [60]. Our natural reſpect for the honour of the ſex is offended at hearing them as much extolled for their ſkill in the labours of the loom, as for their beauty and virtue; but it deſerves to be conſidered, that weaving and embroidery being, like all other arts, leſs extenſively diffuſed in Greece, than in improved commercial countries, were on this account more highly valued, and therefore better adapted to confer diſtinction on thoſe who excelled in them. They were practiſed by ladies of the higheſt rank, and even by queens, who alſo thought it an honour to be entruſted with the education of their children, till they became fit for the ſociety of their fathers [61]. Beſides theſe employments, the women were permitted to join in celebration of religious rites and ceremonies, and many of them were conſecrated to the ſervice of particular divinities [62]. In the ſeaſons of public feſtivity, they mixed more freely than on ordinary occaſions in the ſociety of the other ſex. This was ſometimes attended with ſuch inconveniencies as might naturally be expected to ariſe in conſequence of the uſual reſtraints impoſed on their behaviour. "The beautiful Polymela, ſays Homer [63], dan-

[60] Homer, paſſim.

[61] Thus, Thetis educated Achilles. Heſiod ſays poetically, that in the age of ſilver, the children continued, during an infancy of an hundred years, under the care of their mothers.

[62] Theano was prieſteſs of Vulcan, &c. Iliad.

[63] Iliad, xvi.

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" cing in the chorus of Diana, was embraced by " Mercury; but ſhe had no ſooner brought forth " a ſon, than one of the principal citizens offered " her his hand." The inſtitutions of the heroic ages promoted, with admirable propriety, the modeſt reſerve of women, while they permitted not one excuſable error to cover an amiable character with indelible infamy. The crime of having too tender an heart was not deemed inexpiable; and, as the conſequences of female weakneſs were imputed to the affectionate ardour of ſome amorous divinity, they were ſo far from obſcuring the charms of beauty, that they adorned it with new graces and more conſpicuous ſplendour.

Conjugal love.

The ſimplicity of the ancient Greeks was equally remote from the cruel tyranny of ſavages, which condemn women to ſervitude, and the intereſted refinement of luxury and vice, which regards them as mere inſtruments of pleaſure. The natural equality between the ſexes ſuggeſted by the voice of ſentiment, aſſerted by the dictates of reaſon, and confirmed by the precepts of religion, produced the moſt delicate affections that can inſpire a ſuſceptible heart: hence thoſe moving ſcenes ſo admirably delineated by Homer, which retrace the moſt perfect image of domeſtic felicity; hence thoſe pleaſing pains, thoſe anxious ſolicitudes of tenderneſs and love, which frequently degenerate into melancholy preſages of the loſs of an union to which nothing was wanting but that it ſhould prove immortal[64].

The

[64] See the interview of Hector and Andromache, and other examples. Iliad, ix. and Odyſſ. vi.

Parental affection.

The ſentiments of parental affection were proportionably ſtrong and ardent with thoſe of conjugal love. The mutual tenderneſs of the huſband and wife was communicated to their offſpring; while the father viewed in his child the charms of its mother, and the mother perceived in it the manly graces of its father. Independently of the delicacy of ſentiments, there are, doubtleſs, in all countries, ſavage and civilized, innumerable inſtances of paternal kindneſs, which, indeed, is the moſt ſimple and natural expanſion of ſelf-love. But in the heroic ages alone, we find ſincere and complete returns of filial duty. In the loweſt ſtate of ſavage life, men are, for the moſt part, little acquainted with this reſpectful affection: they fear and obey, but without any mixture of love, thoſe who are wiſer and ſtronger than themſelves. When they become wiſe and ſtrong in their turn, they diſregard the trembling hand that reared their tender years, or if any faint emotions of gratitude are feebly felt, they diſcover them in the prepoſterous kindneſs of delivering their aged parents from what appears to their own juvenile impatience the wretched load of life[65]. Among nations, on the other hand, who are ſunk in the corruptions incident to exceſſive luxury and refinement, the ties of nature are perverted or effaced; the young deſpiſe the admonitions, and avoid the company of the aged; and the duties, as well as the buſineſs of ſociety, are degraded into a miſerable traffic of intereſt or pleaſure. But as the Greeks had emerged from the melancholy gloom of the firſt ſituation, and had not yet declined into the foul vapours of the ſecond, they diſplayed the meridian ſplendour of the

Duties of children.

[65] Pere Charlevoix Voyage, &c. Lafitau Mœurs des Sauvages.

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the domeſtic virtues[66]. The reverence of children for their parents approached their veneration for the gods. The moſt violent and impetuous heroes ſubmitted, without reluctance, to the ſevereſt dictates of paternal authority. In ſuch delicate concerns as might ſeem to affect themſelves alone, they relinquiſhed their favourite inclinations, diſavowed any will of their own, and committed their deareſt concerns to the experienced wiſdom and known goodneſs of their fathers. The amiable expreſſions of filial reſpect were extended into a more general ſentiment of regard for the infirm and aged. Even among brothers who were nearly of the ſame age, the younger was obliged to yield in every inſtance to the elder; and it was an acknowledged principle of religion, that the Furies defended, by their ſtern authority, the ſacred rights of ſuperior years[67].

Occupations of the Greeks during the heroic ages. State of the military art among them.

The occupations of the ancient Greeks, whether of war or peace, were, for the moſt part, directed by the ſame ſacred influence which governed their behaviour in the various relations of domeſtic and ſocial life. War was their principal employment; and in the field they both diſplayed their nobleſt qualities, and diſcovered the greateſt defects of their character. They were unacquainted with thoſe diſciplined evolutions which give harmony and concert to numerous bodies of men, and enable whole armies to move with the activity and addreſs of ſingle combatants. What was wanting in ſkill, they ſupplied by courage. They marched to the field in a deep

[66] There is, perhaps, no other language that can expreſs, without a circumlocution, what the Greeks meant by θεσπτα, the obligations of children to repay the maintenance, the education, and the tender cares of their parents.

[67] Περισσυτερους ιεμενους αιεν ιποντας. Homer, paſſim.

a deep phalanx, ruſhed impetuouſly to the attack, and bravely cloſed with their enemies. Each warrior was firmly buckled with his antagoniſt, and compelled by neceſſity to the ſame exertions of valour, as if the fortune of the day had depended upon his ſingle arm. Their principal weapon was the ſpear reſembling the Roman pilum, which, thrown by the nervous and well-directed vigour of a ſteady hand, often penetrated the firmeſt ſhields and bucklers. When they miſſed their aim, or when the ſtroke proved ineffectual through want of force, they drew their ſwords, and, ſummoning their utmoſt reſolution, darted impetuouſly on the foe. This mode of war was common to the ſoldiers and generals, the latter being as much diſtinguiſhed in the day of action by their ſtrength and courage, as by their ſkill and conduct. The Greeks had bows, and ſlings, and darts, intended for the practice of diſtant hoſtility, but the uſe of theſe weapons, which were much employed in the military paſtimes of the heroic ages, was confined in the field to warriors of inferior renown [68]. Their defenſive armour was remarkably complete: a bright helmet, adorned with plumes, covered the head and face, a firm corſlet defended the breaſt, greaves of braſs deſcended to the feet, and an ample ſhield looſely attached to the ſhoulders turned in all directions, and oppoſed its firm reſiſtance to every hoſtile aſſault.

The effect of their military regulations on manners.

The cloſe compact combats of the Greeks were fitted to excite the moſt furious paſſions of the heart, and to embitter national animoſity by perſonal hatred and revenge. A battle conſiſted of ſo

[68] Teucer is more than once upbraided in the Iliad as a vain archer.

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ſo many duels, which exaſperated to the utmoſt the hoſtility of the contending parties; each ſoldier knew the antagoniſt from whom he had received, or on whom he had inflicted the ſevereſt injuries. They fought with all the keenneſs of reſentment, and often ſullied the honours of victory, by thoſe licentious cruelties, which are too natural to men in the giddy moment of triumph over a deteſted adverſary.

It is partly to this unfortunate circumſtance, and partly to the ancient mode of appropriating the warlike plunder to thoſe who firſt acquired it, that we are to aſcribe the ſhocking enormities which were ſometimes committed by the braveſt and moſt generous of the Grecian chiefs.

Laws of war.

That the ſeverities exerciſed towards the conquered proceeded not from the barbariſm of the age, and an ignorance of the rights of humanity, is plain from the obſervances deemed neceſſary, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, in carrying on any military expedition, or in enjoying the fruits of victory. Theſe obſervances, which were confirmed by the laws of nations among the Greeks, were practiſed before the commencement of hoſtilities, during their continuance, and after their concluſion. Before any war could be lawfully undertaken, it was neceſſary to diſpatch ambaſſadors, who might explain the injury that had been done, demand immediate and complete ſatisfaction, and if this was refuſed, denounce in form the reſolution of their community, to proſecute its claim by force of arms[69]. After they had begun to execute their fatal purpoſe, the characters of heralds, thoſe ſacred miniſters of kings, were equally reſpected by friends and foes. They

[69] See chap. i. p. 38.

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They travelled in ſafety through the midſt of embattled hoſts, proclaimed to the ſilent warriors the commiſſions with which they were intruſted, or demanded a truce for burying the dead, which could not be refuſed without the moſt enormous impiety [70]. The uſe of poiſoned weapons [71] was forbidden, under pain of the divine diſpleaſure. It was agreeable to the will of the gods that the life ſhould be ſpared, when a ſufficient ranſom was promiſed [72]. And after a treaty of peace was concluded between hoſtile nations, without any apparent ratification, but the honour of the contracting parties, the perfidious wretches who betrayed the ſanctity of their engagements, were devoted, amidſt ſolemn ſacrifices and libations, to the fury of the terrible goddeſſes [73].

Arts of peace.

From the arts of peace, the Greeks had acquired the neceſſaries, and procured the accommodations, but had not obtained the luxuries of life. Paſturage and agriculture ſupplied them with the moſt indiſpenſable articles of food, and with the principal materials of clothing. The implements of huſbandry were extremely imperfect; the plough itſelf, the moſt uſeful of them all, being compoſed entirely of wood [74], which aroſe rather from the ſcarcity of iron, than from any defect of mechanical ingenuity [75]. They employed, in the time of Heſiod, the invention of ſhears, for depriving the ſheep of their wool, having formerly waited the ſeaſon of its annual ſeparation

State of agriculture.

[70] Homer, paſſim.

[71] Ilus refuſed Ulyſſes poiſoned arrows, ſince he revered the immortal gods,

Εωει νεμεσιζετο θεους αλιν ιοντας. Odyſſ.

[72] Iliad, i. Ibid. vi. 24.

[73] Iliad, iii.

[74] Heſiod, Oper. & Dies.

[75] Homer, paſſim.

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ſeparation by nature [76]. Barley was the principal produce of their fields, and furniſhed the ordinary food both of men and of horſes. The invention of mills was unknown, and the grain underwent ſeveral tedious operations, in order to facilitate the bruiſing of it between two large ſtones with the hand [77]. Although the Greeks cultivated the olive, they were unacquainted with the benefit derived from the fruit of this plant, ſo well adapted to chear the melancholy gloom of night [78]. The Grecian ſoil was naturally favourable to the grape; but the long and operoſe proceſs by which the juice of it was ſeparated and prepared, rendered wine ſcarce and dear [79].

Mechanic arts.

Of the mechanic arts, weaving was the beſt underſtood; yet this, as well as all the other profeſſions which are qualified by the appellation of ſedentary, were practiſed by the Greeks ſtanding upright [80]; which ſeems to indicate an imperfect ſtate of improvement. The hatchet, wimble, plane, and level, are the tools mentioned by Homer, who appears to have been unacquainted with the ſaw, the ſquare, and the compaſs [81]. The art of cutting marble, which afterwards furniſhed Grecian ingenuity with the materials of thoſe inimitable productions which are ſtill the wonder of the world, was as yet undiſcovered; nor

[76] Heſiod, paſſim.

[77] Plin. l. xviii. c. xiv.

[78] The Greeks had not diſcovered any other contrivance for that purpoſe, than the burning of great fires of wood. The torches mentioned by Homer conſiſted of branches of any reſinous tree, ſplit at the end, and lighted at the fire. Odyſſ. l. vi ver. 307. l. xviii. ver. 306. and ver. 309.

[79] Odyſſ. l. vii. ver. 122.

[80] Euſtach. in Iliad, i. ver. 31.

[81] Odyſſ. l. v. ver. 234, &c.

nor did the poliſhed luſtre of this valuable ſtone adorn the habitations of the Greeks[82].

Fine arts. Architecture.

Homer mentions not the orders of architecture, which were invented in a later age; and pillars are the only ornaments aſſigned to the edifices which he deſcribes. The houſes of the great were ſurrounded by a wall, that conſiſted of two floors; the lower of which was diſtributed into four apartments, which we have tranſlated by the names of hall[83], portico, antechamber, and bedchamber, which expreſs the ſame relative ſituation, rather than any other point of reſemblance. The roofs were flat, and the doors opened towards the ſurrounding wall, while the gates of the wall itſelf opened towards the road or ſtreet[84]. The invention of enamelling metals had been cultivated with ſingular ſucceſs: And though painting, properly ſo called, was rude and unformed during the age of Homer, the genius of the divine poet has deſcribed the rudiments of his kindred art with ſuch graces as would adorn[85] its moſt

Painting.

[82] In the palace of Alcinous, which ſhone with gold, ſilver, braſs, and amber, there is no mention of marble. Odyſſ. l. iv. ver. 72.

[83] Ἡ ταξις ὑτως; ἑρκος περι ὁ πυλαι, μεταξυ δε το ἑρκιον αυλη, μεταξυ ἠν, αιθουσα, ὁ προδομος, και θαλαμος. Pollux Onomaſt.

[84] Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 441.

[85] The nobler kinds of painting are all illuſtrated in the ſhield of Achilles; and each picture diſcovers a wonderful degree of *invention*, *expreſſion*, and *compoſition*. Iliad, xviii. Perrault and Terraſſon, who thought it impoſſible to place ſo many pictures in the circumference of a ſhield, were anſwered by Boivin, who ſuppoſed a great many concentric circles. This opinion was adopted by Pope, who pretends that all the branches of painting, even aerial perſpective, may be found in Homer's ſhield. "That he was no ſtranger to aerial perſpective, appears from his expreſsly marking the diſtance "from object to object," &c. But this obſervation only proves that Pope, who practiſed painting, was little acquainted

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Muſic.

moſt refined ſtate of perfection. Muſic was much practiſed among the early Greeks. It was not of the learned kind, and therefore the better adapted to touch the heart. The effects aſcribed to it are wonderful, but not incredible, becauſe the ancient muſic was not merely an agreeable ſucceſſion of melodious, unmeaning ſounds, but an imitation and a heightening of the ſimple, natural, and pathetic tones and cadences of a beautiful and expreſſive language[86].

Sciences.

In the heroic ages men had neither leiſure nor inclination to attend to the ſpeculative ſciences. All the knowledge that they poſſeſſed or eſteemed was of the practical kind. From arithmetic they learned ſuch ſimple calculations as ſuited the narrow ſphere of their tranſactions. Aſtronomy taught them to obſerve the conſtellations moſt neceſſary to direct the adventurous courſe of the mariner: but their navigation was ſtill ſo imperfect, that they ſeldom abandoned the coaſts; and the only ſtars mentioned by Homer are the Great and Little Bear, the Pleiades, the Hyades, Orion, and the Dog Star. The metaphyſics, ethics, and politics of the ancient Greeks have been explained

ed with the theory of that art; ſince aerial perſpective has nothing to do with the diminution of objects in proportion to their diſtance, and relates entirely to the changing and weakening of colours, according to the condition of the medium through which they are ſeen. The objections of Perrault and Terraſſon, and the concentric circles of Boivin, are equally frivolous. The ſhield of Homer contains, in fact, but ten pictures. The enumeration by the particles μεν and δε fixes the number. But the poet not only deſcribes theſe ten pictures actually repreſented on the ſhield, but alſo mentions their antecedents and conſequents. This is the chief ſuperiority of poetical imitation above painting, that it can deſcribe, in a few pages, what many galleries of pictures could not repreſent.

[86] Odyſſ. iii. ver. 267, & paſſim. This ſubject will be treated fully hereafter.

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plained under the article of religion, from which they were originally derived, and with which they long continued to be inſeparably connected. The main objects propoſed in the education of the young warriors, were, that they ſhould learn to excel in the military exerciſes of the age, eſpecially thoſe of throwing the lance, and of driving the chariot, and to command the attention of the ſenate, or aſſembly, by delivering their opinion in a perſpicuous, elegant, and manly ſtyle [87].

Education.

It was not only in the council and in the field that theſe ſuperior accompliſhments ſolicited and obtained their well-merited rewards. Each community preſented, in time of peace, the picture of a large family. The Greeks lived in continual ſociety with their equals, enjoyed common pleaſures and amuſements, and had daily opportunities of diſplaying their uſeful talents in the ſight of their fellow-citizens. The frequent diſputes between individuals occaſioned litigations and trials, which furniſhed employment for the eloquence and abilities of men, in the neceſſary defence of their friends. The funeral games, and thoſe celebrated in commemoration of ſeveral important events, both of a civil and ſacred kind, opened a continual ſource of entertainment. There the young and vigorous contended in the rapid race; wielded the maſſy cæſtus or ponderous quoit; and exerted equal efforts of ſtrength and ſkill in the other manly exerciſes which confirm the vigour of the body, and the fortitude of the mind. Nor were the aged and infirm allowed to languiſh for want of proper objects to rouſe their emulation, to flatter their pride, and to employ their remaining activity. It belonged to them to offer their wiſe

Ordinary amuſements of the Greeks during the heroic ages.

[87] Μυθων τε ρητηρ' εμεναι πρηκτηρα τε εργων.

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wiſe counſels, to interpoſe their reſpected authority, and to decide the quarrels, as well as to determine the merit, of the young candidates for fame. The applauſe and rewards beſtowed on him whoſe counſels and deciſions were moſt generally approved, conſoled the weakneſs of his declining years, while his rivals, though diſappointed for the preſent, expected, on ſome future occaſion, to obtain the ſame honourable marks of the public eſteem [88].

Eſtimate of the Grecian manners and character during the heroic ages.

If, after this general review of the Grecian manners and inſtitutions, we ſhould endeavour to eſtimate their value, they would probably riſe in our eſteem, by being compared either with the rude cuſtoms of ſavage life, or with the artificial refinements of poliſhed ſociety. The Greeks had advanced beyond that uniform inſipidity of deportment, that ſullen ferocity of manners, and that hardened inſenſibility of heart, which univerſally characteriſe the ſavage ſtate. They ſtill poſſeſſed, however, that patient intrepidity, that noble ſpirit of independence, that ardent attachment to their friends, and that generous contempt of pain and danger and death, which render the deſcription of the wild tribes of America ſo intereſting to a philoſophic mind. Of two principal enjoyments of life, ſtudy and converſation, they were little acquainted, indeed, with the conſolations and pleaſure of the firſt, the want of which was compenſated by the ſincerity, the confidence, the charms of the ſecond. Their ſocial affections were leſs comprehenſive in their objects, but more powerful in their effects, than thoſe of poliſhed nations. A generous chief ruſhes to certain death, to revenge the cauſe of his

[88] Iliad, xviii. Ibid. xxiii.

his friend; yet refuſes to the prayers of an aged parent the melancholy conſolation of interring the remains of his favourite ſon; till the correſponding image of his own father ſtrikes his mind, and at once melts him to pity [89]. The imaginary wants and artificial paſſions which are ſo neceſſary to urge the hand of induſtry, and to vary the purſuits of men, in improved commercial ſocieties, were ſupplied to the Greeks by that exceſſive ſenſibility, which intereſted them ſo deeply in the affairs of their community, their tribe, their family, and their friends, and which even connected them by the feelings of gratitude with the inanimate objects of nature. As they were not acquainted with the ſame diverſity of employments, ſo neither were they fatigued with the ſame giddy round of diſſipated pleaſures which augment the ſplendid miſery of later times. Though ignorant of innumerable arts which adorn the preſent age, they had diſcovered one of ineſtimable value, to render the great duties of life its moſt entertaining amuſement. It will not, perhaps, be eaſy to point out a nation who united a more complete ſubordination to eſtabliſhed authority with a higher ſenſe of perſonal independence, and a more reſpectful regard to the dictates of religion with a more ardent ſpirit of martial enterprize. The generous equality of their political eſtabliſhments, and their imagined intercourſe with the gods, conſpired to raiſe them to a certain elevation of character which will be for ever remembered and admired. This character was rendered permanent in Sparta, by

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[89] Iliad, xxiv.

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by the famous laws commonly aſcribed to the invention of Lycurgus, but which, as will appear in the ſubſequent chapter, were almoſt exact copies of the cuſtoms and inſtitutions that univerſally prevailed in Greece during the heroic ages.

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Diſtracted State of Greece.—The Heracleidæ conduct the Dorians into Peloponneſus.—Divide their Conqueſts in that Peninſula.—The Eolic, Ionic, and Doric Migrations.—Eſtabliſhment of Colonies in Thrace, Macedon, Africa, and Magna Græcia.—Influence of the Ionic Colonies in Aſia on the Affairs of the Mother Country.—The Abolition of Monarchy in Greece.—New Diſorders in that Country.—Four Inſtitutions which tended to remove them.—The Amphictyonic Council.—The Oracle of Delphi.—The Olympic Games.—The Spartan Laws.

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State of Greece after the Trojan war.

GREECE triumphed over Troy, but it was a melancholy triumph. The calamities of war were followed by diſaſters at ſea, by diſcord among the chiefs, by ruin to the confederacy; yet theſe evils were leſs afflicting than the inteſtine animoſities and ſedition excited by the licence of the people, and fomented by the ambition of the nobles during the long and unfortunate abſence of their kings. The victorious Agamemnon had ſcarce ſet foot on his native land, when he was cut off by an adulterous ſpouſe, and a perfidious aſſaſſin [1]. His ſon Oreſtes found protection in Athens againſt the reſentment of an uſurper. In the eighth year of his exile he returned with his partiſans, and took juſt vengeance on the abominable Egyſtheus and Clytemneſtra [2]. He reigned in Argos, but with far leſs glory than

[1] Odyſſ. l. i. ver. 29.
[2] Odyſſ. l. iii. ver. 196. and ver. 305, & ſeq.

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his father; nor did that kingdom ever thenceforth aſſume its ancient pre-eminence.

Weakneſs of that country during the four ſucceeding centuries. From A. C. 1184 till 776.

The wanderings and woes of Ulyſſes are too well known to be deſcribed [3]. His patient fortitude regained the kingdom of Ithaca, but not without wading through the blood of his moſt illuſtrious ſubjects [4]. If hiſtory minutely recorded the domeſtic feuds which prevailed in other ſtates, it would probably exhibit a diſguſting picture of fraud and cruelty, and a continual repetition of ſimilar crimes and calamities would equally fatigue the attention, and offend the humanity, of the modern reader. But though it would be neither entertaining nor uſeful to deſcribe the particular and tranſitory conſequences of theſe diſorders, it is of importance to remark their general and laſting tendency to prolong the weakneſs of Greece; whoſe obſcure tranſactions, during the four following centuries, ill correſpond with the ſplendour of the Trojan, or even of the Argonautic, expedition.

Hiſtory of that period obſcure.

The hiſtory of this long period is very confuſedly and imperfectly related by ancient authors, and the chronology is throughout very inaccurately aſcertained; yet ſuch events as are either intereſting in themſelves, or had any permanent influence on the memorable ages of Greece, which form the ſubject of the preſent work, may be clearly explained, and reduced to a narrow compaſs. In order to preſerve an unbroken narrative, we muſt conſider three ſeries of events, which naturally followed each other, and which all tended to the ſame goal. In this view, we ſhall firſt examine the migrations of different tribes

Diviſion of the ſubject.

[3] Odyſſ. paſſim.
[4] Odyſſ. l. xxii. ver. 290, & ſeq.

tribes or communities within the narrow bounds of Greece; ſecondly, the eſtabliſhment of new colonies in many diſtant parts of Europe as well as of Aſia and Africa; and, thirdly, the internal changes produced in the ſeveral ſtates, by their adopting, almoſt univerſally, the republican, inſtead of the monarchical, form of government [5]. In the fluctuation of theſe commotions we muſt, then, ſeek for the ſeeds of order and ſtability, and endeavour to trace, amidſt extenſive migrations, general revolutions, and unceaſing hoſtilities, the origin and improvement of thoſe ſingular inſtitutions which tended to unite, to poliſh, and to adorn the ſcattered and ſtill ſpreading branches of the Grecian race through every part of the world.

Migrations of the Hellenic tribes or communities.

The migrations, which ſoon followed the Trojan expedition, are mentioned but not explained by hiſtorians. Their general cauſe may be diſcovered in Homer, whoſe poems, no leſs inſtructive than agreeable, can alone enable us to travel with equal ſecurity and pleaſure in the dark regions of Grecian antiquity. Domeſtic diſſention, and, ſtill more, the unſettled tenure of landed property, as deſcribed by that immortal poet, naturally engaged the Grecian tribes, notwithſtanding their acquaintance with agriculture, often to change their reſpective habitations. The idea of a ſeparate property in land is the principal tie which binds men to particular diſtricts. The avarice of individuals is unwilling to relinquiſh the fields, which it has been the great object of their induſtry to cultivate and to adorn, and their pride is averſe to a ſeparation from their hereditary eſtabliſhments. Theſe paſſions, which cover the bleak heaths and inhoſpitable mountains of the

[5] Velleius Patercul. l. i.

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north, with fair and populous cities, while far more inviting regions of the earth ſtill remain deſtitute of inhabitants, could not have much influence on a people, who regarded land as the property of the public, rather than of individuals. In ſuch a nation, men are connected with the territory which they inhabit, only as members of a particular community, and when expoſed to any ſlight inconvenience at home, or allured by fairer proſpects from abroad, they iſſue forth with one accord to acquire, by their united valour, more ſecure or more agreeable ſettlements. Governed by motives of this kind a tribe of Bœotians, ſoon after the Trojan war, ſeized the rich vale of Theſſalian Arné. The ſame reſtleſs ſpirit urged a warlike band of Theſſalians to quit the ſeats of their anceſtors. The new emigrants poured down with irreſiſtible violence on the unprepared Bœotians, who were thus reluctantly compelled, ſixty years after the taking of Troy, to rejoin their brethren in the antient kingdom of Cadmus [6].

in the north of Greece. A. C. 1124.

Twenty years after this event, a more extenſive migration totally changed the affairs of the Peloponneſus; and, in its conſequences, gave new inhabitants to the whole weſtern coaſt of Aſia Minor. The rival families of Perſeus and Pelops antiently contended for the dominion of the Grecian peninſula. The fortune of the Pelopidæ prevailed; but their ſuperiority led them rather to perſecute, than to forgive, their enemies. The deſcendants and partizans of the great Hercules, the moſt illuſtrious hero of the Perſeid line, were diveſted of their poſſeſſions, and driven into baniſhment. The exiles were firſt received by the

The deſcendants of Hercules conduct the Dorians into the Peloponneſus. A. C. 1104.

[6] Thucydid. l. i. p. 9. and 10. Diodor. l. iv. Strabo, l. ix. p. 630. Pauſan. l. ix. c. xl.

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the Athenians, whoſe more humane, or more enlarged policy, rendered Attica, ever ſince the reign of Theſeus, the moſt ordinary reſource of the miſerable[7]. Their leader Hyllus was afterwards adopted by Epalius, the aged king of Doris; and the death of their benefactor ſoon made the Heracleidæ maſters of that mountainous province[8]. But the wilds of Oeta and Parnaſſus were little fitted to ſatisfy men, whoſe anceſtors had enjoyed far more valuable poſſeſſions. Their natural ambition was long repreſſed by the growing greatneſs of the Pelopidæ, and the glory of Agamemnon. After the unexpected diſaſters of that prince, they twice attempted, unſucceſsfully, to break through the Corinthian iſthmus, and to recover their ancient dominion in Argos and Lacedæmon[9].

Their auxiliaries in that enterpriſe.

Inſtructed by paſt miſcarriages, Temenus, Creſphontes, and Ariſtodemus, deſcendants in the fifth degree from Hercules, finally abandoned the hopeleſs deſign of entering the Peloponneſus by land. But determining to uſe every exertion for regaining their hereditary eſtabliſhments, they ſet themſelves, with great induſtry, to prepare tranſports in a convenient harbour, at the northern extremity of the Corinthian gulph, which, in conſequence of this tranſaction, received, and thenceforth retained, the name of Naupactus. The warlike and rapacious Ætolians, whoſe leader Oxylus was nearly related to the family of Hercules, readily aſſiſted their labours, with a view to ſhare the booty that might accrue from the expedition. The Dorians, who inhabited

[7] Lyſias Orat. Funeb.
[8] Strabo, l. ix. p. 427.
[9] Herodot. l. ix. c. xxvi. Apollodor. l. iii. c. v. & vi.

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inhabited the neighbourhood of Mount Pindus, cheerfully deſerted the gloomy ſolitude of their woods, in order to ſeek poſſeſſions in a more agreeable and better cultivated country. Animated by theſe reinforcements, the Heracleidæ redoubled their diligence. All neceſſary preparations were made for the invaſion; yet their confidence in arms excluded not the uſe of artifice. By ſecret intrigues they gained a party in Lacedæmon; and, before ſetting ſail, they prudently detached a body of light armed troops, whoſe appearance at the iſthmus drew the ſtrength of the enemy towards that quarter [10]. Meanwhile their armament was carried by a favourable gale towards the eaſtern coaſt of Peloponneſus. The Heracleidæ landed their followers without oppoſition, and aſſailed the defenceleſs territories, to which they had long laid claim, comprehending the whole peninſula, except the central province of Arcadia, and the maritime diſtrict of Achaia. The five other provinces were conquered at the ſame time, though by different means. Laconia was betrayed to the invaders [11]; Argos acknowledged their authority; Corinth, Elis, and Meſſenia ſubmitted to their arms. The revolution was complete, and effected with little bloodſhed, but not without great oppreſſion of the ancient inhabitants, many of whom emigrated, and many were reduced to ſlavery [12].

They take poſſeſſion of five provinces in that peninſula.

A. C. 1104.

Diviſion of their conqueſts.

The Heracleidæ, agreeably to the cuſtom of that age, divided their new acquiſitions by lot. The kingdom of Argos fell to the ſhare of Temenus; Creſphontes obtained Meſſenia; and, as Ariſtodemus

[10] Pauſan. l. ii. c. xviii.

[11] Strabo, l. viii. p. 365.

[12] Herodot. l. vi. c. lii. Polyb. l ii. p. 178. Strabo, l. viii. p. 383. Pauſan. Argolic. & Iſocrat. Panathen.

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Ariſtodemus then happened to die, Laconia was ſet apart for his infant ſons, the twin-brothers, Euryſthenes and Procles. Corinth was beſtowed on their kinſman Aletes; and Elis given to Oxylus, their brave Ætolian ally [13]. This diſtribution, however, referred only to the royal dignity, then extremely limited, and to an appropriated domain to the ſeveral princes in their reſpective allotments. The reſt of the territory was divided among the warlike Dorians and Ætolians, who had conquered for themſelves, not for their leaders [14]; and who, having over-run, without oppoſition, the fineſt provinces of the Peloponneſus, could not willingly return to lead a life of hardſhip and miſery on their native mountains.

Fate of the expelled princes of thoſe countries.

Before this important revolution, Argos and Lacedæmon were ſubject to Tiſamenus, grandſon of Agamemnon; Meſſenia was governed by Melanthus, a deſcendant of the celebrated Neſtor. Theſe princes had not ſo far degenerated from the glory of their anceſtors, as to ſubmit to become ſubjects in the countries where they had long reigned. On the firſt falſe alarm of invaſion occaſioned by the appearance of light troops at the Iſthmus, Tiſamenus and Melanthus had taken the field with the flower of the Argive and Meſſanian nations. But while they prepared to repel the expected inroads from the north, they received the melancholy intelligence that their kingdoms had been attacked on another ſide, on which they thought them ſecure. Inſtead of returning ſouthward to diſpoſſeſs the Heracleidæ, an enterpriſe too daring to afford any proſpect of ſucceſs, Tiſamenus turned his arms againſt the Ionians, who inhabited the ſouthern ſhore of the Corinthian gulph.

The followers of Tiſamenus conquer Achaia.

[13] Pauſan. ibid.

[14] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

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gulph. An obſtinate battle was fought, which proved fatal to Tiſamenus; but his followers obtained a deciſive victory, and, having expelled or enſlaved the ancient inhabitants, took [15] poſſeſſion of that valuable province, ſo famous in later times under the name of Achaia. Melanthus enjoyed better fortune. Accompanied by his faithful Meſſanians, he reſorted to Attica, then engaged in war with the neighbouring kingdom of Bœotia. The Bœotian prince propoſed to decide the conteſt by ſingle combat. Thymætes, though deſcended from the heroic Theſeus, declined the challenge. Melanthus accepted it, prevailed in the conflict, and the ſceptre of the depoſed Thymætes was his reward [16].

Melanthus becomes king of Attica.

The Eolic migration. B. C. 1096.

The fermentation occaſioned in Greece by ſo many expulſions and migrations, expanded itſelf through the iſlands and coaſts of Aſia Minor. Many Peloponneſian fugitives, who beheld with indignation the calamities inflicted on their country, flocked to the ſtandard of Penthilus [17], a younger brother of Tiſamenus, who had taken refuge in Eubœa. Others followed the banners of Cleues and Malaus [18], alſo deſcendants of Agamemnon. The partizans of all theſe princes having unſucceſsfully traverſed the northern parts of Greece in queſt of new ſettlements, finally yielded to the dictates of their enterpriſing ſpirit, croſſed the Helleſpont eighty-eight years after the taking of Troy, and eſtabliſhed themſelves along the ſhore of the ancient kingdom of Priam. They gradually diffuſed their colonies from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the mouth of the river Hermus [19]; which

[15] Pauſan. & Strabo, ibid.
[16] Strabo, l. ix. p. 393. Herodot. l. v. c. lxv.
[17] Strabo, l. ix. p. 402.
[18] Idem, l. xiii. p. 582, & ſeq.
[19] Idem, ibid. & Herodot. l. i. c. cli.

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which delightful country, together with the iſle of Leſbos, thenceforth received the name of Æolis or Eolia, to denote that its inhabitants belonged to the Eolian branch of the Hellenic race [20].

Rivalſhip between the Ionians and Dorians.

Conſequences ſtill more important reſulted from the expulſion of the Achæans by the followers of Tiſamenus. The ancient inhabitants of Achaia, being themſelves Ionians, took refuge with their kinſmen in Attica. The Meſſenian fugitives under Melanthus had ſought protection in the ſame country. The Athenians readily accepted theſe new acceſſions of ſtrength, being inſpired with a well founded jealouſy of the Dorian conquerors of Peloponneſus, whoſe ambition early produced that memorable rivalſhip between the Doric and Ionic race, which ſubſiſted to the lateſt times of the Grecian republics [21]. In the reign of Codrus, A. C. 1089. ſon of Melanthus, the Dorians had already encroached on the Athenian frontier, and ſeized the territory of Megara, on the northern coaſt of the Saronic gulph [22]. Iſſuing from their ſtrong holds in that rocky diſtrict, from which it was long impoſſible to diſlodge them, they haraſſed the Athenians in a cruel war, concerning which a ſuperſtitious rumour prevailed, that they ſhould finally remain conquerors, provided they abſtained from injuring the perſon of the Athenian king. Codrus, hearing the report, was inſpired with the ſpirit of heroiſm congenial to his family. Diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a peaſant, he proceeded to the quarters of the enemy; inſulted a Dorian ſoldier; a combat enſued; Codrus [23] fell; his body was recognized; and the ſuperſtitious Peloponneſians,

Codrus devotes himſelf to death for his country.

[20] Herodot. ibid.
[21] Herodot. & Thucydid. paſſim.
[22] Strabo, l. ix. p. 393.
[23] Pauſan. l. vii. c. xxv. Juſtin, l. ii.

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neſians, now deſpairing of ſucceſs, ſuſpended their hoſtilities. The inimitable merit of a prince, who had devoted himſelf to death for the ſafety of his country, furniſhed the Athenians with a pretence for aboliſhing the royal authority. None of the human race, they declared, was worthy to ſucceed Codrus; and none but Jupiter ſhould thenceforth reign in Athens [24]. Medon, the eldeſt ſon of that admired prince, was appointed firſt magiſtrate of the republic, under the humbler title of Archon. His brothers Neleus and Androclus, probably diſſatisfied with theſe tranſactions, determined to leave their country. Their deſign was approved by the Achæan and Meſſenian refugees, and by many Athenian citizens, who complained that Attica was too narrow and barren to maintain the encreaſing numbers of its inhabitants. The reſtleſs ſpirits in Phocis, Bœotia, and other neighbouring provinces, eagerly joined the emigrants. They ſailed to Aſia Minor, expelled the ancient inhabitants, a mixed race of Lydians, Carians, and Pelaſgi, and ſeized the central and moſt beautiful portion of the Aſiatic coaſt [25]. Their colonies were gradually diffuſed from the banks of the Hermus to the promontory of Poſideion. They afterwards took poſſeſſion of Chios and Samos; and all theſe countries were united by the common name of Ionia, to denote that the Ionians compoſed the moſt numerous diviſion of the colony [26].

A. C. 1068. Royalty aboliſhed in Athens.

The Ionic migration. A. C. 1055.

During the ſame turbulent ages, inteſtine ſedition, foreign invaſion, or the reſtleſs ſpirit of adventure and rapine, occaſioned other important extenſions of Grecian colonization. The moſt numerous

Greek colonies eſtabliſhed in Macedon, Thrace, Africa, Magna Græcia, &c.

[24] Pauſan. l. vii. c. ii.
[25] Herodot. l. i. c. cxlii.
[26] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 632, & ſeq. Pauſan. l. vii. c. ii.

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numerous colonies occupied the isles of the Ionian and Ægean seas, the southern coast of Italy almost intersected by the former, and the winding shores of Asia Minor [27], so beautifully diversified by the latter. The larger islands of Sicily, Sardinia and Cyprus, were very anciently planted by Greeks. While the Hellenic stock pushed forth these vigorous shoots towards the east and west, very considerable branches extended towards the north and south. The maritime parts of Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace, themselves abounding in Greek settlements, poured forth new colonies along the European shores of the Propontis and Euxine [28]: and emigrants from Peloponnesus having early established themselves on the opposite coast of Africa, were gradually diffused from the confines of Egypt to the Syrtic [29] gulph. The history of all these colonies, some of which rivalled in arts, and others in arms, the glory of the mother country, will merit our attention, in proportion as they emerge from obscurity, and take a station in the general system of Grecian politics.

The Doric migration. A.C. 944.

The Asiatic Greeks, whose affairs first became intimately connected with those of the mother country, received a considerable accession of strength, in consequence of the renewal of hostilities between the Athenians and Dorians. The latter were finally expelled from many of their strong holds in Megara. Disdaining after this misfortune to return into the Peloponnesus, many of them sailed to the islands of Rhodes and Crete, already peopled by Doric tribes; while others transported themselves to the peninsula of Caria, which,

[27] Thucydid. l. i. & Strabo, passim.
[28] Herodot. l. ii. & l. iv.
[29] Herodot. l. iv. c. cxlvii. Strabo, l. x. & l. xvii.

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which, in honour of their mother country, received the name of Doris[30].

View of the Aſiatic colonies.

In conſequence of this eſtabliſhment, which was formed two hundred and forty years after the Trojan war, the weſtern coaſt of Aſia Minor was planted by the Eolians in the north, the Ionians in the middle, and the Dorians in the ſouth. Theſe original diviſions of the Hellenic race retained in their new ſettlements the peculiarities of accent and dialect, by which they had been reſpectively diſtinguiſhed in Europe[31]; and which, at the time of their ſeveral emigrations, prevailed in Bœotia, Attica, and Lacedæmon. The Bœotians, and Lacedæmonians, who claimed the firſt honours, the one of the Eolic, and the other of the Dorian name, adhered, with little variation, to their ancient dialects: but the Athenians, more ingenious, or fonder of novelty, made ſuch conſiderable alterations in their writing and pronunciation, as remarkably diſtinguiſhed them from their Ionian brethren; and thus the ſame language came to be modified into four ſubdiviſions[32], or dialects, which may be ſtill recognized in the invaluable remains of Grecian literature.

Diſtinction of dialects.

Peculiar advantages of the Ionian colonies.

Of all theſe innumerable colonies, the Ionians will demand our earlieſt and moſt ſtudious attention. They ſettled in a country of great extent and fertility, enjoying the moſt delicious climate, and peculiarly adapted to a commercial intercourſe with the moſt improved nations of antiquity. Favoured by ſo many advantages, they ſilently flouriſhed in peace and proſperity, till their growing wealth and numbers excited the avarice

[30] Strabo, & Pauſan. & Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxiii.
[31] Heraclid. Pont. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.
[32] Strabo, l. viii.

avarice or the jealouſy of the powers of Aſia. They were ſucceſſively conquered by the Lydians and Perſians, but never thoroughly ſubdued. Having imbibed the principles of European liberty, they ſpurned the yoke of Aſiatic bondage. In their glorious ſtruggles to re-aſſume the character of freemen, they ſolicited and obtained the aſſiſtance of their Athenian anceſtors, and occaſioned that memorable rivalſhip between the Greeks and Perſians, which, having laſted two centuries, ended in the deſtruction of the Perſian empire. In this illuſtrious conteſt, the firſt ſucceſſes of the Greeks againſt enemies far more powerful, and incomparably more numerous than themſelves, inſpired them with an enthuſiaſm of valour. Their exploits merited not only praiſe, but wonder [33], and ſeemed fit ſubjects for that hiſtorical romance, which, in the progreſs of literature, naturally ſucceeds to epic poetry.

Their influence on the affairs of their European anceſtors.

The writers who undertook to record and to adorn the trophies of Marathon and Platæa, had occaſion to look back to the tranſactions of more remote times. But in taking this retroſpect, *they* diſcovered, or at leaſt *we* may diſcover by their works, that their enquiries began too late to afford much authentic information on that important ſubject. Yet, imperfect as their relations neceſſarily are, they ſerve to explain by what concurrence of favourable circumſtances and cauſes, the Greeks adopted thoſe ſingular inſtitutions, acquired that ſenſe of national honour, and attained

Connection of this hiſtory.

[33] Τα ἐργα μεγαλα και θωμαστα. Herodot. p. 1. The exploits which he relates, ſtill more than his manner of relating them, render the work of Herodotus the intermediate ſhade between poetry and hiſtory, between Homer and Thucydides.

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attained thoſe virtues of policy and proweſs, which enabled them, by the moſt ſplendid ſeries of exploits recorded in hiſtory, firſt to reſiſt, then to invade, and finally to ſubdue the monarchy of Cyrus.

Abolition of monarchy in Greece.

During the prevalence of thoſe generous, though romantic opinions, which characteriſed the heroic ages, the authority of kings was founded on religion, ſupported by gratitude, and confirmed by utility. While they approved themſelves worthy miniſters of heaven, they were entitled to due and hereditary honours[34]; but in the exerciſe of the regal office, they were bound to reſpect the rights, the ſentiments, and even the prejudices of their ſubjects. The fatal dictates of ambition and avarice led them to tranſgreſs the preſcribed limits, and to trample on thoſe laws which their predeceſſors had held ſacred[35]. The minute diviſion of landed property, which had already taken place, not only, as above-mentioned, in the Peloponneſus, but in the northern provinces of Greece, rendered the nobles and people more ſenſible of their encroachments, which they muſt at once boldly reſiſt, or ſubmit for ever to the yoke of oppreſſion. Reduced to this alternative, the Greeks were inclined by diſpoſition, and enabled by ſituation, to prefer and to maintain the moſt honourable part. The prerogatives of royalty were not as yet ſupported by the excluſive right of the ſword, by which a particular claſs of men might intimidate and controul the reſolutions of their fellow-ſubjects. The more independent and illuſtrious citizens, who had been accuſtomed from the earlieſt times to come armed to the council or aſſembly,

[34] Επι ρητοις γερασι πατριναι Βασιλειαι. Thucydid. l. i.
[35] Thucydid. l. i. p. 10.

bly, communicated their grievances, and took proper means to remove them [36]. Miltas, the fourth Argive prince in ſucceſſion to Temenus, was condemned to death for uſurping abſolute power. Monarchy expired more honourably in Attica; it periſhed ſtill more diſgracefully in Arcadia, but was gradually aboliſhed in every province of Greece, except Sparta alone, from the ſouthern extremity of Peloponneſus to the northern frontier of Theſſaly [37].

The important, though remote conſequences of this revolution, will be explained in the ſequel. Its immediate tendency ſerved only to multiply the evils which it was deſigned to remedy. Greece, oppreſſed by its kings, was ſtill more oppreſſed by its archons, or magiſtrates [38]; and, already too much divided under the ancient government, was ſtill more ſubdivided under the new form of polity. Many inferior cities diſdained the juriſdiction of their reſpective capitals. Several of them affected ſeparate and independent ſovereignty. Each town, each diſtrict, maintained war with its neighbours; and the fanciful ſtate of nature, according to the philoſophy of Hobbes, was actually realized in that diſtracted country [39].

Accumulated diſorders in that country.

From theſe accumulated diſorders, which ſeemed ſcarcely capable of augmentation, it is time to turn our view to thoſe events and cauſes which operated in a contrary direction, and gradually introduced union and happineſs. The Dorian conqueſt of Peloponneſus, otherwiſe productive

Circumſtances which tended to remove them.

[36] Ariſtot. Polit. l. iv. c. 13.
[37] Thucydid. ibid.
[38] Ariſtot. ibid. Plut. in Solon.
[39] Thucydid. ibid.

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The authority of the Amphictyonic council extended.

tive of much confuſion and bloodſhed in that peninſula, greatly extended, however, the ſalutary influence of the Amphictyonic council. In the northern parts of Greece, this inſtitution, which had been originally intended to prevent foreign invaſion, had been found equally uſeful in promoting domeſtic concord. The Dorians being conſtituent members of the council, continued to attend its meetings after they had ſettled beyond the mountainous iſthmus of Corinth. All the provinces which they conquered gradually aſſumed the ſame privilege. The Amphictyons thus became a repreſentative aſſembly of the whole Grecian name, conſiſting not only of the three original tribes of Ionians, Dorians, and Eolians, but of the ſeveral ſubdiviſions of theſe tribes, and of the various communities formed from their promiſcuous combination [40]. Each independent ſtate had a right to ſend two members, the Pylagoras [41] and Hieromnemon [42], reſpectively entruſted with the civil and religious concerns of their conſtituents. The abolition of royalty

[40] The principal diviſions were,

1. Ionians, among whom the Athenians held the firſt rank.
2. The Dorians, among whom the Lacedemonians held the firſt rank.
3. The Eolians, among whom the Bœotians held the firſt rank.
4. Theſſalians.
5. Magnetes.
6. Achæans.
7. Phthiotes.
8. Phocians.
9. Malians.
10. Ænians or Oetians.
11. Dolopians.
12. Locrians. Confer. Pauſan. in Phocic. & Æſchin. de Falſa Legat.

[41] Demoſth. de Coron. ſect. 51.

[42] Suidas, ad voc.

royalty rendering the independent communities more numerous, increaſed the number of Amphictyons to about an hundred perſons [43]. The central city of Delphi, ſo famous from cauſes that will be immediately explained, was choſen as a convenient place for holding their vernal aſſembly; the autumnal was ſtill held at Thermopylæ. An oath, guarded by the moſt ſolemn imprecations, was adminiſtered to each member, "That "he would never ſubvert any Amphictyonic "city, nor ſtop the courſes of its running water, "but puniſh to the utmoſt of his power thoſe "who committed ſuch outrages [44]. Their conſtituents, however, diſcovered, on innumerable occaſions, that they thought themſelves but imperfectly bound by this ſacred promiſe. Every exceſs of animoſity prevailed among the Grecian republics, notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the Amphictyons. Yet it cannot be doubted that their authority tended ſometimes to appeaſe, ſometimes to moderate contention; and that this reſpected tribunal, though deficient in coercive power, had a conſiderable effect to ſuppreſs diſcord, and reſtrain the barbarities of war [45].

The origin of Grecian oracles.

The Amphictyons gained much conſideration, by declaring themſelves protectors of the Delphic oracle,

[43] Thirty-one Amphictyonic cities undertook the defence of Greece in the Perſian war. (Plutarch in Themiſtocl.) The one half of Greece, on that memorable occaſion, remained neutral, or ſided with the enemy. (Herodot. & Diodor.) If each city ſent two members to the Amphictyons, the whole would amount to one hundred and twenty-four. But as ſome cities enjoyed the right of being repreſented in that council only in conjunction with others, this might diminiſh the number of members to that mentioned in the text.

[44] Æſchin. de Falſa Legat. ſect. 35.

[45] Plut. in Cimon.

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oracle, which had been growing to importance ſince the Dorian conqueſt, and which thenceforth gradually acquired a ſingular influence on the affairs of Greece. It is ſeldom poſſible to explain the riſe of inſtitutions derived from the natural paſſions of men, or founded on prejudices as ancient as the world. The moſt probable information concerning the origin of Grecian oracles, was conveyed to Herodotus [46], in a thin allegorical veil, by the prieſts of Dodona, and explained to that inquiſitive and ingenious traveller, by the prieſts of Jupiter in Egypt. In the fanciful ſtile of antiquity, a black pigeon flew from the temple of Egyptian Thebes, to Theſprotia in Epirus, perched on a ſpreading oak, proclaimed with a human voice, than an oracle of Jupiter ſhould be eſtabliſhed; and the inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlet of Dodona obeyed the divine admonition. In plainer language, a female attendant belonging to the temple of Thebes on the Nile, was tranſported to Epirus by Phœnician pirates; and there ſold as a ſlave. Her Egyptian complexion deſerved the epithet of black among the mountaineers of Theſprotia, bordering on the Illyric hordes, who were remarked by the Greek hiſtorians for their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity [47]. She was ſaid to ſpeak the language of birds, before ſhe underſtood the Grecian tongue, often diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of human ſpeech [48]. The enterpriſing female, though reduced to captivity among thoſe whom ſhe muſt have regarded as barbarians did not yield to deſpair, but dexterouſly availed herſelf of the advantages which ſhe derived from her education and her country. In Egypt, ſuperſtition

[46] Herodot. l. ii. c. 54. [47] Lucian in Macrob.
[48] Homer, paſſim.

tion had been already reduced into ſyſtem; and a pretenſion to prophecy was one of the moſt ſucceſsful artifices by which the prieſts of Thebes long governed the opinions and reſolutions of prince and people. Her attendance on the temple had taught her ſome of the arts by which this pretenſion was maintained. She choſe the dark ſhade of a venerable oak; delivered myſterious anſwers to the admiring multitude; her reputation encreaſed; ſucceſs gained her aſſociates; a temple roſe to Jupiter, and was ſurrounded by houſes for his miniſters.

Reaſon why their authority was not conſiderable during the heroic ages.

This ſingular inſtitution was imitated, at a very early period, in many provinces of Greece. The various and inconſiſtent accounts of ſimilar eſtabliſhments abundantly confirm the antiquity of their origin, and the multiplicity of temples, groves, grottos and caverns, in which the favourites of innumerable divinities declared their will to men, proves them no leſs univerſal than ancient [49]. During the heroic ages, indeed, as illuſtrious and pious men believed themſelves, on important occaſions, honoured with the immediate preſence and advice of their heavenly protectors, the ſecondary information of prieſts and oracles was leſs generally regarded and eſteemed. But in proportion as the belief ceaſed that the gods appeared in a human form, or the ſuppoſed viſits at leaſt of theſe celeſtial beings ſeemed leſs frequent and familiar, the office of prieſt became more important and reſpectable, and the confidence in oracles continually gained ground. At length, theſe admired inſtitutions, being conſidered as the chief and almoſt only mode of communication

[49] Strabo, l. viii. p. 352. & p. 418. & Strabo & Pauſan. paſſim.

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with ſupernatural powers, acquired a degree of influence capable to control every other principle of authority, whether civil or ſacred [50].

Circumſtances which gave peculiar celebrity to the oracle of Delphi.

But theſe various oracles, though alike founded on ignorance, and raiſed by deceit, were not equally ſupported by power and policy. The crafty Cretans (apt ſcholars of Egypt), who inſtituted the worſhip of the Delphian Apollo [51], gradually procured the credit of ſuperior veracity to the predictions of the god whom they ſerved. Favourable circumſtances concurred; the central ſituation of Delphi; the vernal ſeſſion of the Amphictyons; the luſtre derived from the immediate protection of that aſſembly; above all, the uncommon and awful aſpect of the place itſelf, fitted to excite wonder in ages leſs addicted to ſuperſtition.

Deſcription of that place.

That branch of the celebrated mount Parnaſſus, which divides the diſtricts of Phocis and Locris, contained, towards its ſouthern extremity, a profound cavern, the crevices of which emitted a ſulphureous vapour, that, powerfully affecting the brain, was deemed capable of inſpiring thoſe who breathed it with religious phrenzy, and prophetic enthuſiaſm [52]. Around the principal mouth of the chaſm, the city of Delphi aroſe in the form of a theatre, upon the winding declivity of Parnaſſus, whoſe fantaſtic tops overſhadowed it, like a canopy on the north, while two immenſe rocks rendered it inacceſſible on the eaſt and weſt, and the rugged and ſhapeleſs mount Cirphis defended

[50] Herodot. Thucydid. & Xenoph. paſſim.

[51] Homer, Hymn. ad Apollin.

[52] Diodorus Sicul. l. xvi. c. 26. and Strabo, l. ix. p. 419.

defended it on the ſouth [53]. The foot of the laſt-named mountain is waſhed by the rapid Pliſtus, which diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at the diſtance of only a few leagues from the ſacred city. This inacceſſible and romantic ſituation, from which the place derived the name of Delphi [54], was rendered ſtill more ſtriking, by the innumerable echoes which multiplied every ſound, and increaſed the ignorant veneration of viſitants for the god of the oracle. The artful miniſters of Apollo gradually collected ſuch objects in the groves and temple, as were fitted to aſtoniſh the ſenſes of the admiring multitude. The ſplendor of marble, the magic of painting, the invaluable ſtatues of gold and ſilver, repreſented not (to uſe the language of antiquity) the reſemblance of any earthly habitation, but rather expreſſed the image of Olympus, adorned and enlightened by the actual preſence of the gods. During the age of Homer, the rich magnificence of Delphi was already proverbial [55]; and when Xerxes undertook his memorable expedition againſt Greece, the dedications in this pious treaſury, accumulated from the ſuperſtition and vanity of Greeks and Barbarians, were held equivalent [56] to the revenues of the monarch of Aſia, who covered the broad Ægean with his fleet,

[53] Homer has rather painted than deſcribed the ſituation of Pytho, Apollo's temple at Delphi :

Αυταρ ὑπερθεν
Πετρη ὑποκρεμαται, κοιλη δ' ὑποδιδρομε Βησσα, &c.

Hymn. ad Apollin.

[54] Δελφος is explained in the gloſſaries by ſynonymous words, ſignifying *ſolitary*, *alone*.

[55] Ουδ' ὁσσα λαινος ουδος αφητορος εντος ιερχει.

[56] See Diſſert. ſur l'Oracle de Delph. par Mr. Hardion, Mem. de l'Academ. The compariſon was, doubtleſs, an exaggeration of the wealth of Delphi, which was little known till later times, when the Phocians plundered the temple of near a million ſterling, without exhauſting its treaſures. But of this more hereafter.

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fleet, and tranſported into Europe two millions of armed men.

The particular conſtitution of that oracle.

The protection and ſuperintendance of this precious depoſitory of riches and ſuperſtition belonged to the Amphictyons. But the inhabitants of Delphi, who, if we may uſe the expreſſion, were the original proprietors of the oracle, always continued to direct the religious ceremonies, and to conduct the important buſineſs of prophecy [57]. It was *their* province alone to determine at what time, and on what occaſion, the Pythia ſhould mount the ſacred tripod, to receive the prophetic ſteams, by which ſhe communicated with Apollo. When overflowing with the heavenly inſpiration, ſhe uttered the confuſed words, or rather frantic ſounds, irregularly ſuggeſted by the impulſe of the god; the Delphians [58] collected theſe ſounds, reduced them into order, animated them with ſenſe, and adorned them with harmony. The Pythia, appointed and diſmiſſed at pleaſure, was a mere inſtrument in the hands of thoſe artful miniſters, whoſe character became ſo venerable and ſacred, that they were finally regarded, not merely as attendants and worſhippers, but as the peculiar family of the god [59]. Their number was conſiderable, and never exactly aſcertained, ſince all the principal inhabitants of Delphi, claiming an immediate relation to Apollo, were entitled to officiate in the rites of his ſanctuary; and even the inferior ranks, belonging to that ſacred city, were continually employed in dances, feſtivals, proceſſions, and in diſplaying all the gay pageantry of an airy and elegant ſuperſtition.

The

[57] Strabo, l. ix.
[58] Strabo, l. ix. p. 419.
[59] Lucian Phaler.

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The ſubſequent hiſtory of Greece atteſts the important and ſalutary influence of the Delphic oracle, which no ſooner attained ſplendor, than it confirmed, by its awful ſanction, two inſtitutions, the firſt religious, the ſecond civil, and both accompanied with very extraordinary conſequences. The Olympic games, and Spartan laws, were reſpectively eſtabliſhed by Iphitus and Lycurgus, contemporaries[60], friends, both animated by the true ſpirit of patriotiſm, and unqueſtionably the moſt illuſtrious characters of the age in which they lived[61]; yet the roads which they purſued for reaching the ſame goal, the ſafety of their reſpective territories, were ſo widely different, that, while the Olympic games rendered Elis the moſt pacific, the laws of Lycurgus made Sparta the moſt warlike, of all the Grecian communities.

Its influence in eſtabliſhing the Olympic gamesand Spartan laws.

It was held an ancient and ſacred cuſtom, in the heroic ages, to celebrate the funerals of illuſtrious men by ſuch ſhows and ceremonies as ſeemed moſt pleaſing to their ſhades. The tombs, around which the melancholy manes were ſuppoſed to hover, naturally became the ſcene of ſuch ſolemnities. There the fleeting ghoſts of departed heroes were entertained and honoured by exhibitions of bodily ſtrength and addreſs[62]; while

Remote cauſes of the eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games, and other ſimilar inſtitutions.

[60] Phlegon apud Euſeb. Chronic. & Ariſtot. apud Plutarch. in Lycurg.

[61] Lycurgus and Iphitus are commonly ſuppoſed to have inſtituted the Olympic games 108 years before the period to which the Olympiads could be regularly traced. This was 776 years before Chriſt, when Corœbus won in the foot-race. See Pauſan. l. v. Sir Iſaac Newton conſiders the chronology preceding the victory of Corœbus as ſo extremely uncertain, that he propoſes ſtriking off the imaginary interval between him and Iphitus; which appears the more reaſonable, becauſe hiſtory is totally ſilent with regard to any occurrences, that muſt have happened in the intermediate ſpace of 108 years.

[62] Iliad, l. xxiii.

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while the gods, though inhabiting the broad expanſe[63] of heaven, were yet peculiarly worſhipped, by prayers and ſacrifices, in the ſeveral places, which ſometimes the wildneſs, and ſometimes the elegance of fancy, had aſſigned for their favourite, though temporary, reſidence on earth. The lofty chain of Olympus, ſeparating the barbarous kingdom of Macedon from the fertile plains of Theſſaly, is diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral circumſtances, which ſeemed juſtly to entitle it to that honour. This long and lofty ridge aſcends above the regions of ſtorms and tempeſts. Its winding ſides are diverſified by woods, and interſected by torrents. Its fantaſtic tops, towering above the clouds, reflect, during day, the rays of the ſun, and ſometimes brighten the gloom of night with the lambent ſplendors of the Aurora Borealis[64]. Olympus came, therefore, to be naturally regarded as the principal terreſtrial habitation of the gods; along the receſſes of this mountain[65] each divinity had his appropriate palace; on its higheſt ſummit Jupiter often aſſembled the heavenly council; and from thence, veiled in a white gleam, the protectors of mankind deſcended, and were viſibly manifeſted to mortal eyes[66].

While Olympus was conſidered as the general rendezvous of theſe fanciful beings, it was natural to imagine that the partiality of particular divinities might ſelect other favourite ſpots of the earth for their ſeparate abode. The ſingular aſpect of Delphi, or Pytho, which recommended it as the ſeat of the oracle of Apollo, and afterwards of the Pythian

[63] Ουρανος ευρυς. Homer, paſſim.

[64] See the inimitable deſcription in the 6th book of the Odyſſey, ver. 42.

[65] Κατα πτυχας Ολυμποιο. Along the foldings of Olympus.

[66] Homer. paſſim. and particularly Iliad, l. xix. ver 40.

Pythian games, has already been deſcribed. The Corinthian territory was particularly conſecrated to Neptune [67]; for where could the god of the ſea be more properly worſhipped, than on the narrow iſthmus, whoſe ſhores were adorned by grateful monuments of delivered mariners, and which had continued from early times, the principal centre of Grecian navigation?

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Immediate cauſes of the eſtabliſhment of the Olympic games.

A tradition prevailed, that even before the Dorian conqueſt, the fruitful and pictureſque banks of the Alpheus, in the province of Elis, or Eleia, had been conſecrated to Jupiter [68]. It is certain that athletic ſports, ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed by Homer at the funeral of Patroclus, had been on many occaſions exhibited in Elis, by aſſembled chiefs, with more than ordinary ſolemnity [69]. The Dorian conquerors are ſaid to have renewed the conſecration of that delightful province. But the wars which early prevailed between them and the Athenians, and the jealouſies and hoſtilities which afterwards broke out among themſelves [70], totally interrupted the religious ceremonies and exhibitions with which they had been accuſtomed to honour their common gods and heroes. Amidſt the calamities which afflicted or threatened the Peloponneſus, Iphitus, a deſcendant of Oxylus, to whom the province of Eleia had fallen in the general partition of the peninſula, applied to the Delphic oracle. The prieſts of Apollo, ever diſpoſed to favour the views of kings and legiſlators, anſwered agreeably to his wiſh, that the feſtivals anciently celebrated at Olympia, on the Alpheus, muſt

[67] Pauſan. Corinth. & Strabo, p. 382.
[68] Pauſan. l. v. paſſim, & l. vi. p. 456.
[69] Iliad, ii. ver. 697. & Iliad, ix. ver. 623.
[70] Pauſan. l. v.

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must be renewed, and an armiſtice proclaimed for all the ſtates willing to partake of them, and deſirous to avert the vengeance of heaven [71]. Fortified by this authority, and aſſiſted by the advice of Lycurgus, Iphitus took meaſures, not only for reſtoring the Olympic ſolemnity, but for rendering it perpetual. The injunction of the oracle was ſpeedily diffuſed through the remoteſt parts of Greece, by the numerous votaries who frequented the ſacred ſhrine. The armiſtice was proclaimed in Peloponneſus, and preparations were made in Eleia, for exhibiting ſhows and performing ſacrifices. In the heroic ages, feats of bodily ſtrength and addreſs were deſtined to the honour of deceaſed warriors; hymns and ſacrifices were reſerved for the gods. But the flexible texture of Grecian ſuperſtition, eaſily confounding the expreſſions of reſpectful gratitude and pious veneration, enabled Iphitus to unite both in his new inſtitution.

Deſcription of the nature and deſign of this inſtitution.

The feſtival, which laſted five days, began and ended with a ſacrifice to Olympian Jove. The intermediate time was chiefly filled up by the gymnaſtic exerciſes, in which all freemen of Grecian extraction were invited to contend, provided they had been born in lawful wedlock, and had lived untainted by any infamous immoral ſtain. The preparation for this part of the entertainment was made in the gymnaſium of Elis, a ſpacious edifice, ſurrounded by a double range of pillars, with an open area in the middle. Adjoining were various apartments, containing baths, and other conveniences for the combatants. The neighbouring country was gradually adorned with porticoes, ſhady walks, and groves, interſperſed

[71] Phlegon, apud Euſeb.

interſperſed with ſeats and benches, the whole originally deſtined to relieve the fatigues and anxiety of the candidates for Olympic fame; and frequented, in later times, by Sophiſts and philoſophers, who were fond to contemplate wiſdom, and communicate knowledge, in thoſe delightful retreats. The order of the athletic exerciſes, or combats, was eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus, and correſponded almoſt exactly to that deſcribed by Homer, in the twenty-third book of the Iliad, and eighth of the Odyſſey. Iphitus, we are told, appointed the other ceremonies and entertainments; ſettled the regular return of the feſtival at the end of every fourth year, in the month of July; and gave to the whole ſolemnity that form and arrangement, which it preſerved with little variation above a thouſand years; a period exceeding the duration of the moſt famous kingdoms and republics of antiquity [72].

Its important conſequences.

Such is the account of Grecian writers, who have, doubtleſs, often aſcribed to poſitive inſtitution, many inventions and uſages naturally reſulting from the progreſſive manners of ſociety. When we come to examine the Elian games in their more improved ſtate, together with the innumerable imitations of them in other provinces of Greece, there will occur reaſons for believing, that many regulations referred, by an eaſy ſolution, to the legiſlative wiſdom of Iphitus or Lycurgus, were introduced by time or accident, continued through cuſtom, improved by repeated trials, and confirmed by a ſenſe of their utility. Yet ſuch an inſtitution as the Olympiad, even in its leaſt perfect form, muſt have been attended with

[72] See the Authors cited by Weſt, in his Diſſertation on the Olympic games.

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with manifeſt advantages to ſociety. It is ſufficient barely to mention the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities which took place, not only during the celebration of the feſtival, but a conſiderable time both before and after it. Conſidered as a religious ceremony, at which the whole Grecian name were invited, and even enjoined, to aſſiſt, it was well adapted to facilitate intercourſe, to promote knowledge, to ſoften prejudice, and to haſten the progreſs of civilization and humanity. Greece, and particularly Peloponneſus, was the centre from which the adventurous ſpirit of its inhabitants had diffuſed innumerable colonies through the ſurrounding nations. To theſe widely ſeparated communities, which, notwithſtanding their common origin, ſeem to have loſt all connection and correſpondence, the Olympiad ſerved as a common bond of alliance, and point of reunion. The celebrity of this feſtival continually attracted to it the characters moſt diſtinguiſhed [73] for genius and enterpriſe, whoſe fame would have otherwiſe been unknown and loſt in the bounḋleſs extent of Grecian territory. The remote inhabitants, not only of European Greece, but of Aſia and Africa, being aſſembled to the worſhip of common gods, were formed to the ſenſe of a general intereſt, and excited to the purſuit of national honour and proſperity. Strangers of ſimilar diſpoſitions might confirm in Elis the ſacred and indiſſoluble ties of hoſpitality. If their communities were endangered by any barbarous power, they might here ſolicit aſſiſtance from their Grecian brethren. On other occaſions they might explain the benefits which, in peace or war, their reſpective countries were beſt qualified to communicate. And the Olympic feſtival might thus ſerve the purpoſe of reſident

[73] Pindar, paſſim.

reſident ambaſſadors, and other inſtitutions alike unknown to antiquity.

State of Greece in the age of Lycurgus.

Iphitus did not, probably, foreſee the manifold advantages deſtined to reſult from his plan. His main aim was to protect the ſmall principality of Elis againſt the dreaded invaſion of more powerful neighbours. This he effectually accompliſhed by fencing it round with a wall of ſanctity, while his more daring aſſociate fortified Sparta with diſciplined valour. Yet Lycurgus had farther ends in view, when he propoſed thoſe celebrated laws, which were univerſally admired, but never imitated. Greece in that unfortunate age, preſented a gloomy picture of domeſtic diſcord. The elevated, though romantic ſentiments of antiquity, had ceaſed to prevail; the heroic character was effaced; and the generous, but often deſtructive expeditions into foreign lands, were interrupted by leſs daring, but ſtill more fatal undertakings. The introduction of ſeparate wealth had introduced inequality and ambition. Each petty prince was deſirous to exalt his prerogative, and to extend his dominions. The paſſions of neighbouring princes balanced his deſire of conqueſt. The reſiſtance of his ſubjects counteracted his uſurpations. Every kingdom, almoſt every city, was torn by a double conflict; dangers threatened on all ſides; ſubjects expelled their kings, and kings became tyrants [74].

His juſtice expoſes him to reſentment in Sparta.

During theſe tumultuary ſcenes, Lycurgus, of the line of Procles, and commonly reckoned the tenth in deſcent from Hercules, received the Spartan ſceptre upon the death of his elder brother Polydectes: but the widow of Polydectes declaring herſelf pregnant, he reſigned the crown, and

[74] Thucyd. l. i. Plut. in Lycurg.

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and assumed the title of Protector. This delicate attention to justice, rare in that turbulent age, excited just admiration for Lycurgus, which was enhanced by contrast. The ambitious princess, more solicitous to preserve the honours of a queen, than desirous to know the tender cares of a mother, secretly intimated to the Protector, that, if he consented to marry her, she would engage that no posthumous son of his brother should disappoint his hopes of the succession. Lycurgus feigned to enter into this unnatural project, but exhorted her, not to endanger her health by procuring an abortion. When her delivery drew near, he sent trusty persons to attend her, with orders that, if she brought forth a son, the infant should be immediately carried to him. This command was obeyed, while he supped with the principal magistrates of the republic. He received the child in his arms, saying, "Spartans, a "king is born to you!" Joyous congratulations followed, to commemorate which, the infant was named Chaerelaus, "the people's joy." Notwithstanding the fame redounding to Lycurgus from this transaction, the intrigues of the slighted queen raised a powerful faction against him. He withdrew himself from the gathering storm; and, being yet in early manhood, indulged his inclination for visiting foreign countries; an inclination strongest in liberal minds, and most commendable in ages of rudeness and ignorance, when the faint rays of knowledge must be collected from an extensive surface.

His travels.

Collects Homer's poems, and carries them to Sparta.

The renowned island of Crete, which had given birth to the gods and governments of Greece, first attracted his regard. The Cretans still partially adhered to the laws of Minos; but their island never resumed its pristine lustre after the

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the fatal war of Troy. From Crete he ſailed to Egypt, and carefully examined the civil and religious polity of that ancient kingdom. Deſpiſing the terrors of the ſea, as well as the fatigues and dangers of unexplored journies through barbarous or deſert countries, he is ſaid to have reached the populous and flouriſhing kingdoms of the eaſt: nor could we truſt the partial evidence of his countryman Ariſtocrates [75], did the remote provinces of India eſcape his obſervation. He returned by the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and obſerved, with equal aſtoniſhment and ſatisfaction, the numerous Greek colonies that had riſen with ſuch ſudden ſplendor on the weſtern coaſt of that valuable peninſula. The numerous advantages derived from this extenſive view of men and manners, moulded by ſuch a wide variety of religious, political, and military inſtitutions, were all eclipſed by one diſcovery—the immortal poems of Homer, unknown to the Dorian conquerors of Peloponneſus, but carefully preſerved among the Eolians and Ionians, whoſe anceſtors they celebrated. Lycurgus collected theſe invaluable compoſitions; arranged the ſeveral parts; tranſcribed and tranſported them to Sparta [76], where, after two centuries

[75] Apud Plutarch. in Lycurg.

[76] This fact is generally acknowledged; yet Plutarch tells us, that ſome writers were abſurd enough to relate that Lycurgus lived ſoon after Homer, and others, that he had actually ſeen the divine poet. Homer deſcribes the Peloponneſus with ſuch accuracy, that the geographer Strabo follows him, as it were, ſtep by ſtep, through that peninſula. It is incredible, therefore, that he, who was ſo perfectly acquainted with that part of Greece, ſhould have been totally forgotten there ſoon after his own times. Homer, it has been often obſerved, preſerves a remarkable ſilence about himſelf; yet his antiquity, were it not ſufficiently evident from the internal proofs above-mentioned, p. 44, might be proved from Odyſſ. l. i, ver. 351, and particularly from Iliad, l. xx. ver. 308.

He

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ries of wars and revolutions, the cuſtoms as well as the ſentiments deſcribed by the divine poet had been obliterated and forgotten.

The views which they ſuggeſted to Lycurgus.

Neither the aſtoniſhing invention of Homer, nor his inimitable fancy, nor the unrivalled copiouſneſs, energy, and harmony of his ſtyle, ſo powerfully excited the diſcerning admiration of Lycurgus, as the treaſures of his political and moral knowledge, which, being copied from the bright originals of an heroic age, might be employed to reform the abuſes of a degenerate, indeed, but not totally corrupted, nation. By reſtoring, in particular, the moderate ſpirit of policy, which prevailed in happier times, the Spartan legiſlator might avert the moſt imminent dangers that threatened his family and his country. The royal families of Argos, Athens, and Thebes, had been reluctantly expelled by the reſentment or caution of their injured or jealous ſubjects, who regretted that the regal power was ſo apt to degenerate into a ſyſtem of oppreſſion. The misfortunes which had aboliſhed the honours, and almoſt extinguiſhed the race of Atreus, Oedipus, Theſeus, and ſo many other kings and heroes of antiquity, muſt purſue, and might ſoon overtake, the deſcendants of Hercules, whom the ſeaſonable laws of Lycurgus maintained, during ſeven centuries, on the Spartan throne. The accumulation of private wealth, together with the natural progreſs of arts and luxury, would gradually render the poſſeſſions of the Greeks more tempting prizes to rapacity and ambition, in proportion to the decay of that courage and diſcipline,

He flouriſhed before the return of the Heracleidæ, eighty years after the taking of Troy; a revolution which, had it happened before his time, could not have eſcaped his notice.

pline, which were requiſite to their defence. The fertile plains of Laconia might again be ravaged by the arms of ſome uncultivated, but warlike tribe; Sparta might ſuffer ſimilar calamities to thoſe which ſhe afterwards inflicted on Meſſené, and the alternative of dominion or ſervitude depended on the early inſtitutions that ſhould be reſpectively embraced by ſo many neighbouring and independent, and therefore rival, communities.

The main aim of his legiſlation.

The ſagacity of Lycurgus thus contemplating the relations and intereſts of his country and his family, regarded martial ſpirit and political liberty as the great ends of his legiſlation. Theſe important objects had been attained by the primitive inſtitutions, ſo faithfully deſcribed by Homer. Lycurgus determined to imitate the ſimple beauty of that illuſtrious model; and, to the end that the Spartan conſtitution might enjoy a degree of permanence and ſtability, which the *heroic policies* had not poſſeſſed, he reſolved to avoid the rocks on which they had ſhipwrecked, to extinguiſh the ambition of diſtant or extenſive conqueſt, to level the inequality of fortune, to cruſh the baneful effects of wealth and luxury, in one word to arreſt the progreſs of what is called the refinement, but what ſeemed to the manly diſcernment of this legiſlator, the corruption, of human ſociety.

Circumſtances which favoured his views.

To form ſuch a deſign was the work of no vulgar mind; to carry it into execution required the moſt ſtrenuous exertions of perſeverance and courage. Yet, even at this diſtance of time, we may diſcover ſeveral favourable circumſtances, which ſeaſonably conſpired with the views of Lycurgus; we may diſcover in the gradual diſplay

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of his ſyſtem, how the firſt inſtitutions naturally paved the way for thoſe which ſucceeded them; and while we admire the genius and the virtue, we muſt alſo acknowledge the dexterity and the fortune, of the Spartan legiſlator.

The experience of hiſtory (and particularly the hiſtory which we have undertaken to record) atteſts the extraordinary revolution which one bold, wiſe, and diſintereſted man may produce in the affairs of the community of which he is a member. The domeſtic diſorders which multiplied in Sparta after the departure of Lycurgus, obliged all ranks of men to look up to his abilities for protection. The animated declamations of Thales, a poet whom he had carried with him from Crete, and who rehearſed, with rapturous extacy, the verſes of Homer and his own, ſingularly diſpoſed the minds of men for adopting his propoſed regulations.

His reception at Delphi.

But neither theſe propitious circumſtances, nor the merit of ten years travel in purſuit of moral knowledge and improvement, nor the ties of blood, of friendſhip, and of gratitude, which confirmed the influence of Lycurgus among the principal inhabitants of Sparta, could have enabled this great man to eſtabliſh his plan of government, without the friendly co-operation of the Delphic oracle; which, ſince the decay of the heroic opinions and belief, had become the ſovereign umpire of Greece. The Pythia addreſſed him in terms of the higheſt reſpect; heſitated whether to call him a god or a man, but rather deemed him a divinity; approved the general ſpirit of the inſtitutions which he propoſed to eſtabliſh; and promiſed to furniſh him, as occaſion might require, with ſuch additional regulations,

as

as (when adopted by the Spartans) would render their republic happy and immortal. Fortified by this authority, Lycurgus proceeded with a daring yet ſkilful hand, firſt, to new-model the government; ſecondly, to regulate wealth and poſſeſſions; thirdly, to reform education and manners; judiciouſly purſuing this natural order, becauſe men are leſs jealous of power than tenacious of property, and leſs tenacious of property itſelf, than of their ancient uſages and cuſtoms [77].

He regulates the diſtribution of political power among the different orders of the ſtate.

The firſt rhetra [78], or laws which he eſtabliſhed, tended to reſtore the mild moderation of mixed government, which diſtinguiſhed the heroic ages. They confirmed the hereditary honours, but aboliſhed the deſpotiſm [79], of kings: they enforced the dutiful obedience, but vindicated the liberty, of ſubjects. Of the reigning princes, Chaerelaus owed to Lycurgus his throne and his life, and Archelaus deemed it dangerous to oppoſe his projects. Inſtructed by the fatal experience of neighbouring tyrants, they were both eaſily prevailed on to prefer a ſecure, though limited, to an abſolute, but precarious reign. The ſuperſtition of the people could not decline the authority of the legiſlator, when confirmed by the reſpected command of Apollo; and the intereſt of the nobles

[77] The only dangerous oppoſition that he met with, was occaſioned by his laws reſpecting theſe objects. A tumult being excited, the inſolent Alcander wounded him in the face, by which Lycurgus loſt the ſight of an eye. But the perſuaſive eloquence of the legiſlator quelled the ſedition, and his moderation converted Alcander from a violent oppoſer to a ſtrenuous partiſan. Plut. in Lycurg.

[78] The word is ſynonymous with oracula, fata; by which names his laws were diſtinguiſhed as the immediate dictates and inſpirations of heaven.

[79] The difference between the βασιλειαι, or royalties of the heroic ages, and the τυραννιδες of ſucceeding times, is explained by Ariſtot. Politic. & Xenoph. Repub. Spart.

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engaged them unanimouſly to promote his meaſures. With this illuſtrious body, conſiſting of twenty-eight chiefs, the moſt diſtinguiſhed in the tribes and cities of Laconia, Lycurgus conſulted by what means to prevent the political diſſentions from ſettling in the deſpotiſm of kings, or in the inſolence of democracy. By his new regulations the ancient honours of the nobility were confirmed and extended. They were formed into a permanent council, or ſenate, which examined all matters of government, before they were propoſed to the deliberation of the people. The kings were entitled, as in the heroic ages, to be the hereditary preſidents of this national tribunal; which, as in all important queſtions, it poſſeſſed a negative before debate; as the members were choſen for life; and, as on the deceaſe of any ſenator, his ſon or neareſt kinſman was naturally ſubſtituted in his ſtead, might have ſoon arrogated to itſelf the whole legiſlative as well as executive authority.

Inſtitutes the Ephori.

In order to counteract this dangerous tendency, Lycurgus inſtituted the Ephori[80], five annual magiſtrates, inveſted with a temporary power to inſpect and controul the adminiſtration of government, and to maintain the ſpirit and vigour of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution. To the Ephori it belonged to convoke, prorogue, and diſſolve the greater and leſſer aſſemblies of the people, the former compoſed of nine thouſand Spartans, inhabitants of the capital, the latter of thirty thouſand Lacedæmonians, inhabitants of the inferior towns and villages. By frequently convening ſuch numerous bodies of men, who had arms in their hands,

Nature of their office.

[80] Their name, denoting overſeers, or inſpectors, properly deſcribes their office.

hands, they rendered them ſenſible of their own ſtrength. The Lacedæmonians felt themſelves entitled not only to execute the juſt, but to thwart the unjuſt, orders of the ſenate. Nor was their liberty endangered by the limited prerogative of the kings, who monthly exchanged with the Ephori ſolemn oaths; the former ſwearing for themſelves to obſerve the laws of Sparta, the latter [81] for the people whom they repreſented, to maintain the hereditary honours of the Herculean race, to reſpect them as miniſters of religion, to obey them as judges in peace, and to follow them as leaders in war[82].

His laws concerning property.

This equitable diſtribution of power was accompanied, we are told, with an exact diviſion of property. At the diſtance of five centuries it was the current tradition in Greece, that Lycurgus had totally altered the ſituation and circumſtances of his countrymen, by the introduction of an Agrarian law, ſimilar to that which has been ſo often, but always ſo ineffectually, propoſed in other republics, as the ſureſt foundation of liberty and happineſs. Yet the equal diviſion of lands, or, in other words, the community of landed property, and the annual partition of the harveſt, took place among the original inhabitants of Greece, as well as among the freeborn warriors of ancient Germany. It may be ſuppoſed therefore, with a high

Equal diviſion of lands.

[81] The authority of Herodotus, l. i. and of Xenophon de Repub. Spart. refutes Ariſtot. Polit. l. ii c. 5, and Plutarch. in Lycurg. The laſt mentioned writers refer the inſtitution of the Ephori to Theopompus, who lived 130 years after Lycurgus. But this aſſertion only proves that neither Ariſtotle nor Plutarch had ſufficiently entered into the views of the Spartan legiſlator. The Ephori, as it appears from Xenophon and Herodotus, and from the whole tranſactions of Sparta, formed an eſſential part of his plan.

[82] Xenoph. ibid.

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high degree of probability, that the Spartans, in the time of Lycurgus, ſtill preſerved ſome traces of their primitive inſtitutions, and that their minds were comparatively untainted with the vices of avarice and luxury. To bring them back, however, to the perfect ſimplicity of the heroic ages, and to prevent their future degeneracy, the territory of Laconia was divided into thirty-nine portions, each producing eighty-two medimni, or buſhels, of barley, with a proportional meaſure of fruits, wine, and oil. The rich paſture ground was probably left in common. The kings, as in the age of Homer, enjoyed their ſeparate [83] domain, conferred by the voluntary gratitude of their ſubjects. The ſenators, contented with an increaſe of power and honour, neither obtained nor deſired any pre-eminence of fortune. Their moderation in this reſpect was a ſalutary example to the people, the greater part of whom would naturally be gainers by the Agrarian law, while the few who were rich, for that relative term always implies the ſmaller number, ſubmitted without reſiſtance to the wiſdom of Lycurgus, and the authority of Apollo.

Introduction of iron money.

The equal diviſion of lands ſeemed not alone ſufficient to introduce an equality in the manner of life, and to baniſh the ſeeds of luxury. The accumulation of moveable, or what the Greeks called inviſible property [84], might enable the rich to command the labour of the poor, and, according to the natural progreſs of wants and inventions, muſt encourage the dangerous purſuit of elegance and pleaſure. The precious metals had long been the

[83] The τεμενος. Xenophon tells us, that it was always well watered; it probably conſiſted, as in Homer's time, φυταλιης και αρουρας, of plantations and corn land.

[84] Ουσια αφανης. See Lyſias, paſſim.

the ordinary meaſures of Exchange in Sparta, and, could we credit a very doubtful tradition, had greatly accumulated in private hands. Lycurgus withdrew from farther circulation all this gold and ſilver, a conſiderable part of which probably repaid his gratitude to the Delphic oracle, while the remainder increaſed the ſplendour of the Lacedæmonian temples. Inſtead of theſe precious metals, the Spartans received pieces of iron, which had been heated red in the fire, and afterwards quenched in vinegar, in order to render them brittle, and uſeleſs for every other purpoſe but that of ſerving as the current ſpecie.

Effects of theſe inſtitutions.

Aſtoniſhing, ſays Xenophon and Plutarch, were the effects of this operation. With the baniſhment of gold and ſilver were baniſhed all the pernicious appetites which they excite, and all the frivolous arts which they introduce and nouriſh. Neither fortune-teller, nor phyſician, nor phyſician, nor ſophiſt, were longer to be ſeen in Sparta; gaudy trinkets and toys, and all uſeleſs dreſs in finery and furniture, at once diſappeared; and the innocence and dignity of Spartan manners correſponded with the primitive ſimplicity of the iron money. But to reduce to the ſtandard of truth or probability this very fanciful deſcription, it may be obſerved, that the uſefulneſs and ſcarcity of iron rendered it, in early times, a very ordinary and convenient meaſure of exchange. As ſuch it was frequently employed in the heroic ages[85]; as ſuch it long continued at Byzantium[86], and other Grecian cities[87]. The neceſſity of cooling it in an acid, in order to diminiſh its worth, indicates its high value even in the time of Lycurgus. The alteration of the ſpecie, therefore,

[85] Homer, paſſim. [86] Ariſtoph. Nubes.
[87] Plut. in Lyſand.

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fore, probably appeared not ſo violent a meaſure as later witers were inclined to repreſent it; nor could the abolition of gold and ſilver aboliſh ſuch elegancies and refinements as ſurely had no exiſtence in Greece during the age of the Spartan legiſlator. But it may reaſonably be believed, that the uſe of iron money, which continued permanent in Sparta alone, after the vices of wealth and luxury had polluted the reſt of Greece, neceſſarily repelled from the republic of Lycurgus the votaries of pleaſure, as well as the ſlaves of gain, and all the miſerable retinue of vanity and folly.

Principle of the Spartan manners.

That wealth is little to be coveted, even by the moſt ſelfiſh, which neither gratifies vanity, nor flatters the deſire of power, nor promiſes the means of pleaſure. Upon the ſmalleſt abſtraction, if avarice were at all capable of abſtraction, the moſt ſordid might ſympathiſe with the contempt for ſuperfluous riches, which could never be applied to any purpoſe, either uſeful or agreeable. What effort could the generoſity of that people require (if the indifference of the Spartans deſerve the name of generoſity), among whom all valuable objects were equally divided, or enjoyed in common [88]? Among whom it was enjoined by the laws, and deemed honourable by the citizens, freely to communicate their arms, horſes, inſtruments of agriculture, and hunting; to eat together at common and frugal tables, agreeably to the inſtitutions of Crete, as well as the practice of the heroic ages; to diſregard every diſtinction but that of perſonal merit; to deſpiſe every luxury but that of temperance; and to diſdain every acquiſition but that of the public eſteem?

The

[88] Xenoph. ibid. c. vi.

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Ordinary occupations and amuſements.

The general and firm aſſent to the divine miſſion of Lycurgus might excite the moſt generous and manly ſentiments in the minds of his countrymen. The perſuaſive force of his eloquence, aſſiſted by the lyric genius of Thales, a poet worthy of Apollo and his miſſionary[89], might enable the legiſlator to complete his beneficial and extenſive plan. But there was reaſon to apprehend leſt the ſyſtem of Lycurgus, like moſt ſchemes of reformation, ſhould evaporate with the enthuſiaſm which produced it, unleſs the mortifications which it enjoined were rendered habitual to practice, and familiar to fancy. His laws were few and ſhort; for the ſake of memory they were conceived in verſe; they were not conſigned to writing, but treaſured in the *hearts* of his diſciples as the immediate dictates of heaven. The Lacedæmonians were ſeverely prohibited from the contagious intercourſe of ſtrangers, except at the ſtated returns of religious ſolemnities. Lycurgus, who had aſſiſted Iphitus in reſtoring the Olympic games, inſtituted ſimilar, though leſs ſplendid, feſtivals in his native country. When unemployed in the ſerious buſineſs of war, the Lacedæmonians were continually engaged in aſſemblies for converſation and the gymnaſtic exerciſes, or in religious and military amuſements. Agriculture and the mechanic arts were left to the ſervile hands of the Helots, under which appellation were comprehended (as will be explained hereafter) various hoſtile communities that ſucceſſively fell under the dominion of Sparta, and whoſe perſonal labour was regarded as the common property of the public[90]. The ſciences of war and government were recommended

[89] Plut. in Lycurg.

[90] Και τροπον τινα δημοσιους ειχον δουλους. "And, in ſome meaſure, they," the Lacedæmonians, "had public ſlaves." Strabo. See likewiſe Ariſtot. Repub. l. 2. c. 5.

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mended by the laws of Lycurgus, as the only purſuits deſerving the attention of freemen.

Their military inſtitutions.

In the knowledge and practice of war, the Lacedæmonians (if we believe Xenophon, who had fought with, and againſt, them) far excelled all Greeks and Barbarians. Courage, the firſt quality of a ſoldier, was enlivened by every motive that can operate moſt powerfully on the mind, while cowardice was branded as the moſt odious and deſtructive of crimes, on the principle that it tended, not like many other vices, merely to the hurt of individuals, but to the ſervitude and ruin of the community. The Spartans preſerved the uſe of the ſame weapons and defenſive armour that had been adopted in the heroic ages; ſhortening only the length, and thereby improving the form, of the ſword, which was two-edged, pointed, maſſy, and fitted either by cutting or thruſting to inflict a dangerous wound [91]. Their troops were divided into regiments, conſiſting of five hundred and twelve men, ſubdivided into four companies, and each of theſe into ſmaller diviſions, commanded by their reſpective officers; for it was peculiar to the Lacedæmonian armies to contain, comparatively, few men not entruſted with ſome ſhare of ſubordinate command [92]. The

[91] Vid. Pollux, voc. ξυηλον.

[92] Thucydides, who remarks this peculiarity, l. v. p. 390, aſſigns the reaſon of it, that the care of the execution might pertain to many. The whole Lacedæmonian army, except a few, conſiſted, he ſays, in αρχοντες αρχοντων, και το επιμελες τε δρωμενε πολλοις προσηκει. It is neceſſary to obſerve, that the account given by Thucydides, in this paſſage, of the compoſition of the Lacedæmonian army, differs materially from that of Xenophon. I have preferred the latter, firſt, becauſe Xenophon writes expreſsly on the ſubject, of which Thucydides ſpeaks incidentally in deſcribing a particular battle: ſecondly, becauſe the obſervations of Xenophon relate to the age of Lycurgus, thoſe of Thucydides to the time of the Peloponneſian

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The ſoldiers were attended by a multitude of artiſans and ſlaves, who furniſhed them with all neceſſary ſupplies, and accompanied by a long train of prieſts and poets, who flattered their hopes, and animated their valour. A body of cavalry always preceded their march; ſenſible of the weakneſs of angles, they encamped in a circular form: the order of their guards and watches was highly judicious; they employed, for their ſecurity, out-ſentries and vedettes; and regularly, every morning and evening, performed their cuſtomary exerciſes. Xenophon has deſcribed with what facility they wheeled in all directions; converted the column of march into an order of battle; and, by ſkilful and rapid evolutions, preſented the ſtrength [93] of the line to an unexpected aſſault. When *they* found it prudent to attack, the king, who uſually roſe before dawn, to anticipate, by early prayer and ſacrifice, [94], the favour of the gods, communicated his orders to charge in a full line, or in columns, according to the nature of the ground, and the numbers and diſpoſition of the enemy. In the day of battle, the Spartans aſſumed an unuſual gaiety of aſpect; and diſplayed, in their dreſs and ornaments, more than their wonted ſplendour. Their long hair was arranged with ſimple elegance; their ſcarlet uniforms, and brazen armour, diffuſed a luſtre around them. As they approached the enemy, the king ſacrificed anew; the muſic ſtruck

ſian war: thirdly, becauſe, as will appear in the ſequel, Xenophon had a better opportunity than any other ſtranger, of being acquainted with the affairs of Lacedæmon.

[93] The Lacedæmonian tactics will be explained more particularly hereafter.

[94] Ου χρη παννυχιον ευδειν βουληφορον ανδρα
Οι λαοι επιτετραφαται και τοσσα μεμηλε.

Lycurgus, never loſing ſight of Homer, converted his advices into laws.

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ſtruck up; and the ſoldiers advanced with a ſlow and ſteady pace, and with a chearful but deliberate countenance, to what they were taught to regard as the nobleſt employment of man. Proper officers were appointed to receive the priſoners, to divide the ſpoil, and to decide the conteſted prizes of valour. Both before and after, as well as during, the action, every meaſure was conducted with ſuch order and celerity, that a great captain declares, that when he conſidered the diſcipline of the Spartans, all other nations appeared but children in the art of war [95].

Means by which Lycurgus maintained the populouſneſs, and increaſed the ſtrength, of Sparta.

But that continual exerciſe in arms, which improved the ſkill and confirmed the valour, muſt gradually have exhauſted the ſtrength, of Sparta, unleſs the care of population had formed an object of principal concern in the ſyſtem of Lycurgus. Marriage was directly enjoined by ſome very ſingular inſtitutions [96]; but ſtill more powerfully encouraged by extirpating its greateſt enemies, luxury and vanity. But Lycurgus, not contented with maintaining the populouſneſs of Sparta, endeavoured to ſupply the paſt generation with a nobler and more warlike race, and to enlarge and elevate the bodies and minds of men to that full proportion of which their nature is ſuſceptible. The credulous love of wonder has always been eager to aſſert, what the vanity of every age has been unwilling to believe, that the ancient inhabitants of the world poſſeſſed a meaſure of ſize and ſtrength, as well as of courage and virtue, unattainable and unknown amidſt the corruptions and degeneracy of later times. The

[95] Xenoph. de Repub. Spart.

[96] Batchelors were debarred from aſſiſting at the female dances. They were compelled to walk naked through the ſtreets in the winter ſolſtice, ſinging a ludicrous ſong, which confeſſed the juſtice of their puniſhment.

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The frequent repetition of the ſame romantic tale renders giants and heroes familiar and inſipid perſonages in the remote hiſtory of almoſt every people; but from the general maſs of fable, a juſt diſcernment will ſeparate the genuine ore of Homer and Lycurgus. The laws of the latter brought back the heroic manners which the former had deſcribed; and their effects, being not leſs permanent than ſalutary, are, at the diſtance of many centuries, atteſted by eye-witneſſes, whoſe unimpeached veracity declares the Spartans ſuperior to other men in the excellencies of mind and body [97].

His regulations concerning women, marriage, and children.

Of this extraordinary circumſtance, the evidence of contemporary writers could ſcarcely convince us, if they had barely mentioned the fact, without explaining its cauſe. But in deſcribing the ſyſtem of Lycurgus, they have not omitted his important regulations concerning the intercourſe between the ſexes, women, marriage, and children, whoſe welfare was, even before their birth, a concern to the republic. The generous and brave, it is ſaid, produce the brave and good; but the phyſical qualities of children ſtill more depend on the conſtitution of their parents. In other countries of Greece, the men were liberally formed by war, hunting, and the gymnaſtic exerciſes; but the women were univerſally condemned to drudge in ſedentary and ignoble occupations, which enfeebled the mind and body. Their chief employment was to ſuperintend, more frequently to perform, the meaneſt offices of domeſtic œconomy, and to prepare, by the labour of their hands,

[97] As to the mind, the Spartans were, ſays Xenophon, ευπειθεςεροι, και αιδημονεςεροι, και ὠν δει εγκρατεςεροι. Ibid. c. iii. And as to the body, Διαφεροντας και κατα μεγιθος και κατα ισχυν ανδρας εν Σπαρτη απετελησεν. Ibid.

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hands, food and raiment for themſelves and families. Their diet was coarſe and ſparing; they abſtained from the uſe of wine, were deprived of liberal education, and debarred from faſhionable amuſements. Women, thus degraded by ſervility, appeared incapable of giving good ſons to the republic, which Lycurgus regarded as the principal duty of the Lacedæmonian females. By the inſtitutions of Sparta, therefore, the working of wool, the labours of the loom and needle, and other mean mechanical arts, were generally committed to ſervile hands. The free-born women enjoyed and practiſed theſe liberal exerciſes and amuſements, which were elſewhere conſidered as the peculiar privilege of men; they aſſiſted at the public ſolemnities, mingled in general converſation, and diſpenſed that applauſe and reproach, which diſpenſed by them are always moſt effectual [98]. Hence they became not only the companions but the judges of the other ſex; and, except that their natural delicacy was not aſſociated to the honours of war, enjoyed all the benefit, without feeling the reſtraint, of the Spartan laws.

The reſtoration of the natural rights of women reſtored moderation and modeſty in the intercourſe between the ſexes. Marriage, though enjoined as a duty, could only be contracted in the full vigour of age; and theſe ſimple inſtitutions had a more ſalutary influence on the phyſical improvement of the Spartans, than either the doubtful expedient, which prevailed among them to the lateſt

[98] This likewiſe was the buſineſs of women in the heroic ages.

Αλλα μαλα αινως
Ανδιομαι Τρωας και Τρωαδας ιλκεσιπεπλους,
Αικε, κακος ὡς, νοσφιν αλυσκαζω πολεμοιο.
Il. l. vi. ver. 443.

lateſt times, of adorning the women's apartments with the fineſt ſtatues of gods and heroes, that, by frequently contemplating theſe graceful images, they might produce fairer offspring: or the unnatural and deteſtable cruelty of expoſing delicate or deformed children, a practice ſtrongly recommended by Lycurgus, and ſilently approved, or faintly blamed, by the greateſt philoſophers of antiquity.

Even in a moral view, the character of Spartan mothers muſt have been highly beneficial to their ſons; ſince much of the happineſs of life depends on the firſt impreſſions of our tender years. When boys were emancipated from the juriſdiction of women, they were not intruſted, as in other parts of Greece, to the mercenary tuition of ſlaves, who might degrade their ſentiments, and corrupt their morals. The education of youth, as an office of the higheſt confidence, was committed to thoſe who had enjoyed, or who were entitled to enjoy, the moſt ſplendid dignities of the republic; after the example of ancient times, when Phœnix educated Achilles, and when it was reaſonably required that the maſter ſhould himſelf poſſeſs the virtues with which he undertook to inſpire his diſciples. The Spartan youth were taught muſic and drawing; the former of which comprehended the ſcience not only of ſounds, but of number and quantity: they were taught to read and ſpeak their own language with graceful propriety; to compoſe in proſe and in verſe; above all, to think, and in whatever they ſaid, even during the flow of unguarded converſation, to accommodate the expreſſion to the ſentiment [99]. Their

Educa-tion.

[99] In the ſmart pithy ſentences, or apothegms, for which the Spartans were famous, the thought is ſometimes elegant, and

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Their ſedentary ſtudies were relieved by the orcheſtric and gymnaſtic exerciſes, the early practice of which might qualify them for the martial labours of the field. For this moſt important buſineſs of their manhood they were ſtill further prepared, by being enured, even in their tender years, to a life of hardſhip and ſeverity. They wore the ſame garment, ſummer and winter; they walked barefooted in all ſeaſons; their diet was plain and frugal, and for the moſt part ſo ſparing, that they loſt no opportunity to ſupply the defect. What they were unable to raviſh by force, they acquired by fraud. When their theft (if theft can be practiſed where ſeparate property is almoſt unknown) was diſcovered, they were ſeverely puniſhed; but if their dexterous deceit eſcaped obſervation, they were allowed to boaſt of their ſucceſs, and met with due applauſe for their activity, vigilance, and caution; which indicated a character well fitted to excel in the uſeful ſtratagems of war [100].

Peculiar diſcipline of the youth.

After attaining the ordinary branches of education, youth are frequently left the maſters of their own actions. Of all practical errors, Lycurgus deemed this the moſt dangerous. His diſcernment perceived the value of that moſt important period of life, which intervenes between childhood and virility; and the whole force of his diſcipline was applied to its direction and improvement. Inſtead of being looſened from the uſual ties of authority, the Spartans, at the age of adoleſcence, were ſubjected to a more rigorous reſtraint; and the moſt extraordinary expedients were employed to moderate the love of pleaſure, to

and ſometimes ingenious; but their merit depends for the moſt part on the obſervance of the rule in the text. See Plut. Apoth.

[100] Beſides Xenophon and Plutarch, ſee, for the Spartan education, Plato in Protagor.

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to correct the insolence of inexperience, and to controul the headstrong impetuosity of other youthful passions. Their bodies were early familiarised to fatigue, hunger, and watching; their minds were early accustomed to difficulty and danger. The laborious exercise of the chace formed their principal amusement; at stated times, the magistrates took an account of their actions, and carefully examined their appearance. If the seeds of their vicious appetites had not been thoroughly eradicated by a life of habitual toil and tempeance, they were subjected to corporal punishment, which it was their custom to endure with patient fortitude. The maxims of honour were instilled by precept, and enforced by example. The public tables, which were frequented by all ages, served as so many schools of wisdom and virtue, where, on ordinary occasions, but more particularly on days of festivity, the old related their ancient exploits, and boasted their past proweſs; those in the vigour of life displayed the sentiments which their manly courage inspired; and the young expressed a modest confidence that, by stedfastly adhering to the precepts of Lycurgus, they might be enabled in due time to equal, perhaps to surpass, the glory of both.

Their emulation.

But the desire of emulating the fame of their illustrious ancestors was not the most ardent principle that animated the minds of the rising generation. They were taught to vie with each other in every agreeable and useful accomplishment. As they were publicly educated in separate classes, according to their respective ages of childhood, adolescence, and puberty [101], their characters were

[101] I have chosen these words to express the successive ages of the παις, μειρακιον, εφηβος. They continued νεανιτις till 46,

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exactly aſcertained, and fully known; and the rewards and honours gradually beſtowed on them, were apportioned to the various degrees of excellence which they had previouſly diſcovered. When they attained the verge of manhood, three youths of ſuperior merit were named by the Ephori, that they might reſpectively chooſe, each an hundred of their companions, who ſhould be entitled to the honourable diſtinction of ſerving in the cavalry. The reaſons of preference and rejection were openly explained; and the youths who had been ſet aſide, became, from that moment, the rivals and opponents both of the electors and of the elected. At home and abroad, in the aſſemblies for converſation and exerciſe, in the gymnaſtic and muſical conteſts, in their military expeditions, as well as their martial amuſements, the two parties diſplayed the utmoſt emulation and ardour, the one to regain the equality which they had loſt, the other to maintain their aſcendant. They ſeldom rencountered in the ſtreets or walks, without diſcovering their animoſity in mutual reproaches, and ſometimes in blows. But theſe quarrels were not dangerous, either to the ſafety of the public, or to the perſons of individuals, becauſe the combatants were obliged to ſeparate (under the pain of puniſhment and diſgrace) at the peaceful ſummons of every by-ſtander; and the reſpected admonitions of age controlled, on ſuch occaſions, the youthful fermentation of turbulent paſſions.

The paternal authority in Sparta.

The reverence of aged wiſdom, which formed the prevailing ſentiment of the heroic times, was reſtored by the legiſlation of Lycurgus, and employed as a main pillar of his political edifice. The renovation of limited government, the equal partition

46, which was reckoned by the Greeks and Romans the beginning of old age. Vid. Cic. de Senectute.

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tition of lands, and the abolition of wealth and luxury, had removed the artificial ſources of half the miſeries and diſgrace of human kind. But Lycurgus conſidered his ſyſtem as incomplete, until he had levelled not only the artificial, but many of the natural inequalities, in the condition of his fellow-citizens. The fears and infirmities of the old were compenſated by honour and reſpect; the hopes and vigour of the young were balanced by obedience and reſtraint. The difference of years thus occaſioned little diſproportion of enjoyment; the happineſs of every age depended on the practice of virtue; and as all adventitious and accidental diſtinctions were removed, men perceived the importance of perſonal merit, and of its reward, the public eſteem, and eagerly graſped the advantages which glory confers; the only excluſive advantages which the laws of Lycurgus permitted them to enjoy. The paternal authority [102], which maintained the diſcipline, and promoted the grandeur of Rome, was firmly eſtabliſhed at Sparta, where every father might exerciſe an unlimited power, over not only his own, but the children of others, who were all alike regarded as the common ſons of the republic. This domeſtic ſuperiority naturally prepared the way for civil pre-eminence; the elective dignities of the ſtate were obtained only by men of experienced wiſdom; and it required ſixty years of laborious virtue to be entitled to a ſeat in the ſenate-houſe, the higheſt ambition of the Spartan chiefs. Such regulations, of which it is impoſſible to miſtake the ſpirit, had a direct tendency to produce moderation and firmneſs in the public councils, to controul the too impetuous ardour of a warlike people, to allay the ferment of domeſtic faction,

[102] The "patria poteſtas."

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and to check the dangerous ambition of foreign conqueſt. The power of the magiſtrate was confounded with the authority of the parent; they mutually aſſiſted and ſtrengthened each other, and their united influence long upheld the unſhaken fabric of the Spartan laws, which the old felt it their intereſt to maintain, and the young deemed it their glory to obey.

Coincidence of the inſtitutions of Lycurgus with thoſe of the heroic ages.

Such were the celebrated inſtitutions of Lycurgus, which are eminently diſtinguiſhed by the ſimplicity of their deſign, the exact adaptation of their parts, and the uniform conſiſtence of the whole, from the political eſtabliſhments of other countries, which are commonly the irregular and motley production of time and accident. Without a careful examination of the whole ſyſtem, it is impoſſible to ſeize the ſpirit of particular laws. But if the whole be attentively conſidered, we ſhall perceive that they contain nothing ſo original or ſo ſingular as is generally believed. From the innumerable coincidencies that have been remarked between the heroic and the Spartan diſcipline, there ſeems ſufficient ground to conclude that the one was borrowed from the other; and if we accurately contemplate the genius of both, we may diſcern that they tended not (as has been often ſaid) to ſtop and interrupt, but only to divert, the natural current of human propenſities and paſſions. The deſire of wealth and of power, of effeminate eaſe, of frivolous amuſements, and of all the artificial advantages and enjoyments of ſociety, are only ſo many ramifications of the love of action and of pleaſure; paſſions which it would be impoſſible to eradicate without deſtroying the whole vigour of the mind. Yet theſe propenſities, which it is often the vain boaſt of philoſophy to ſubdue, policy may direct to new and more exalted

Spirit of both.

exalted objects. For the ſordid occupations of intereſt may be ſubſtituted the manly purſuits of honour; the love of virtuous praiſe, may controul the deſire of vicious indulgence; and the impreſſions of early inſtitution, confirmed by example and habit, may render the great duties of life its principal employment and pleaſure.

Fate of the Spartan inſtitutions.

Such a condition of ſociety ſeems the higheſt elevation and grandeur to which human nature can aſpire. The Spartans attained, and long preſerved, this ſtate of exaltation; but ſeveral circumſtances and events, which the wiſdom of Lycurgus [103] had foreſeen, but which no human power could prevent, undermined the foundation of their greatneſs and felicity. Their military proweſs gave them victory, ſlaves, and wealth; and though individuals could feel only the pride of virtue, and enjoy only the luxury of glory, the public embibed the ſpirit of rapacity, and the ambition of conqueſt. As in other countries the vices of individuals corrupt the community, in Laconia the vices of the public corrupted individuals. This unfortunate tendency was increaſed by the inequality of the cities originally ſubject to the Lacedæmonian laws. Sparta, the capital, contained nearly a fourth part of the inhabitants of the whole territory; the reſt were divided among thirty, and afterwards eighteen ſubordinate towns [104]. The ſuperior numbers of the Spartans enlarged their ſphere of competition, and increaſed their ardour of emulation. They ſoon ſurpaſſed their neighbours, not only in valour and addreſs, but in dignity and in power. All matters

[103] Lycurgus had formed Sparta for defence, not for conqueſt. He expreſsly forbade them to purſue a flying enemy; he forbade them to engage frequently in war with the ſame people. Both injunctions were violated in the Meſſenian wars.

[104] Strabo, l. viii.

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ters of importance were decided in the leſſer aſſembly; the greater was ſeldom ſummoned; and the members of the former, inſtead of continuing the equals, became the maſters, and at length the tyrants, of their Lacedæmonian brethren. The uſurpation of power fomented their deſire of wealth; ſeveral lots were accumulated by the ſame perſons as early as the Perſian war [105]; and the neceſſity of defending their poſſeſſions, and their authority, againſt men who had arms in their hands and reſentment in their hearts, rendered their government uncommonly rigid and ſevere. The ſlaves, the freed-men [106], the tenants of the Laconic territory, and even ſuch of the inhabitants of the capital as, on account of their poverty, cowardice, or any other diſgraceful circumſtance, were debarred from the dignities of the republic [107], teſtified the keeneſt animoſity againſt the ſtern pride of the Spartan magiſtrates, and, to uſe the lively but indelicate expreſſion of Xenophon, would have devoured them raw [108]. The Spartans, however, ſtill maintained their ſuperiority by force or by fraud, by ſeaſonable compliance, or by prompt and judicious ſeverity. By dividing the ſtrength they diſarmed the fury of their enemies, and the flames of domeſtic diſcord were eclipſed by the ſplendour of foreign conqueſt, by which both the magiſtrates and the ſubjects were enriched and corrupted; yet, amidſt their

[105] Demaratus told Xerxes that there were but eight thouſand Spartan lots (Herodot.) and about a century afterwards ther number was reduced to o.e thouſand. Ariſt. Polit.

[106] So I have tranſlated the word ποδαμωδεις, on the authority of Thucydides, l. v. δυναται δε το ποδαμωδες ελευθερον ηδη ειναι. The reſentment even of the freedmen proves the intolerable ſeverity of the government.

[107] They were ca'led υπομειονες, inferiors, in oppoſition to the ομοιοι, or peers.

[108] Xenophon Hellen. l. iii.

their political degeneracy, they ſtill preſerved their religious and military inſtitutions, as well as their invaluable plan of education; and their tranſactions, even in the lateſt ages of Greece, will furniſh an ample and honourable commentary on the laws of Lycurgus.

Laſt tranſaction of Lycurgus.

Concerning this extraordinary man, only one farther [109] circumſtance is recorded with any appearance of authenticity; a circumſtance highly deſcriptive both of his own character, and of that of the age in which he lived. Having beheld the harmony of the political machine, which he had ſo ſkilfully contrived, he ſummoned an aſſembly, and declared, that now he had but one new regulation to propoſe, upon which, however, it was firſt neceſſary to conſult the oracle of Delphi; that, meanwhile, his countrymen, who had ſeen the ſucceſs of his labours, would engage that no alteration ſhould take place before his return. The kings, the ſenate, and the people, ratified the engagement by a ſolemn oath. Lycurgus undertook his journey; the oracle predicted the happineſs which the Spartans ſhould enjoy under his admirable laws; the reſponſe was tranſmitted to his country, where Lycurgus himſelf determined never more to return, convinced that the duration of the government which he had eſtabliſhed would be better ſecured by the eternal ſanctity of an oath, than by the temporary influence of his own perſonal preſence.

[109] Some contradictory traditions concerning his death are preſerved in Plut. in Lycurg. & Juſtin. l. iii.

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State of Greece after the Abolition of Royalty.—Deſcription of Laconia and Meſſenia.—Cauſes of the War between thoſe States.—Invaſion of Meſſenia.—Diſtreſs of the Meſſenians.—The horrid Means by which they endeavour to remedy it.—They obtain Aſſiſtance from Argos and Arcadia.—Their capital taken by the Spartans.—Iſſue of the firſt Meſſenian war.—State of Greece.—The Colony of Tarentum founded.—The ſecond Meſſenian War.—Character and Exploits of Ariſtomenes.—The Diſtreſs of the Spartans.—They obtain Aſſiſtance from Athens.—The Poet Tyrtæus.—Subjugation of Meſſenia.—Future Fortunes of its Citizens.—Their Eſtabliſhment in Sicily.

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State of Greece after the abolition of monarchy.

IF the Greeks had remained ſubject to kings, it is probable that they would have continued longer to exert their united valour againſt the ſurrounding Barbarians. The ſucceſsful adventures of the Argonauts, the glorious, though fatal, expedition againſt Troy, would have animated the emulation and the hopes of ſucceeding candidates for fame; and the whole nation, being frequently employed in diſtant and general enterpriſes, would, through the habits of mutual intercourſe, and the natural tendency of military ſubordination, have been gradually moulded into one powerful monarchy. This revolution would have given immediate tranquillity to Greece, but deſtroyed the proſpect of its future grandeur. The honourable competitions of rival provinces muſt have ceaſed with their political independence; nor would

would the Greeks have enjoyed an opportunity of acquiring, by a long and ſevere apprenticeſhip in arms, that diſciplined valour which eminently diſtinguiſhed them above other nations of antiquity. In moſt countries it has been obſerved, that, before the introduction of regular troops, the militia of the borders far excel thoſe of the central provinces. Greece, even under its kings, was divided into ſo many independent ſtates, that it might be regarded as conſiſting entirely of frontier. Under the republican form of government, it was ſtill more ſubdivided; and motives of private ambition now co-operating with reaſons of national animoſity, wars became more frequent, and battles more bloody and more obſtinate. It is little to be regretted that ſcarcely any materials remain for deſcribing the perpetual hoſtilities between the Thebans and the Athenians; between the latter and the Peloponneſians; between the Phocians and Theſſalians; and, in general between each community and its neighbours. The long and ſpirited conteſt between the Lacedæmonians and Meſſenians, is the only war of that age which produced any permanent effect. The account of this obſtinate ſtruggle has happily come down to us, accompanied with ſuch circumſtances as paint the condition of the times, and anſwer the main ends of hiſtory.

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The territories of Laconia and Meſſenia occupied the ſouthern regions of the Peloponneſus. The ſhores of Laconia were waſhed by the eaſtern, or the Ægean; thoſe of Meſſenia [a], by the weſtern, or the Ionian, Sea. The former country extended forty miles from eaſt to weſt, and ſixty from north to ſouth. The ground, though roughened

Deſcription of Laconia.

[a] Iſocrat. in Archidam calls the country Meſſené; Pauſanias, Meſſenia.

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roughened by mountains, like the reſt of the Peloponneſus, abounded in rich and fertile vallies, equally adapted to the purpoſes of cultivation and paſture. The whole country was anciently called Hecatonpolis [2], from its hundred cities. They were reduced to the number of thirty [3] as early as the time of Lycurgus. The decay or deſtruction of Helos, Amyclæ, Pharis, and Geronthæ, and other leſs conſiderable towns, gradually increaſed the populouſneſs of Sparta, the capital, ſituated near the centre of Laconia, and almoſt ſurrounded by the Eurotas. The other inland places of moſt note were Gerenea, Thurium, and Sellaſia. The ſea-ports were Praſiae, Cyphanta, Zarax; Limera, famous for its vines; and Gythium, whoſe capacious harbour was, in all ages, more than ſufficient to contain the naval ſtrength of Sparta [4]. In the time of Lycurgus, the freemen, of full age, amounted to thirty-nine thouſand [5]. Thoſe of full age are generally reckoned the fourth part of the whole; ſo that the free inhabitants of Laconia may be computed at one hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand; and the ſlaves, as will appear hereafter, probably exceeded four times that number.

and of Meſſenia.

Meſſenia was leſs extenſive, but more fertile, than Laconia; and its inhabitants, in ancient times, were proportionably more numerous. Both kingdoms were principally ſupported by agriculture and paſturage, their ſubjects never having attained any high degree of improvement in arts, manufactures,

[2] Strabo, l. viii. p. 362, mentions this only as a hearſay; but it has been always repeated.

[3] Strabo ſays, "about thirty," and calls them πολιχναι, oppidula, little towns.

[4] Strabo, l. viii. p. 363, &c. & Pauſan. in Lacon.

[5] Plut. in Lycurg.

manufactures, or commerce. Meſſenia was, however, adorned by the ſea-ports of Coroné, Pylus, Methoné, and Cyparyſſus. The moſt conſiderable inland towns were Andania, the ancient capital; the ſtrong fortreſs of Eira; the frontier town of Ampheia; and the celebrated Ithome, near to the ruins of which was erected, by Epaminondas, the comparatively modern city of Meſſene [6].

Spirit of government in both communities.

As the countries of Laconia and Meſſenia were both governed by kings of the family of Hercules, and both inhabited by ſubjects of the ſame Doric race, it might have been imagined that ſuch powerful connections would have diſpoſed them to continue in a ſtate of mutual friendſhip; or, if the ties of blood could not excite neighbouring ſtates to a reciprocation of good offices, that they would at leaſt have engaged them to maintain an inoffenſive tranquillity. The different branches of the family of Hercules were induced by intereſt, as well as perſuaded by affection, mutually to ſupport each other. When the prerogative was invaded in any particular kingdom, it was natural for the neighbouring princes to defend thecauſe of royalty [7]; and we find that, on ſeveral occaſions, they had engaged to aſſiſt each other in repreſſing the factious turbulence of the nobles, and the ſeditious ſpirit of the people. But when the influence of the family of Hercules declined with the abolition of monarchy in moſt countries of Greece, the capital of each little principality, which always enjoyed a pre-eminence in the national aſſemblies, began to uſurp an unlimited authority over the neighbouring cities, and to controul, by its municipal juriſdiction, the general reſolves of the community. Sparta had, in this

[6] Pauſan. in Meſſen. & Strabo, l. viii. p. 360, &c.
[7] Iſocrat. in Archidam.

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this manner, extended her power over the ſmaller towns of Laconia. The walls of Helos, whoſe inhabitants had pertinaciouſly reſiſted this uſurpation, were levelled with the ground, the citizens reduced to the moſt miſerable ſlavery, and a law enacted by the Spartan council, which, forbid, under ſevere penalties, the emancipation of the Helots, or the ſelling of them into foreign countries, where they might entertain the flattering hopes of regaining their loſt liberty. The ſame tyrannical ſpirit, which governed the meaſures of the Spartans, had taken poſſeſſion of their neighbours the Meſſenians, and had urged the inhabitants of the capital to invade, conquer, and enſlave ſeveral of the ſmaller cities.

General cauſes of the war between them.

While ſuch ambitious principles prevailed with both nations, it was ſcarcely to be imagined that the more powerful ſhould not exert its utmoſt ſtrength to obtain dominion, and the weaker its utmoſt courage and activity to preſerve independence. Beſides this general cauſe of animoſity, the rich fields of Meſſenia offered a tempting prize to the avarice of the Spartans; a circumſtance continually alleged by the Meſſenians, as the principal motive which had induced their enemies to commence an unjuſt and unprovoked war. The Spartans, however, by no means admitted this reproach. It was natural, indeed, that ſuch differences ſhould ariſe between the ſubjects of rival ſtates, as might furniſh either party with a plauſible pretence for taking arms. Theſe differences it will be proper briefly to relate, after premiſing, that, although the Greek hiſtorians mention three Meſſenian wars, the third had little reſemblance, either in its object, or in its effects, to the firſt and ſecond. Theſe were the generous ſtruggles of a warlike people for preſerving their hereditary freedom

freedom and renown, while the third, though dignified with the ſame appellation, was only an unſucceſsful revolt of ſlaves from their maſters. CHAP. IV.

Their mutual injuries.

On the confines of Meſſenia and Lacedæmon ſtood an ancient temple of Diana, which, being erected at the common expence, was open to the prayers and ſacrifices of the two nations. Hither, according to annual cuſtom, repaired a ſelect band of Spartan virgins to ſolemnize the chaſte rites of their favourite divinity. A company of Meſſenian youths arrived at the ſame time to perform their cuſtomary devotion, and to implore the protection of the warlike goddeſs. Inflamed by the beauty of the Spartan ladies, the Meſſenians equally diſregarded the ſanctity of the place, and the modeſt character of Diana, whoſe worſhip they came to celebrate. The licentious youths, after vainly attempting by the moſt ardent prayers and vows, to move the ſtern inflexibility of Spartan virtue, had recourſe to brutal violence in order to conſummate their fatal deſigns; fatal to themſelves, to their country, and to the unhappy victims of their fury, who, unwilling to ſurvive ſo intolerable a diſgrace, periſhed miſerably by their own hands [8].

Euephnus, the Lacedæmonian, defrauds the Meſſenian Polychares, Olymp. ix. 1. A.C. 744.

To this atrocious injury, on the part of the Meſſenians, ſucceeded another, of a more private nature, on that of the Lacedæmonians. Polychares was a Meſſenian of noble birth, of great wealth, conſpicuous for the virtues of public and private life, and renowned for his victories in the Olympic games. The property of Polychares, like that of the moſt opulent of his countrymen, chiefly

[8] Pauſan. in Meſſen. p. 222. The Meſſenians denied this whole tranſaction, and ſubſtituted a more improbable ſtory in its ſtead. Pauſan. ibid.

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chiefly conſiſted in numerous herds of cattle; part of which he intruſted to a Lacedæmonian, of the name of Euephnus, who undertook, for a ſtipulated reward, to feed them on the rich meadows which he poſſeſſed on the Lacedæmonian coaſt. The avarice of Euephnus was not reſtrained by the ſenſe of duty, the principles of honour, or the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. Having ſold the cattle to foreigners, who often came to purchaſe that article in Laconia, he travelled to the Meſſenian capital, and viſiting his friend Polychares, lamented the loſs of his property by an incurſion of pirates.

Aſſaſſinates his ſon.

The frequency of ſuch events would, probably, have concealed the fraud; but a ſlave, whom Euephnus ſold along with the cattle, having eſcaped the vigilance of his new maſters, arrived in time to undeceive the generous credulity of Polychares. The perfidious Lacedæmonian, ſeeing his contrivance thus unexpectedly diſconcerted, endeavoured to deprecate the juſt reſentment of his friend, by the moſt humiliating confeſſion of his guilt, and by inſiſting on the temptation of gain, the frailty of nature [9], the ſincerity of his repentance, and his earneſt deſire of making immediate reſtitution. Unfortunately, indeed, he had not any conſiderable ſum of money in his poſſeſſion; but if Polychares would allow his ſon to accompany him to Lacedæmon, he would put into the hands of the youth the full price which he had received for his father's property. On this occaſion, it is eaſier to pity the misfortune, than excuſe the weakneſs of the Meſſenian. The youth had

[9] Εν γαρ τη ανθρωπινη φυσει, και αλλων οντων, εφ' οις βιαζομεθα αδικοι γινεσθαι, τα κερδη μεγιστη αναγκην εχει. PAUSAN.

Et l'interet enfin père de tous les crimes.

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had no ſooner ſet foot on the Lacedæmonian territory, than the traitor Euephnus ſtabbed him to the heart.

Polychares takes vengeance on the Spartans.

The afflicted father, aſſembling his friends and followers, travelled to Sparta, and implored the juſt vengeance of the laws againſt the accumulated guilt of perfidy and murder. In vain he repeatedly addreſſed himſelf to the kings, to the ephori, to the ſenate, and to the aſſembly. The money, the eloquence, the intrigues of Euephnus, and, above all, his character of Spartan, prevailed over the impotent ſolicitations of a Meſſenian ſtranger. Polychares, provoked by the cruel diſregard of the Lacedæmonians to his juſt demands, determined to return home; but having loſt his underſtanding through rage and deſpair, he aſſaulted and ſlew ſeveral Spartan citizens whom he met on the road; and after thus quenching his reſentment againſt the guilty in the blood of the innocent, he was conducted by the aſſiſtance of his friends to his native country.

The Spartan ſenate demands his perſon.

He had not long returned to Andania, when ambaſſadors arrived from the Spartan ſenate, demanding the perſon of ſuch an atrocious and open offender. The Meſſenians aſſembled to deliberate on this requeſt; and Androcles and Antiochus, who were jointly inveſted with the regal power, having differed, as uſually happened, in their opinions, each prince was ſupported by the ſtrength of a numerous faction. The debate was decided by an expedient often adopted in ſuch tumultuary aſſemblies. Both parties had recourſe to arms, and the ſedition being fatal to Androcles, the opinion of Antiochus prevailed, who declared againſt delivering Polychares into the power of

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of his enraged enemies. But Antiochus, though he denied the unreaſonable demand of the Spartan ambaſſadors, diſmiſſed them with a propoſal, which left them no room to complain of injuſtice. He offered, in the name of the Meſſenian aſſembly, to refer all the differences between the two nations to the reſpected council of the Amphictyons. This equitable propoſal, which ill ſuited the ambitious deſigns of Sparta, was not honoured with an anſwer from that republic, who, deſirous to acquire the rich fields of Meſſenia, prepared for taking arms; and, having completed her preparations, bound her citizens, by oath, never to deſiſt from hoſtility till they had effected their purpoſe[10].

The Meſſenians refuſe to comply, but offer to refer the diſpute to the Amphictyons.

The Spartans ſurpriſe Ampheia. Olymp. ix. 2. A. C. 743.

Without an open declaration of war (for ambition had extinguiſhed every ſentiment of piety) they invaded the Meſſenian frontier, and attacked the ſmall town of Ampheia, which, from its advantageous ſituation on a rock, ſeemed equally proper for inveſting the enemy, and ſecuring their own retreat[11]. The time choſen for the aſſault was the dead of night, when the unſuſpecting inhabitants repoſed in full confidence of their accuſtomed ſecurity. There was neither centinel at the gates, nor garriſon within the place. The alarm was immediately followed by execution. Many Ampheians were aſſaſſinated in their beds; ſeveral fled to the altars of the gods, the ſanctity of which proved a feeble protection againſt the Spartan cruelty; and a miſerable remnant eſcaped, to

[10] Strabo expreſſes this oath ſtrongly, but oddly, Ὀμοσαντες μη προτερον επανηξειν οικαδε, πριν η Μεσσηνην ανειλειν η παντας αποθανειν. "Having ſworn not to return home before that "they either took Meſſené, or that they all died."

[11] Ορμητηριον επιτηδειον. PAUSAN.

to diffuse the melancholy tidings of their unexpected calamity. CHAP. IV.

Spirited resolutions of the Messenians;

Euphaes, who had succeeded to the throne of his father Antiochus, summoned, on the present emergency, a general assembly of his countrymen to the plain of Stenyclara; where, after hearing the opinion of others concerning the critical situation of their affairs, he declared his own sentiments, which were full of honour and magnanimity: "That the final event of the war was not "to be conjectured by its unfortunate begin- "ning; the Messenians, though less enured to "arms than their warlike opponents, would ac- "quire both skill and courage, in pursuing the "measures of a just defence; and the gods, pro- "tectors of innocence, would make the strug- Olymp. ix. 2. A. C. 743. "gles of virtuous liberty prevail over the rude "assaults of violence and ambition." The discourse of Euphaes was received with shouts of applause; and the Messenians, by advice of their king, abandoned the open country, and settled in such of their towns as were best fortified by art or nature, leaving the remainder to the invasion of an enemy, with whose bravery and numbers their own weakness was yet unable to contend. But while they kept within their walls, they continued to exercise themselves in arms, and to acquire such vigour and discipline, as might enable them to oppose the Spartans in the field. Four years elapsed from the taking of Ampheia before they ventured to embrace this dangerous measure. During all that time, the Spartans made annual incursions into their country, destroying their harvests, and carrying into captivity such straggling parties as they happened to surprise. They took care, however, not to demolish the houses, to cut down the wood, or otherwise to disfigure or deso-

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late a country, which they already regarded as their own.

who determine to riſk a battle. Olymp. x. 2. A.C. 739.

The Meſſenians, on the other hand, as their courage continued to increaſe, were not contented with defending their own walls, but detached, in ſmall parties, the boldeſt of their warriors to ravage the ſea-coaſt of Laconia. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of theſe predatory expeditions, Euphaes determined to take the field with the flower of the Meſſenian nation. The army of freemen was attended by an innumerable crowd of ſlaves, carrying wood and other materials neceſſary for encampment. Thus prepared, they put themſelves in motion, and, before they reached the frontier, were ſeen by the Spartan garriſon of Ampheia, who immediately ſounded the alarm of an approaching enemy. The Spartans flew to arms with more than their wonted alacrity, delighted with the opportunity for which they had ſo long wiſhed in vain, of deciding, at one blow, the event of a tedious war. The hoſtile armies approached with a celerity proportioned to the fury of their reſentment, and arrived, with high expectations, at the intermediate plain which overſpread the confines of the two kingdoms. But there the martial ardour of the troops received a check, which had not been foreſeen by their commanders. The rivulet, interſecting the plain, was ſwelled by the rains into a torrent. This circumſtance prevented a general engagement. The cavalry alone (amounting on either ſide to about five hundred horſe) paſſed near the head of the ravine, and contended in an indeciſive ſkirmiſh; while the fury of the infantry evaporated in empty boaſts, and unavailing inſults. Night inſenſibly came on, during which the Meſſenians fortified their camp with ſo much ſkill, that the enemy,

Olymp. x. 1. A.C. 740.

which proves indeciſive.

enemy, rather than venture to ſtorm it, preferred to return home, after an expedition, which, conſidering their ſuperiority in numbers, appeared no leſs inglorious than ineffectual.

Spartans prepare for carrying on the war with vigour.

The puſillanimous behaviour of the Spartan army deſerved not the approbation of the ſenate. The ſevere fathers of the republic upbraided the degeneracy of the youth, who no longer paid regard to the ſanctity of the oath which they had taken, never to lay down their arms until they had completely ſubdued the Meſſenians. The ſpirit of the ſenate was ſoon diffuſed through the community; and it was determined, in the general aſſembly of the nation, to prepare for carrying on a more fierce war than the enemy had yet experienced. At the approach of autumn, the ſeaſon always preferred for the predatory expeditions of thoſe early times, all the Spartans of military age, as well as the inhabitants of the ſubordinate towns of Laconia, known by the general name of Lacedæmonians, were ready to take the field.

Number of their forces.

After leaving a ſufficient body of troops for the internal ſafety of the country, the number that might be ſpared abroad, probably amounted to about twenty thouſand men. This powerful army was ſtill farther increaſed by the confluence of ſtrangers, particularly the Aſſinians and Dryopians, who fled from the cruel tyranny of Argos, a republic no leſs blameable than Sparta, for oppreſſive ſeverity towards her weaker neighbours. Beſides this reinforcement, the Spartans hired a conſiderable body of archers from Crete, to oppoſe the horſe and light infantry of the Meſſenians. The management of the expedition was entruſted to the Spartan kings Theopompus and Polydorus; the former of whom commanded the right, and the latter the left wing, while the central

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tral diviſion was committed to the diſcretion and valour of Euryleon, who, though born in Sparta, was deſcended of the royal race of Theban Cadmus.

Second engagement.

Ancient writers have neglected to mention the ſcene of this ſecond engagement, which Pauſanias has, with more diffuſiveneſs than accuracy, deſcribed in his hiſtorical journey through Meſſenia; but it is reaſonable to conjecture, from this omiſſion, that both the firſt and ſecond battles happened near the ſame place, on the extenſive plain which connects the frontiers of the two kingdoms.

The Meſſenians were inferior, both in numbers and in diſcipline, but ardent in the cauſe of every thing moſt dear to them. Euphaes headed their left wing, which oppoſed the diviſion of Theopompus; Pytharatus led the right; and Cleonnis commanded the centre. Before the ſignal was given for charge, the commanders addreſſed their reſpective troops. Theopompus, with Laconic brevity, "reminded the Spartans of their oath, "and of the glory which their anceſtors had ac-"quired by ſubduing the territories of their neighbours." Euphaes, at greater length, animated his ſoldiers to victory, by deſcribing the fatal conſequences of a defeat. "Their lands and "fortunes were not the only objects of contenti-"on: they had already experienced the Spartan "cruelty, in the unhappy fate of Ampheia, where "all the men of a military age had been put to "the ſword; the women, as well as the children, "with their aged parents, ſubjected to an igno-"minious ſervitude; their temples burnt or plun-"dered; the city levelled with the ground; and "the country deſolated. The calamities, hither-

"to

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Olymp. x. 2. A. C. 739.

" to confined to that little diſtrict, would be dif-
" fuſed over the whole of their beautiful territory,
" unleſs the active bravery of Meſſenia ſhould
" now, by a noble effort of patriotiſm, overcome
" the numbers and diſcipline of Sparta." Encouraged by the ardour of their prince, the Meſſenians rather ran than marched to the battle. As they approached the enemy, they threatened them with their eyes and geſtures, reproaching them with an inſatiable avidity for wealth and power, an unnatural diſregard to the ties of blood, an impious contempt for their common gods, and particularly for the revered name of Hercules, the acknowledged founder and patron of both kingdoms. From words of reproach they made an eaſy tranſition to deeds of violence. Many quitted their ranks, and aſſailed the embattled phalanx of the Spartans. The wounded ſpent the laſt exertions[12] of their ſtrength in ſignal acts of vengeance, or employed their laſt breath in conjuring their companions to imitate the example of their bravery; and to maintain, by an honourable death, the ſafety and renown of their country.

Fierceneſs and obſtinacy of the combatants.

To the generous ardour of the Meſſenians, Sparta oppoſed the aſſured intrepidity of diſciplined valour. Her citizens, enured to the uſe of arms, cloſed their ranks, and remained firm in their reſpective poſts. Where the enemy in any part gave way, they followed them with an undiſturbed progreſs; and endeavoured, by the continuance of regular exertion, to overcome the deſultory efforts of rage, fury, and deſpair[13].

Such

[12] Agreeably to the melancholy firmneſs of the advice afterwards given by Tyrtæus to the Spartans,

Και τις αμυνομενων ὑστατ' ανιστασθω.

TYRTÆUS, edit. Glaſ. p. 4. ver. 5.

[13] The mode of fighting in that age is forcibly deſcribed by Tyrtæus, p. 7, edit. Glaſ. Αλλα τις εν δηϊοις μενετω ποσι αμφοτερησι, to the end of the poem.

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Such were the principal differences in the ſentiments and conduct of two armies, both of which were alike animated by the love of glory, and the deſire of vengeance; paſſions which they carried to ſuch a length, that there was no example, on either ſide, of a ſoldier who deigned to ſeek for quarter, or who attempted to ſooth, by the promiſe of a large ranſom, the unrelenting cruelty of the victors. Emulation and avarice conſpired in deſpoiling the bodies of the ſlain. Amidſt this barbarous employment, which cuſtom only rendered honourable, many met with an untimely fate; for while they ſtripped the dead with the raſhneſs of blind avidity, they often expoſed their own perſons to the darts and ſwords of their enemies; and ſometimes the dying, by a fortunate wound, ſoothed the agonies of the preſent moment, and retaliated their paſt ſufferings on their unguarded deſpoilers.

The Spartan and Meſſenian kings prepare to engage in ſingle combat,

The kings, who had hitherto been ſatisfied with leading their troops to action, and ſharing the common danger, longed, as the battle began to warm, to ſignalize their valour in ſingle combat. With this deſign, Theopompus, liſtening only to his courage, firſt marched towards Euphaes, who, ſeeing him approach, cried out to his companions, "Does not Theopompus well imitate the bloody-"minded Polynices[14], who, at the head of an "army of ſtrangers, levied war againſt his native "country, and, with his own hand, ſlew a bro-"ther, by whom, at the ſame inſtant, he himſelf "was ſlain? In like manner does Theopompus, "with unnatural hatred, perſecute his kinſmen of "the race of Hercules; but I truſt he ſhall meet "the puniſhment due to his impiety." At ſight of

[14] See above, p. 23.

of this intereſting ſpectacle, the troops were inſpired with new ardour, and the battle raged with redoubled fury. The choſen bands, who reſpectively watched the ſafety of the contending princes, became inſenſible to perſonal danger, and only ſolicitous to preſerve the ſacred perſons of their kings. The ſtrength of Sparta, at length, began to yield to the activity of her rivals. The troops of Theopompus were broken and thrown into diſorder; and the reluctant prince was himſelf compelled to retire. At the ſame time the right wing of the Meſſenians, having loſt their leader Pytharatus, yielded to the exertions of Polydorus and his Spartans: but neither this general, nor king Euphaes, thought proper to purſue the flying enemy. It ſeemed more expedient to ſtrengthen, with their victorious troops, the central diviſions of their reſpective armies, which ſtill continued to fight with obſtinate valour, and doubtful ſucceſs. Night at length put an end to the engagement, which had proved extremely humiliating to both parties; for next morning neither offered to renew the battle, neither ventured to erect a trophy of victory; while both craved a ſuſpenſion of arms, for the purpoſe of interring the dead; a demand generally conſtrued as an acknowledgment of defeat.

prevented by the ardour of their troops.

Extraordinary iſſue of the battle.

Although the immediate effects of the battle were alike deſtructive to the Spartans and to the Meſſenians, its remote conſequences were peculiarly ruinous to the latter. They were leſs rich and leſs numerous than their opponents; their army could not be recruited with the ſame facility; many of their ſlaves were bribed into the enemy's ſervice; and a peſtilential diſtemper, concurring with other misfortunes, reduced them to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs. The Spartans, mean while, carried

Its remote conſequences.

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carried on their annual incurſions with more than uſual cruelty, involving the huſbandman, with his labours, in undiſtinguiſhed ruin, and deſtroying by fire and ſword the wretched inhabitants of the unfortified cities. The miſerable ravages to which theſe cities were continually expoſed, obliged the Meſſenians to abandon them, and to ſeek refuge among the almoſt inacceſſible mountains of Ithomè; a place which, though ſituate near the frontiers of Laconia, afforded them the ſecureſt retreat amidſt their preſent calamities, being ſtrongly fortified by nature, and ſurrounded by a wall, which bid defiance to the battering engines known in that early age.

The Meſſenians ſhut themſelves up in the fortreſs Ithomè.

The Meſſenians, thus defended againſt external aſſaults, were ſtill expoſed to the danger of periſhing by famine. The apprehenſion of this new calamity gave additional poignancy to the feelings of their unhappy ſituation, and encreaſed the horrors of the peſtilence which raged more fiercely than ever among men cooped up within a narrow fortreſs. Under the preſſure of preſent, and the dread of future evil, their minds were favourably diſpoſed for admitting the terrors of ſuperſtition. A meſſenger was ſent to Delphi to enquire by what ſacrifice they might appeaſe the reſentment of the angry gods. On his return to Ithomè, he declared the ſtern anſwer of the god, which demanded the innocent blood of a virgin of the royal race. The Meſſenians prepared, in full aſſembly, to obey the horrid mandate. The lots were caſt, and the daughter of Lyciſcus was declared worthy of atoning, by her blood, for the ſins of the prince and people; but the father, who was only a diſtant branch of the royal family, allowed his paternal affection to prevail over the dictates of both his patriotiſm and his piety. By his advice, Ephebolus, a diviner, oppoſed the ſacrifice,

Their ſufferings there.

Prepare to ſacrifice a virgin of the royal blood,

crifice, aſſerting that the pretended princeſs was not what ſhe appeared, but a ſuppoſititious child, whom the artifice of the wife of Lyciſcus had adopted to conceal her barrenneſs. While the remonſtrances of the diviner engaged the attention of the aſſembly, Lyciſcus privately withdrew his daughter; and, eſcaping unobſerved through the gates of Ithomè, ſought protection, againſt the cruelty of fortune and of his friends, among the unrelenting enemies of his country.

who is withdrawn by her father.

He had already made conſiderable progreſs in his journey towards Sparta, when the diſcovery of his departure threw the Meſſenians into great conſternation; nor is it eaſy to determine what might have been the effect of their ſuperſtitious terrors, had not Ariſtodemus, another branch of the Hercuſean ſtock, and ſtill leſs diſtinguiſhed by birth than merit, voluntarily offered to devote his own child for the public ſafety. But this ſacrifice was likewiſe oppoſed by a youth, who paſſionately in love with the intended victim, cried out, that the young lady had been betrothed to him, and that it belonged to her deſtined huſband, not to her inhuman father, to diſpoſe of her life and fortune. When his noiſy clamours were little regarded by the aſſembly, he had the effrontery to aſſert, that the daughter of Ariſtodemus could not anſwer the condition required by the oracle; that, even before the nuptial rites had been conſummated, ſhe had pitied the violence of his paſſion, and that ſhe now carried in her womb the fruit of their unhappy loves. Ariſtodemus, hearing this diſcourſe, was ſeized with rage and indignation at the unmerited diſgrace thrown on his family. "It then appeared," ſays an ancient author [15], "with "what

Ariſtodemus devotes his own daughter.

Her lover oppoſes this deſign.

[15] Pauſanias, p. 232. This might ſatisfy the ſuperſtition of antiquity, but will appear, in modern times, a poor excuſe for ſuch a ſhocking barbarity.

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"what eaſe deſtiny tarniſhes the feeble virtues of "men, as the ſlime of a river does the ſhining "ornaments which cover its humid bed." The angry father plunged his dagger into the breaſt of his unfortunate daughter, and, with horrid barbarity, opening her womb in the preſence of the amazed aſſembly, demanded juſtice on the infamous impoſtor who had traduced her virtue. The Meſſenians were ſtill farther irritated againſt the youth, in conſequence of the opinion of Ephebolus, who declared that another victim muſt be ſought to appeaſe the anger of the gods, becauſe Ariſtodemus had ſacrificed his daughter, not in obedience to the oracle, but to gratify the impetuous paſſion of his own ungovernable ſoul. The rage of the aſſembly would have ſpeedily ſent the lover to attend the ſhade of his miſtreſs; but fortunately he was beloved and pitied by king Euphaes, whoſe authority controuled, on this occaſion, the audacious inſolence of a prieſt, and checked the wild fury of the populace. The king aſſerted that Apollo had no reaſon to complain of their diſobedience: the god demanded the blood of a virgin, a virgin had been ſlain: but neither did the Pythia determine, nor belonged it to them to enquire, by whoſe hands, or from what motive, the victim ſhould be put to death.

She is ſlain by her father.

The oracle, thus favourably interpreted by the wiſdom of the prince, not only allayed the frantic rage, but reſtored the fainting hopes, of the people. They determined to defend their capital to the laſt extremity; and this generous reſolution, which they maintained inviolate during the courſe of ſeveral years, was juſtified by obſtinate exertions of valour.

Obſtinate defence of the Meſſenians,

The

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The ſpirited and perſevering efforts of the Meſſenians, as well as the proud tyranny of Sparta, tended to procure, to the weaker ſtate, ſeveral uſeful alliances among the neighbouring republics. Of all the communities inhabiting the Peloponneſus, the Corinthians alone, as a maritime and commercial people, entertained little jealouſy of the Spartans; while the Argives and Arcadians, from proximity of ſituation, as well as interference of intereſt and ambition, held the diſciples of Lycurgus in peculiar deteſtation. By the aſſiſtance of theſe powerful allies, the Meſſenians gained conſiderable advantages in two general engagements; in the former of which their king Euphaes, betrayed by the ardour of ſucceſs into an unequal combat, was overpowered by numbers, and ſlain in the action. The valour of Ariſtodemus was called by the voice of the people to fill the vacant throne; and his conduct in war juſtified the high opinion entertained of him by his countrymen. For five years he baffled the aſpiring hopes of the Spartans; defeated them in ſeveral deſultory rencounters; and, in a pitched battle, fought near the walls of Ithomè, overcame the principal ſtrength of their republic, aſſiſted by that of the Corinthians.

who procure aſſiſtance from Argos and Arcadia.

Their tranſient ſucceſs.

This victory, though obtained by ſtratagem, rather than by ſuperiority of courage or diſcipline, threw the Spartan ſenate into the greateſt perplexity, and deprived them of the expectation of putting a ſpeedy, or even a fortunate, end to the war. In their diſtreſs they had recourſe to the ſame oracle, which had relieved the afflictions of the Meſſenians. As the policy of the god ſeldom ſent away, in ill humour, the votaries of his ſhrine, the deſtruction of Ithomè was announced with prophetic obſcurity. The Spartans, with revived

Ithomè at length ſurrenders.

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revived hopes, again took the field; and their new ardour was ſucceſsful in ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Meſſenians, who, haraſſed by an open, were ſtill more fatally oppreſſed by a ſecret, foe. The people were again ſeized with ſuperſtitious terrors. Dreams, viſions, and other prodigies confirmed the melancholy prediction of Apollo. The impatient temper of Ariſtodemus made him withdraw, by a voluntary death, from the evils which threatened his country. The other leaders of greateſt renown had periſhed in the field. Ithomè, deprived of its principal ſupport, and inveſted more cloſely than before, was compelled, after a ſiege of five months, to ſubmit to the ſlow but irreſiſtible impreſſions of famine. Such of its inhabitants as were intitled to the benefit of hoſpitality in Sicyon, Argos, or Arcadia, travelled with all poſſible expedition into thoſe countries. The ſacred families, who were attached to the miniſtry of Ceres, ſought a ſecure refuge among the venerable prieſts of Eleucis, in Attica. The greater part of the people diſperſed themſelves through the interior towns and villages, endeavouring, in the obſcurity of their ancient habitations, to elude the induſtrious ſearch of an unrelenting enemy [16].

Olymp. xiv. 1. A. C. 724.

Conſequences of the firſt Meſſenian war.

The Lacedæmonians, having thus obtained poſſeſſion of the Meſſenian capital, diſcovered ſignal gratitude to their gods, fidelity to their allies, and cruelty to their enemies. Ithomè was demoliſhed to the foundation. Of its ſpoil, three tripods were conſecrated to Amyclean Apollo. The firſt was adorned with the image of Venus, the ſecond with that of Diana, and the third with the figures of Ceres and Proſerpine. To the Aſſinians, who had aſſiſted them with peculiar alacrity in

[16] Pauſan. Meſſen. & Strabo, l. viii.

in the war, the Spartans gave that beautiful portion of the Meſſenian coaſt, which aſſumed, and long retained, the name of its new inhabitants. They rewarded the good intentions of the Meſſenian Androcles, who, at the commencement of the war, had diſcovered his partiality for Sparta, by beſtowing on his deſcendants the fertile diſtrict Hyamia. The reſt of the Meſſenian nation were treated with all the rigour of Spartan policy. They were obliged to take an oath of allegiance to their proud victors, to preſent them every year with half the produce of their ſoil, and, under pain of the ſevereſt puniſhment, to appear in mourning habits, at the funerals of the Spartan kings and magiſtrates [17].

State of Greece at that time.

After the cloſe of the firſt Meſſenian war, Greece appears, for ſeveral years, to have enjoyed an unuſual degree of tranquillity. Peace promoted population; and the inhabitants of Peloponneſus continued to diffuſe their numerous colonies over the iſlands of Sicily and Corcyra, as well as over the ſouthern diviſion of Italy, afterwards known by the name of Magna Græcia [18]. In this delicious country two conſiderable eſtabliſhments were formed, about the ſame time, the one at Rhegium, and the other at Tarentum. Rhegium, ſituate on the ſouthern extremity of the continent, ſoon acquired the aſcendant over the neighbouring cities; and Tarentum, having become the moſt powerful community on the eaſtern coaſt, had the honour of giving name to the ſpacious bay,

[17] Pauſan. ibid.

[18] This name, as will be proved hereafter, denoted the Greek ſettlements both in Italy and Sicily. The colonies there became, in progreſs of time, perhaps more conſiderable than the mother country. Their proceedings will be fully related in the following work; but not until their tranſactions enter into the general ſyſtem of Grecian politics.

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bay, which almoſt unites the Tuſcan, and the Ionian, ſeas.

The particular cauſes which occaſioned, or the various circumſtances which accompanied, theſe ſeveral emigrations, are not related in ancient hiſtory; the Lacedæmonian eſtabliſhment at Tarentum was alone marked by ſuch particulars as have merited, on account of their ſingularity, to be handed down to ſucceeding ages.

The Lacedæmonians found Tarentum in Italy.

During the ſecond expedition [19] of the Spartans againſt Meſſenia, the army, conſiſting of the greater part of the citizens who had attained the military age, bound themſelves, by oath, not to return home until they had ſubdued their enemies. This engagement detained them ſeveral years in the field, during which Sparta, inhabited only by women, children, and helpleſs old men, produced no ſucceeding generation to ſupport the future glories of the republic. Senſible of this inconvenience, which, in a warlike and ambitious ſtate, ſurrounded by warlike and ambitious rivals, might have been productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences, the ſenate recalled ſuch young men as, having left their country before they had attained the military age, were not under any obligation to keep the field; and enjoined them to aſſociate promiſcuouſly with the married women, that the city might thus be preſerved from decay and deſolation. The children born of theſe uſeful, though irregular connections, were diſtinguiſhed by the name of Partheniæ; probably denoting the

[19] They had taken the ſame oath in the firſt expedition; but it appears from Pauſanias, that they did not obſerve it. The ſenators upbraided the youth with cowardice and contempt of their oath, δειλιαν και το ορκου υπεροψιαν. PAUSAN. p. 228.

the condition of their mothers[20]. They had no certain father; nor were they entitled, though citizens of Sparta, to any private inheritance. These circumstances kept them a distinct body, the members of which were attached by the strictest friendship to each other, and hostile to the rest of the community. CHAP. IV.

This dangerous disposition was still farther encreased by the imprudent behaviour of the Spartans, who, on their return from the conquest of Messenia, treated the Partheniæ with the most supercilious contempt. The young men could endure poverty and misfortune, but could not brook disgrace. Their unhappy situation, and the impatience with which they submitted to it, naturally connected them with the Helots, those miserable slaves, whose just indignation ever prompted them to revolt from the cruel tyranny of their masters. A conspiracy was formed; the day, place, and signal were determined, upon which the Partheniæ and Helots, armed with concealed daggers, and with the most hostile fury, should retaliate, in the public assembly, their past sufferings and insults, on the unsuspecting superiority of the proud lords of Sparta. The time approached, and the design was ripe for execution, when the president of the assembly ordered the cryer to proclaim, That none present should throw up his cap (for that had been the signal appointed by the conspirators); and thus clearly intimated that the plot had been discovered, and that the Spartans were prepared to meet and to overcome the dangerous treachery of their dependants. We are not informed of the punishment

[20] Παρθενιας. Filius natus ex ea, quæ quum duceretur, virgo non erat. ARISTOT. Polit. l. v. c. 7.

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ment inflicted on the Helots, or whether, as the conſpiracy had been laid open by one of their number, the merit of an individual was allowed to atone for the guilt of the ſociety. The Parthenia, however, were treated with a remarkable degree of lenity, ſuggeſted, probably, by the fears, rather than by the humanity of Sparta [21]. They were not only allowed to eſcape unpuniſhed from their native country, but furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for undertaking a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the neighbouring coaſts; and thus enabled to eſtabliſh themſelves under their leader Phalantus, in the delightful receſſes of the Tarentine gulph [22].

The Meſſenians prepare to revolt.

The Spartans, when delivered from the danger of this formidable conſpiracy, enjoyed, above thirty years, domeſtic as well as public peace, until again diſturbed by the revolt of the Meſſenians. The diſhonourable conditions impoſed on that people, the toilſome labours to which moſt of them were neceſſarily condemned, in order to produce the expected tribute; the natural fertility of the ſoil, augmented by induſtry, and augmenting in its turn the populouſneſs of the country, all theſe cauſes conſpired to ſharpen their reſentment, to embitter their hoſtility, and to determine them, at every hazard, to ſubmit their fortune to the deciſion of the ſword. The negligence of Sparta was favourable to the progreſs of rebellion. While ſhe degraded the Meſſenians by the moſt humiliating marks of ſervitude, ſhe allowed them, however, to rebuild their cities, to aſſemble in the public places, and to communicate to each other their mutual grievances and complaints. To reward the ſervices of Androcles, the

[21] Ephor. apud Strabo, l. vi.
[22] Pauſan. Phoc.

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the Meſſenian king, ſhe had beſtowed on his family the rich province of Hyamia; but the deſcendants of that prince preferring the duties of patriotiſm to the dictates of gratitude, countenanced and encouraged the warlike diſpoſitions of his countrymen. The young men of Andania longed to take up arms. They were headed by Ariſtomenes, a youth deſcended from the ancient line of Meſſenian kings, adorned with the moſt extraordinary qualities of mind and body, and whoſe exploits, if inſtead of being ſung by Rhianus, and related by Pauſanias, they had been deſcribed by Xenophon, or celebrated by Homer, would place him in the firſt rank of Grecian heroes.

Olymp. xxiii. 4. A. C. 685.

Obtain aſſiſtance from the Argives and Arcadians.

In entering upon this memorable war the Meſſenians conſulted the dictates of prudence, at the ſame time that they indulged the motives of animoſity and ambition. Before diſcovering their intention to take arms, they diſpatched meſſengers to the Arcadians and Argives, intimating their inclination to throw off the yoke of Sparta, provided they could depend on the hearty aſſiſtance of their ancient allies. The Argives and Arcadians were naturally enemies to their warlike and ambitious neighbours; and, at this particular juncture, the enmity of the former towards Sparta was, by recent injuries, kindled into reſentment. Both nations confirmed by the moſt flattering promiſes, the reſolution of the Meſſenians, who, with uncommon unanimity and concert, ſought deliverance from the oppreſſive ſeverity of their tyrants.

The battle of Derae.

The firſt engagement was fought at Derae, a village of Meſſenia. The ſoldiers, on both ſides, behaved with equal bravery; the victory was

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doubtful; but Ariſtomenes, the Meſſenian, acquired unrivalled glory and renown. On the field of battle he was ſaluted king by the admiring gratitude of his countrymen. He declined, however, the dangerous honours of royalty, declaring himſelf ſatisfied with the appellation of General, which, in that age, implied a ſuperiority in martial exerciſes, as well as in the knowledge of war, and in the experience of command. The Meſſenian excelled in all theſe, and poſſeſſed beſides, a degree of military enthuſiam, which, as it was employed to retrieve the deſperate affairs of his country, deſerves to be for ever remembered and admired. Senſible how much depended on the auſpicious beginning of the war, he immediately marched to Sparta; entered the city, which was neither walled, nor lighted, during night; and ſuſpended in the temple of Minerva a buckler, inſcribed with his name, as a monument of his ſucceſs againſt the enemy, and an offering to procure the good-will of that warlike goddeſs.

Bravery and moderation of Ariſtomenes.

The hardineſs of this exploit was rivalled by the ſingular intrepidity of his companions Panormus and Gonippus. While the Lacedæmonians celebrated, in their camp, the feſtival of their heroes Caſtor and Pollux, the two youths of Andania, mounted on fiery ſteeds, with lances in their hands, and a purple mantle flowing over their white veſtments, preſented themſelves in the midſt of the joyous aſſembly. The ſuperſtitious crowd, diſſolved in mirth and wine, imagined that their heavenly protectors had appeared in a human form, in order to grace the feſtival eſtabliſhed in their [23] honour. As they approached, unarmed, to

The ſingular exploits of Panormus and Gonippus.

[23] Pauſanius, p. 266. However ſurpriſing this credulity may appear in the preſent age, it is atteſted by the moſt unqueſtionable evidence. Striking inſtances of it will occur in later periods of the Greek hiſtory.

to pay their obeiſance to the divine brothers of Helen, the young Meſſenians couched their ſpears, attacked the multitude with irreſiſtible fury, ſlew them with their weapons, or trod them down with their horſes, and, before the aſſembly recovered from its ſurpriſe and conſternation, ſet out, in triumph, on their return to Andania.

The Spartans alarmed have recourſe to the oracle.

Theſe exploits, and others of a ſimilar kind, which are not particularly recorded, were ſufficient to alarm the fears of the Spartans, and to make them ſeek the advice of Apollo. The oracle, when conſulted by what means they might change the ſucceſs of the war, ordered them to demand a general from Athens; a reſponſe highly mortifying to the high Spartan ſpirit, as their own kings, deſcended from Hercules, were the conſtitutional commanders of their armies. In compliance, however, with the mandate of the god, the haughtineſs of Sparta was obliged to make a requeſt which the jealouſy of Athens durſt not venture to refuſe. The Athenians, when informed of the oracle, immediately diſpatched to Sparta, Tyrtæus, a man who, like every Athenian citizen, had, indeed, borne arms, but who had never been diſtinguiſhed by any rank in the army. He was chiefly known to his fellow-citizens as a poet; a character in which he has been juſtly admired by ſucceeding [24] ages. Among the Spartans, however, he was regarded as the ſacred meſſenger of the divinity; and his verſes were ſup-

Olymp. xxiv. 2. A. C. 623.

The Athenians ſend them Tyrtæus the poet.

[24] Inſignis Homerus,
Tyrtacuſque mares animos in martia bella,
Verſibus exacuit. HOR.

Three poems of Tyrtæus, containing the praiſe of valour, are preſerved in Stobæus; a fourth on the ſame ſubject, is the only oration now remaining of Lycurgus the Athenian orator, the friend and rival of Demoſthenes. A few detached couplets may alſo be read in Strabo and Pauſanias.

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poſed to convey the inſtructions and ſentiments inſpired by his heavenly protector.

Succeſs of the Meſſenians under their heroic Ariſtomenes.

The heroic valour of Ariſtomenes long continued to prevail againſt the force of the oracle, as well as againſt all the other enemies of Meſſenia. He defeated the Spartans in three ſucceſſive engagements, the circumſtances of which are ſo ſimilar, that they have frequently been confounded with each other. They were all fought in the plain of Stenyclara, and the moſt remarkable at a place called the Boar's Monument, from a tradition that Hercules had anciently ſacrificed there an animal of that ſpecies. The Meſſenians were reinforced by the aſſiſtance of their allies of Elis and Sicyon, as well as of Argos and Arcadia. The Spartans were followed by the Corinthians, their ancient confederates, and by the citizens of Leprea, who choſe to ſeek the protection of Sparta, rather than ſubmit to the government of Elis. The combined army was commanded by Anaxander the Spartan king, whoſe influence, however, was rivalled by the authority of Hecatæus the diviner, and of Tyrtæus the poet. The Meſſenians had not a poet worthy of being oppoſed to Tyrtæus; but the predictions of their diviner Theocles were able, on ſome occaſions, to promote or to reſtrain the ardour of Ariſtomenes himſelf.

The ſucceſs of the engagement was chiefly owing to the ſpirited exertion of the Meſſenian general. At the head of a ſmall band of choſen companions, he charged the principal diviſion of the Spartan army, commanded by the king in perſon. The reſiſtance was obſtinate, and laſted for ſeveral hours. When the Spartans began to give way, Ariſtomenes ordered a new body

body of troops to complete his ſucceſs, to rout and purſue the enemy. He, with his little but determined band, attacked a ſecond diviſion of the Lacedæmonians, which ſtill continued firm in its poſt. Having compelled theſe alſo to retreat, he, with amazing rapidity, turned the valour of his troops againſt a third, and then againſt a fourth brigade[24], both of which giving ground, the whole army was put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter. The merit of theſe atchievements was, on the return of Ariſtomenes, celebrated with great pomp at Andania. The men received their favourite hero with joyous acclamations; and the women, ſtrowing his way with flowers, ſung in his praiſe a ſtanza that has reached modern times, expreſſing, with elegant ſimplicity, the glorious victory obtained over the Lacedæmonians.

The tribute of juſt applauſe paid to the virtues of Ariſtomenes inſpired him with a generous ambition to deſerve the ſincereſt gratitude of his countrymen. With unremitting activity he continued, with his little band of faithful adherents, to over-run the hoſtile territory, to deſtroy the defenceleſs villages, and to carry the inhabitants, into ſervitude. The towns of Pharæ, Carya, and Egila ſucceſſively experienced the fatal effects of his ravages. In the firſt, he found a conſiderable booty in money and commodities, in the ſecond, he found a booty ſtill more precious, the daughters of the principal inhabitants dancing in the chorus of Diana, whom he honourably protected againſt

[24] Pauſanias acknowledges that the exploits of Ariſtomenes, in this engagement, almoſt exceed belief. Pauſan. Meſſen. There is a remarkable coincidence in the character and exploits, as well as in the ſituation, of Ariſtomenes, and thoſe of the celebrated Scottiſh patriot Wallace. Vid. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. viii. paſſim.

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againſt the licentious violence of his followers, and reſtored, uninjured, for the ranſom offered by their parents. After attacking Egila, Ariſtomenes met with an unexpected check from the enthuſiaſm of the Spartan matrons, who were offering ſacrifice to Ceres in a neighbouring temple, long held in peculiar veneration. As ſoon as they perceived the approach of the enemy, the women, who, according to the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, had been trained to all the manly exerciſes of the other ſex, iſſued forth from the temple, and aſſailing the Meſſenians with knives, hatchets, burning torches, and the other inſtruments of ſacrifice, threw them into diſorder, wounded ſeveral of the ſoldiers, and ſeized the perſon of their commander. Next day, however, Ariſtomenes was delivered from captivity, through the good offices of Archidamea, prieſteſs of Ceres, whoſe ſuſceptible heart had long admired and loved the merit and renown of the brave Meſſenian.

The Spartans animated by Tyrtæus.

The amazing ſucceſs of the Meſſenians, which, in the courſe of three years, had been interrupted only by this inconſiderable accident, diſpoſed the Spartan kings to abandon the war, and to allow their enemies to enjoy the honour and advantages which they had ſo bravely gained. This reſolution was approved by the ſenate and aſſembly. The allies of Sparta readily adopted the ſame opinion. Tyrtæus alone oppoſed the diſhonourable meaſure, with all the force of his authority. The ſacred character of the bard, with the divine influence of his poetry, prevailed; and the Spartans again entered Meſſenia with an army, as numerous and powerful as any they had before collected. But at ſight of the Meſſenian troops, headed by Ariſtomenes, they were thrown into new conſternation. The dreaded proweſs of their heroic

heroic antagoniſt, which they had ſo often and ſo fatally experienced, continually preſented itſelf to their minds; and the inſpired arts of Tyrtæus were again neceſſary to reſiſt the increaſing panic. A ſecond time he revived their drooping courage, while he expatiated on the glory of antient warriors; the magnanimity of deſpiſing fortune; the praiſe and honours of valour; the joys and rewards of victory [25]. Theſe ſentiments dictated by the true ſpirit of heroiſm, fired their minds with martial ardour. Diſregarding the ſweets of life, they longed for an honourable death. One conſideration only (ſuch was the ſuperſtition of ancient times) damped the generous warmth that animated their ſouls. In an engagement, which there was every reaſon to believe would be fought with the moſt obſtinate valour on both ſides, what crowds of warriors muſt fall, whoſe bodies, heaped together in horrid confuſion, would not be recogniſed by their friends, or obtain, with due ſolemnity, the ſacred rites of funeral! This melancholy thought, which chilled the boldeſt heart with religious horror, might have formed an inſurmountable obſtacle to their ſucceſs, had not their terrors been removed by the prudent miſſionary of Apollo. By the advice of Tyrtæus, each ſoldier tied a token, inſcribed with his name and deſignation, round his right arm, by means of which his body, however diſfigured [26], might be known to his friends and kindred. Thus fortified againſt the only illuſion that could alarm the minds of men who preferred death to a defeat, they ruſhed forward to attack their dreaded, and hitherto, victorious, foes.

The

[25] Tyrtæus, p. 2 and 3. Edit. Glaſg.
[26] Confuſa corporum lineamenta. JUSTIN.

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The battle of the Trenches.

The Meſſenian general had drawn up his forces at a place called the Great Ditch, from which this engagement has been called the Battle of the Trenches[27]. The national ſtrength was reinforced by a conſiderable body of Arcadian troops, commanded by their king Ariſtocrates, to whoſe treachery, as much as to their own valour, the Spartans were indebted for the victory.

Treachery of Ariſtocrates, leader of the Arcadians.

The Spartans, though poſſeſſed of little private wealth, had a conſiderable public treaſury, with which they early began to bribe thoſe whom they deſpaired to conquer. With this, perhaps, on many former occaſions, they had tempted the avarice of Ariſtocrates, who, from want of opportunity, rather than of inclination to betray, had hitherto maintained his fidelity inviolate. But when he perceived the unuſual ardour which animated the enemy, and reflected, that if, without his concurrence, victory ſhould declare itſelf on *their* ſide, he might for ever be deprived of an occaſion to earn the wages of his intended iniquity, he determined to abandon his ancient allies, and to enſure ſucceſs to the Lacedæmonians. In ſight of the two armies, he explained and exaggerated to his troops the advantageous poſition of the Spartans; the difficulty of a retreat, in caſe they themſelves were obliged to give ground; and the inauſpicious omens which threatened deſtruction to Meſſené. In order to avoid the ruin ready to overtake their allies, he commanded his men to be prepared to follow him on the firſt ſignal for the engagement. When the charge was ſounded, and the Meſſenians were preparing to reſiſt the firſt onſet of the enemy, Ariſtocrates led off his Arcadians; and, to make his defection more

[27] Polybius, l. iv. Strabo, l. viii.

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The Meſſenians defeated.

more apparent, croſſed the whole Meſſenian army. The Meſſenians, confounded with a treachery ſo bold and manifeſt, almoſt forgot that they were contending againſt the Spartans. Many forſook their ranks, and ran after the Arcadians, ſometimes conjuring them to return to their duty, and ſometimes reproaching them with their perfidious ingratitude. Their intreaties and inſults were alike vain; their army was ſurrounded almoſt on every ſide; the little band of Ariſtomenes alone, with pertinacious valour, reſiſting the efforts, and breaking through the embattled ſquadrons of the enemy. Their example encouraged others of their countrymen to effect an eſcape by equal bravery; but, in attempting this dangerous meaſure, the greater part of the ſoldiers periſhed, as well as the generals Androcles, Phintas, and Phanas, perſons deſcended from the ancient ſtock of Meſſenian nobility, and who, next to Ariſtomenes, formed the principal ornament and ſupport of their declining country.

Magnanimity of Ariſtomenes:

Among the republics of ancient Greece, the fate of a nation often depended on the event of a battle. The contention was not between mercenary troops, who regarded war as a trade, which they carried on merely from intereſt, without emulation or reſentment. The citizens of free communities fought for their liberties and fortunes, their wives and children, and for every object held dear or valuable among men. In ſuch a ſtruggle they exerted the utmoſt efforts of their animoſity as well as of their ſtrength; nor did the conflict ceaſe, till the one party had reduced the other to extremity. It was not extraordinary, therefore, that, after the bloody battle of the Trenches, the Meſſenians ſhould be unable to keep the field. Ariſtomenes, however, determined,

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mined, while he preſerved his life, to maintain his independence. With this view, he collected the miſerable remains of his unfortunate troops; aſſembled the ſcattered inhabitants of the open country; abandoned the cities and villages on the plain to the mercy of the victors; and ſeized, with his little army, the ſtrong fortreſs of Eira, ſituate among the mountains which riſe along the ſouthern ſhore of Meſſenia, defended on the north by the river Neda, and open only on the ſouth towards the harbours of Pylus and Methoné, which offered it a plentiful ſupply of corn, fiſh, and other neceſſary proviſions.

he throws himſelf into the fortreſs of Eira;

A. C. 682—671. In this ſituation the gallant Meſſenian reſiſted, for eleven years, the efforts of the Spartans, who endeavoured, with unremitting induſtry, to become maſters of the fortreſs. Nor was he ſatisfied with defending the place; on various occaſions he made vigorous and ſucceſsful ſallies againſt the beſiegers. With a body of three hundred Meſſenians, of tried valour and fidelity, he, at different times, over-ran the Spartan territories, and plundered ſuch cities as were either weakly garriſoned, or negligently defended. In order to put a ſtop to incurſions equally diſhonourable and deſtructive, the Spartans ordered their frontier to be laid waſte, and thus rendered incapable of affording ſubſiſtence to the enemy. But they themſelves were the firſt to feel the inconveniency of this meaſure. As the lands towards that frontier were the moſt fertile in the province, and the crops in other parts had failed, through the inclemency of the ſeaſon, the Spartans were threatened with all the calamities of famine; to which the proprietors of the waſted grounds, deprived of their harveſts by a rigorous injunction of the ſtate, were prepared to add the horrors of a ſedition.

ravages the Spartan territories;

Tyrtæus

Tyrtæus diſplayed, on this occaſion, the wonderful power of his art, by appeaſing the angry tumult, and teaching the Spartans patiently to bear, in the ſervice of their country, the loſs of fortune, as well as of life.

and plunders Amyclæ.

While the enemy were diſturbed by theſe commotions, Ariſtomenes ſet out from Eira, with his favourite band, and, marching all night, arrived by day-break at Amyclæ, a Lacedæmonian city, ſituated on the banks of the Eurotas, at the diſtance of a few miles from the capital. Having entered the place without reſiſtance, he carried off a conſiderable booty in ſlaves and merchandiſe, and returned to his mountains before the Spartans, though appriſed of his incurſion, could come to the aſſiſtance of their neighbours.

Ariſtomenes taken priſoner.

A continued ſeries of ſuch exploits, carried on with equal ſucceſs, inſpired into the Meſſenians a degree of confidence, which had almoſt proved fatal to their cauſe. Neglecting that celerity, and thoſe precautions, to which they owed their paſt advantages, they began to continue ſo long in the field, that the Spartans found an opportunity to intercept their return. The little band of Ariſtomenes behaved with its uſual gallantry, and long defended itſelf againſt far ſuperior numbers, headed by the two kings of Sparta. The commander, after receiving many wounds, was taken priſoner; and, with fifty of his braveſt companions, carried in chains to the Lacedæmonian capital. The reſentment of that republic againſt thoſe who had inflicted on her ſuch dreadful calamities, was not to be gratified by an ordinary puniſhment. After much deliberation, the priſoners were thrown, alive, into the Ceada; a profound cavern, which was commonly employed as a re-

Thrown into the Ceada.

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a receptacle for the moſt atrocious criminals. All the companions of Ariſtomenes were killed by the fall; he alone was preſerved by an accident, which, though natural enough in itſelf, has been disfigured by many fabulous circumſtances[28]. The Spartans, who loved valour even in an enemy, permitted him, at his earneſt deſire, to be buried with his ſhield; a weapon of defence held in peculiar veneration by the Grecian ſoldiers.

His wonderful preſervation and eſcape.

As he deſcended into the deep cavity, the edge or boſs of his ample buckler, ſtriking againſt the ſides of the pit, broke the force of the fall, and ſaved his life. Two days he continued in this miſerable dungeon, amidſt the ſtench and horror of dead bodies, his face covered with his cloak, waiting the ſlow approaches of certain death. The third day (at day-break) he heard a noiſe, and looking up, perceived a fox devouring the mangled remains of his companions. He allowed the animal to approach him, and catching hold of it with one hand, while he defended himſelf againſt its bite with the other, he determined to follow wherever it ſhould conduct him. The fox drew towards a chink in the rock, by which he had entered the cavity, and through which he intended to get out. Ariſtomenes, then, gave liberty to his guide, whom he followed with much difficulty, ſcrambling through the paſſage, which had been opened for his deliverance. He immediately took the road of Eira, and was received with pleaſing aſtoniſhment among his tranſported companions.

The

[28] An eagle, it is ſaid, flew to his relief, which aroſe from his having a ſpread-eagle on his ſhield. Pauſanias ſays, he ſaw the ſhield, which was preſerved in the ſubterraneous chapel of Trophonius, at Labedea.

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He ſurpriſes the Corinthian Camp.

The news of his wonderful eſcape were ſoon conveyed to Sparta by ſome Meſſenian deſerters, whoſe information on ſuch a ſubject was not more credited, than if they had brought intelligence of one riſen from the dead. But, in the ſpace of a few days, the exploits of Ariſtomenes convinced the incredulity of the Spartans. He was informed by his ſcouts, that the Corinthians had ſent a powerful reinforcement to the beſiegers; that theſe troops were ſtill on their march, obſerving no order or diſcipline in the day, and encamping, during night, without guards or centinels. A general leſs active and leſs enterpriſing, would not have neglected ſo favourable an occaſion of annoying the enemy. But Ariſtomenes alone was capable of effecting this purpoſe by the means which were now employed. That no appearance of danger might alarm the negligence of the Corinthians, he ſet out unattended and alone [29], waited their approach in concealment, attacked their camp in the dead of night, marked his route with blood, and returning loaded with ſpoils to Eira, offered to Meſſenian Jove the *Hecatomphonia*; a ſacrifice of an hundred victims, which *he* alone was entitled to perform, who, with his own hand, had killed an hundred of his enemies. This was the third time the Meſſenian hero had celebrated the ſame tremendous rite.

The Lacedæmonians treacherouſly admitted into Eira.

Eleven years had the vigorous and perſevering efforts of a ſingle man prolonged the deſtiny of Eira. Ariſtomenes might have ſtill withſtood the impetuous ardour of the Spartans, but he could not

[29] The exploits of Ariſtomenes often oblige us to remember the expreſſion in Pauſanias, p. 244: Αριστομενης δε εργα φασι αποδειξασθαι πλειον τι η ανδρα ενα εικος ην. "That he did more "than ſeemed poſſible for any one man."

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not withſtand the unerring oracles of Apollo, which predicted the fall of the devoted city. The purpoſe of the gods, however, was accompliſhed, not by open force, but by the ſecret treachery of a Lacedæmonian adulterer. This Lacedæmonian was the ſlave of Emperamus, a Spartan, who, in the field, yielded the poſt of honour only to the kings. The perfidious ſlave had eſcaped to the enemy with his maſter's property, and had formed an intrgue with a Meſſenian woman, whom he viſited as often as her huſband was called in his turn to guard the citadel. Amidſt the miſerable joys of their infamous commerce, the lovers were one night diſturbed by the huſband, who loudly claimed admittance, which, however, he did not obtain till his wife had concealed the adulterer. When the wife, with the moſt inſidious flattery, enquiring by what exceſs of good fortune ſhe was bleſſed with her huſband's unexpected return, the ſimple Meſſenian related, that the inclemency of the weather had driven the ſoldiers from their poſts, the wind, and thunder, and rain being ſo violent, that it was ſcarcely poſſible for them to continue any longer uncovered on the high grounds; nor could their deſertion be attended with any bad conſequences, either to themſelves or to their country, as Ariſtomenes was prevented, by a recent wound, from walking the rounds as uſual, and as it could not be expected that the Spartans ſhould venture an attack againſt the citadel, during the obſcurity and horror of a tempeſt. The Lacedæmonian ſlave overheard this recital, and thus obtained a piece of intelligence, which he well knew might not only atone for his paſt crimes, but acquire him great merit with his ancient maſter. He cautiouſly eſcaped from his concealment, and ſought, with the utmoſt celerity,

rity, the Spartan camp. Neither of the kings being then preſent, the command belonged to Emperamus, who readily pardoned the fortunate treachery of a ſervant that had afforded him the means of obtaining the higheſt object of his ambition. Notwithſtanding the ſlipperineſs of the ſteep aſcent, the Spartans, by the direction of the ſlave, mounted the unguarded citadel, and obtained poſſeſſion of all the principal poſts, before the Meſſenians became ſenſible of their danger.

Obſtinate defence of that place.

As ſoon as it was known that the enemy had entered into the city, Ariſtomenes, accompanied by the warlike prophet Theocles, together with their reſpective ſons Gorgus and Manticles, endeavoured to animate the deſpair of their fellow-citizens, and to make them defend, to the laſt extremity, the little ſpot of ground to which they could yet apply the endearing name of country. Such, however, were the terrors and confuſion of the night (the darkneſs, thunder, and tempeſt, being rendered ſtill more dreadful by the preſence of an armed enemy), that it was impoſſible to form the Meſſenians into ſuch an order of battle as might enable them to act with concert or effect. When morning appeared they ſaw the danger more diſtinctly than before, and the impoſſibility of any other aſſiſtance than what may be derived from deſpair. They determined, at every hazard, to attack and penetrate the Spartan battalions. Even the women armed themſelves with tiles, with ſtones, with every weapon that preſented itſelf to their fury. They lamented that the violence of the wind prevented them from mounting to the roofs of the houſes, which they had purpoſed to throw down on the enemy; and declared that they would rather be buried under the ruins

Olymp. xxvii. 2. A. C. 671.

of

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of their country, than dragged in captivity to Sparta. Such generous reſolutions ought to have retarded the fate of Meſſené; but it was impoſſible to fight againſt ſuperior numbers, aided by the elements, and by the manifeſt partiality of the gods; for the thunder, happening on the right of the Spartans, afforded them an auſpicious omen of future victory, and preſented to the Meſſenians the ſad proſpect of impending calamities.

Theſe circumſtances, ſo favourable to the Spartans, were improved by the prudence of Hecatus the diviner, who adviſed that the ſoldiers who compoſed the laſt ranks, as they could not be brought up to the attack, ſhould be remanded to the camp; and, after refreſhing themſelves with ſleep and nouriſhment, recalled to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen. Thus, without depriving themſelves of preſent ſtrength, the Spartans provided for a future ſupply of freſh troops; while the Meſſenians, engaged in continual action with the aſſailants, were obliged at the ſame time to combat cold, ſleep, fatigue, and hunger. For three days and nights they withſtood the combined force of theſe, finally, irreſiſtible enemies; and when at length they began to give way, the diviner Theocles threw himſelf into the midſt of the Spartans, crying out, "That they would not "always be victorious, nor the Meſſenians al-"ways be their ſlaves. Such was the will of the "gods! who commanded him to periſh in the "wreck of a country, which, in a future age, "was deſtined to riſe from its ruins."

It might have been expected that the patriotiſm of Ariſtomenes would have choſen the ſame honourable occaſion of expiring with the freedom of

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Ariſtomenes conducts a remnant of the Meſſenians towards Arcadia.

of his republic. But the general preferred life for the ſake of defending the ſmall remnant of a community, which, he flattered himſelf, would be immortal, not only from the prediction of Theocles, but from another circumſtance equally important. When the downfal of Eira was foretold by the oracle of Apollo, the prudent chief had removed to a place of ſecurity ſome ſacred pledges believed to contain the fate of Meſſené. Theſe myſterious ſecurities conſiſted of thin plates of lead, rolled up in the form of a volume, on which was engraved an account of the hiſtory and worſhip of the goddeſſes Ceres and Proſerpine. Having concealed in Mount Ithomè this invaluable monument, which had been delivered down in veneration from the remoteſt antiquity, Ariſtomenes determined never to deſpair of the fortune, or to forſake the intereſts of his country. Although he perceived, therefore, that it was now become neceſſary to relinquiſh Eira, he did not, on this account, abandon the ſafety of its remaining citizens. In order to preſerve them, the only expedient that could be employed, with any hopes of ſucceſs, was the ſounding a retreat, and the collecting into one body, ſuch of his ſoldiers as were not already too far engaged with the Spartans. Having accompliſhed this meaſure, he placed the women and children in the centre of the battalion, and committed the command of the rear to Gorgus and Manticles. He himſelf conducted the van, and marching towards the enemy with his ſpear equally poized, and with well-regulated valour, ſhewed, by his mien and countenance, that he was reſolved to defend, to the laſt extremity, the little remnant of the Meſſenian ſtate. The Spartans, as directed by Hecatus the diviner, opened their ranks, and allowed them to paſs unhurt, judiciouſly avoiding to irritate their

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deſpair. The Meſſenians abandoned their city, and in mournful ſilence marched towards Arcadia.

Their kind reception in that country.

As the wars of the Grecian republics were more bloody and deſtructive than thoſe of modern times, ſo were their alliances more generous and ſincere. When the Arcadians were informed of the taking of Eira, they travelled in great numbers towards the frontiers of their kingdom, carrying with them victuals, clothing, and all things neceſſary to the relief of the unfortunate fugitives; whom having met at mount Lycæa, they invited into their cities, offered to divide with them their lands, and to give them their daughters in marriage[30].

Ariſtomenes purpoſes to ſurprize Sparta.

The generous ſympathy of the Arcadians animated Ariſtomenes to an exploit, the boldneſs of which little correſponded with the depreſſion incident to his preſent fortune. He had only five hundred ſoldiers, whoſe activity and ſtrength were ſtill equal to their valour; and theſe he commanded, in the preſence of his allies, to march ſtraightway to Sparta. Three hundred Arcadians deſired to ſhare the glory of this ſpirited enterprize; and it was hoped, that as the greater part of the Lacedæmonians were employed in plundering Eira, this ſmall but valiant body of men might make a deep impreſſion on a city deprived of its uſual defence. The arrangements for this purpoſe were taken with the Arcadian king Ariſtocrates, whoſe behaviour at the battle of the Trenches had occaſioned the defeat of the Meſſenians, and whoſe artifice had ſince perſuaded them, that his ſhameful behaviour on that day was

Treachery and puniſhment of Ariſtocrates.

[30] Polyb. l. iv.

was the effect of pannic terror, not of perfidious intention. A ſecond time the treacherous Arcadian betrayed the cauſe of his country and its allies. Having retarded the execution of Ariſtomenes's project, on pretence that the appearance of the entrails was unfavourable, he diſpatched a confidential ſlave to Sparta, who diſcovered the imminent danger threatening that republic, to Anaxander the Lacedæmonian king. The ſlave was intercepted on his return, carrying a letter from that prince, in which he acknowledged the faithful ſervices of his ancient benefactor.

Olymp. xxvii. 2. A. C. 671.

Upon the diſcovery of this letter, which totally diſconcerted the intended enterprize againſt Sparta, the Arcadians, frantic with diſappointment and rage, ſtoned to death the perfidious traitor who diſgraced the name of king. The Meſſenians joined not in the execution of this ſubſtantial act of juſtice. Watching the countenance of Ariſtomenes, whoſe authority was equally powerful in the council and in the field, they obſerved, that inſtead of being agitated by reſentment, it was ſoftened by grief. The hero was affected with the deepeſt melancholy, on reflecting, that the only deſign was now rendered abortive, by which he could ſoon hope to avenge the wrongs of his country. Both nations teſtified the moſt ſignal deteſtation of the character of Ariſtocrates. The Arcadians extinguiſhed his name, and extirpated his whole race. The Meſſenians erected a column near the temple of Lycæan Apollo (ſo named from mount Lycæa, on the confines of Arcadia) with an inſcription, ſetting forth his crime and puniſhment; aſſerting the impoſſibility of concealing treacherous baſeneſs from the inveſtigation of Time, and the penetrating mind of

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Jove; and praying the god to defend and bleſs the land of Arcadia[31].

Future fortune of the Meſſenians,

Thus ended the ſecond Meſſenian war, in the autumn of the year ſix hundred and ſeventy-one before Chriſt. The fugitive Meſſenians experienced various fortunes. The aged and infirm were treated by the Arcadians, among whom they continued to reſide, with all the cordial attention of antient hoſpitality. The young and enterpriſing, took leave of their benefactors, and, under the conduct of Ariſtomenes, repaired to Cyllené, an harbour belonging to the Eleans. Agreeably to the information which they had received, they found in that place their countrymen of Pylus and Mothoné, with whom they conſulted about the means of acquiring new eſtabliſhments. It was determined, by the advice of their Elean friends, not to undertake any expedition for this purpoſe, until the return of ſpring, when they ſhould again convene in full aſſembly, finally to conclude this important deliberation. Having met at the time appointed, they agreed unanimouſly to commit their future fortunes to the wiſdom and paternal care of Ariſtomenes, who declared his opinion for eſtabliſhing a diſtant colony, but declined the honours of conducting it in perſon, and named for this office the brave Meſſenian youths, Gorgus and Manticles. The former of theſe, inheriting his father's hatred againſt Sparta, adviſed his countrymen to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of Zacynthus, which, from its ſituation in the Ionian Sea, lay conveniently for haraſſing the maritime parts of Laconia. Manticles propoſed a different opinion, obſerving that

Olymp. xxvii. 3. A. C. 670.

[31] The inſcription is preſerved by both Polybius, l. iv. and by Pauſanias, Meſſen.

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that the iſland of Sardinia, though leſs advantageouſly ſituated for the purpoſes of revenge, was far better adapted to ſupply the neceſſary comforts of life; and that the Meſſenians, if once ſettled in that large and beautiful iſland, would ſoon forget the calamities which Sparta had inflicted on them. It is uncertain whether motives of vengeance or utility would have prevailed with the Meſſenians; for before any reſolution was taken on this important ſubject, a meſſenger arrived from Rhegium, then governed by Anaxilas, a prince deſcended of the royal houſe of Meſſenia, who invited his wandering countrymen to a ſafe and honourable retreat in his dominions. When, agreeably to this invitation, they arrived at Rhegium, Anaxilas informed them, that his ſubjects were continually haraſſed by the pyratical depredations of the Zancleans, an Eolian colony [32], who poſſeſſed a delightful territory on the oppoſite coaſt. With the aſſiſtance of the Meſſenians, it would be eaſy (he obſerved) to deſtroy that neſt of pirates; a meaſure by which the city of Rhegium would be delivered from very troubleſome neighbours, and the Meſſenians enabled to eſtabliſh themſelves in the moſt delicious ſituation of the whole Sicilian coaſt. The propoſal was received with alacrity; the armament ſailed for Sicily; the Zancleans were beſieged by ſea and land. When they perceived that part of their wall was deſtroyed, and that they could derive no advantage from continuing in arms, they took refuge in the temples of their gods. Even from theſe reſpected aſylums the reſentment of Anaxilas was ready to tear them; but he was reſtrained by the humanity of the Meſſenians, who had learned from their own calamities to pity the unfortunate. The Zancleans, thus

[32] Thucydid. l. vi.

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thus delivered from the ſword and from ſervitude, the ordinary conſequences of unſucceſsful war, ſwore eternal gratitude to their generous protectors. The Meſſenians returned this friendly ſentiment with an increaſe of bounty; they allowed the Zancleans either to leave the place, or to remain in the honourable condition of citizens; the two nations gradually coaleſced into one community; and Zanclé, in memory of the conqueſt, changed its name to Meſſene [33], a name which may ſtill be recognized after the revolution of twenty-five centuries.

and of Ariſtomenes.

It has been already obſerved, that Ariſtomenes declined the honour of conducting the colony. His ſubſequent fortune is differently related by ancient writers [34]. Pauſanias, to whom we are indebted for the fulleſt account of the Meſſenian hero, informs us, that he ſailed to the iſle of Rhodes with Demagetes, the king of the city and territory of Ialyſus in that iſland, who being adviſed by the oracle of Apollo to marry the daughter of the moſt illuſtrious character in Greece, had without heſitation preferred the daughter of Ariſtomenes. From Rhodes he ſailed to Ionia, and thence

[33] Such is the account of Pauſanias, or rather of the ancient authors whom he follows. But it muſt not be diſſembled, that Herodotus, lib. vi. c. 23. Thucydides, p. 114. and Diodorus, lib. xi. place Anaxilas, king of Rhegium, much later than the ſecond Meſſenian war. It deſerves to be conſidered, that Pauſanias, writing expreſsly on the ſubject, is entitled to more credit than authors who only ſpeak of it incidentally. But when we reflect, that theſe authors are Herodotus and Thucydides, there ſeems no way of ſolving the difficulty, but by ſuppoſing two princes of the name of Anaxilas, to the latter of whom his countrymen, by a ſpecies of flattery not uncommon in Greece, aſcribed the tranſactions of the firſt.

[34] Confer. Pauſan. Meſſen. & Plin. l. xi. cap. 70. Val. Maxim. lib. i. cap. 8.

thence travelled to Sardis, with an intention of being preſented to Ardys king of the Lydians, probably to propoſe ſome enterprize to the ambition of that prince, which might finally be productive of benefit to Meſſené. But upon his arrival at Sardis, he was ſeized with a diſtemper which put an end to his life. Other generals have defended their country with better ſucceſs, but none with greater glory; other characters are more fully delineated in ancient hiſtory, but none more deſerving of immortal fame; ſince whatever is known of Ariſtomenes tends to prove, that according to the ideas of his age and country, he united, in ſingular perfection, the merits of the citizen and of the ſoldier, the powers of the underſtanding, and the virtues of the heart.

His death and character.

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State of the Peloponneſus after the Conqueſt of Meſſenia.—Of the Northern Republics of Greece.—Of the Grecian Colonies.—Revolutions in Government.—Military Tranſactions.—The firſt ſacred War.—Deſtruction of the Criſſean Republic.—Reſtoration of the Pythian Games.—Deſcription of the Gymnaſtic and Equeſtrian Exerciſes.—Hiſtory of Grecian Muſic.

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State of Greece after the conqueſt of Meſſenia, and firſt of the Peloponneſus.

Olymp. xxviii. 1. A. C. 668.

THE conqueſt of Meſſenia rendered Sparta the moſt conſiderable power in Greece. The Peloponneſus, formerly comprehending ſeven, now contained only ſix independent ſtates. The ſubjects of Sparta alone occupied two-fifths of the whole peninſula. The remainder was unequally divided among the Corinthians, Achæans, Eleans, Arcadians, and Argives. In a narrow extent of territory, theſe ſmall communities exhibited a wonderful variety of character and manners. The central diſtrict of Arcadia, conſiſting of one continued cluſter of mountains, was inhabited by a hardy race of herdſmen, proud of their anceſtry, and confident in their own courage and the ſtrength of their country. Their Eolian extraction, their jealouſy, and their pride, made them diſdain connection with the Dorians, by whoſe poſſeſſions they were on all ſides ſurrounded. Careleſs of the arts of peace, they were engaged in unceaſing hoſtilities with their neighbours, by whom they were deſpiſed as barbarians, and whom they contemned as upſtarts; ſince, amidſt all the revolutions

revolutions of Peloponneſus, the Arcadians alone had ever maintained their original eſtabliſhments [1].

Contraſt between the Arcadians and Corinthians.

The induſtrious and wealthy Corinthians preſented a very different ſpectacle. Inhabiting the mountainous iſthmus, which, towering between two ſeas, connects the Peloponneſus with the north of Greece, the Corinthians long formed the the principal centre of inland communication and foreign commerce [2]. Towards the ſouthern extremity of the iſthmus, and at the foot of their impregnable fortreſs Acro Corinthus, they had built a fair and ſpacious city, extending its branches, on either ſide, to the Saronic and Corinthian gulphs, whoſe oppoſite waves vainly aſſailed their narrow but lofty territory [3]. Their harbours and their commerce gave them colonies and a naval power. They are ſaid to have improved the very inconvenient ſhips, or rather long-boats, uſed in early times, into the more capacious form of Trireme [4] gal-

[1] Pauſan. Arcad. Strabo, l. viii. p. 388.

[2] Pauſan. Corinth. c. iv.

[3] Strabo, l. viii. p. 379.

[4] The Triremes, Quadriremes, Quinqueremes of the ancients, were ſo denominated from the number of the ranks, or tires, of oars on each ſide the veſſel; which number conſtituted what we may call the rate of the ancient ſhips of war. It was long a deſideratum in the ſcience of antiquities to determine the manner of arranging theſe ranks of oars, as well as to aſcertain the poſition of the rowers. The bulk of commentators and antiquaries placed the ſedilia, or ſeats, in rows, immediately above each other, upon the ſides of the veſſel, which they ſuppoſed perpendicular to the ſurface of the water. But the leaſt knowledge of naval architecture deſtroys that ſuppoſition. The rowers, thus placed, muſt have obſtructed each other; they muſt have occupied too large a ſpace, and rowed with too unfavourable an angle on the ſhip's ſide; above all, the length and weight of the oars, required for the upper tires, muſt have rendered the working of them

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gallies [5]. Their ſea fight againſt their rebellious colony, Corcyra, is the firſt naval engagement recorded

them totally impracticable, eſpecially as we know, from ancient writers, that there was but one man to each oar. Theſe inconveniencies were pointed out by many; but the ingenuity of lieutenant-general Melvill explained how to remedy them. He conjectured that the waſte part of the ancient gallies roſe obliquely above the water's edge, with an angle of 45°, or near it; that upon the inner ſides of this waſte part, the ſeats of the rowers, each about two feet in length, were fixed, horizontally, in rows, with no more ſpace between each ſeat, and thoſe on all ſides of it, than ſhould be found neceſſary for the free movements of men when rowing together. The quincunx, or chequer order, would afford this advantage in the higheſt degree poſſible; and, in conſequence of the combination of two obliquities, the inconveniencies above-mentioned totally diſappear. In 1773, the general cauſed the fifth part of the waiſt of a Quinqueremis to be erected in the back-yard of his houſe in Great Pulteney-ſtreet. This model contained, with ſufficient eaſe, in a very ſmall ſpace, thirty rowers, in five tires of ſix men in each, lengthways, making one-fifth part of the rowers on each ſide of a Quinqueremis, according to Polybius, who aſſigns three hundred for the whole complement, beſides one hundred and twenty fighting men. This conſtruction, the advantages of which appeared evident to thoſe who examined it, ſerves to explain many difficult paſſages of the Greek and Roman writers concerning naval matters. The general's diſcovery is confirmed by ancient monuments. On ſeveral pieces of ſculpture, particularly at Rome, he found the figures of war gallies, or parts of them, with the oars repreſented as coming down from oar holes diſpoſed chequerwiſe. In the Capo di Monte Palace at Naples the reverſe of a large Medaglione of Gordianus has the figure of a Triremis, with three tires, each of fourteen or fifteen oars, iſſuing chequerwiſe from an oblique ſide. The collection at Portici contains ancient paintings of ſeveral gallies, one or two of which, by preſenting the ſtern part, ſhew both the obliquity of the ſides, and the rows of oars reaching to the water.——The ſubſtance of this note is already publiſhed in governor Pownall's Antiquities. The governor, however, ſpeaks of a gallery for the rowers, which I did not obſerve in the general's model; nor do I apprehend that ſuch a gallery could be neceſſary, as the purpoſe for which it is ſuppoſed to have been intended, is completely anſwered by the waſte part of the veſſel.

[5] Thucydid. l. i. c. xiii.

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Political revolutions in Corinth. A. C. 779 till 585.

recorded in hiſtory [6]. It was fought ſix hundred and fifty years before Chriſt, at which time the Corinthians (as the ideas of wealth and luxury are relative) were already regarded by their neighbours as a wealthy and luxurious people. The influence of wealth to produce ſervitude prevailed over that of commerce, which is favourable to liberty. Their government, after the abolition of monarchy, was uſurped by a numerous branch of the royal family, ſtyled Pacchiadæ [7]. This oligarchy was deſtroyed by Cypſelus, a mild and gentle ruler [8], whoſe family governed Corinth till the year five hundred and eighty-five before Chriſt.

Contraſt between the Argives and Achæans.

The contraſt between Arcadia and Corinth was not more ſtriking than that between Argolis and Achaia. The citizens of Argos, having expelled their kings, were ſeiſed with an ambition to reduce and domineer over the inferior towns in the province. The inſolence of the capital provoked the indignation of the country. Mycenæ, Træzene, Epidaurus, and other places of leſs note, were often conquered, but never thoroughly ſubdued. Intereſt taught them to unite; and union enabled them to ſet at defiance the power of Argos, by which they were branded as rebellious, and which they reproached as tyrannical [9]. The fortunate diſtrict of Achaia, having ſucceſsfully reſiſted the oppreſſion of Ogygus, an unworthy deſcendant of Agamemnon, eſtabliſhed, at a very early period, a democratical form of policy [10]. Twelve cities, each of which retained its municipal juriſdiction,

[6] Ibid.
[7] Pauſan. Corinth.
[8] Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. xii.
[9] Pauſan. l. vi. c. xxi. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 275.
[10] Pauſan. Achaic. Strabo, l. viii. p. 383, &. ſeq.

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diction, united on a foot of perfect equality and freedom. This equitable confederacy prepared the way for the Achæan laws, ſo celebrated in later times, when the cauſe of Greece, ſhamefully abandoned by more powerful guardians, was defended by the feeble communities of Achaia [11].

Between the Lacedæmonians and Elians.

We have already had occaſion to explain the important inſtitutions of Iphitus and Lycurgus. The very oppoſite ſyſtems, adopted by theſe great legiſlators, reſpectively ſuited the weakneſs of Elis, and the Strength of Sparta, and occaſioned a remarkable contraſt between the peaceful tranquillity of the former republic [12], and the warlike ambition of the latter, the lines of whoſe national character grew more bold and deciſive after the Meſſenian conqueſt. The piteous remnant of the Meſſenians, who had defended their freedom with the moſt perſevering bravery, were reduced to a cruel and ignominious ſervitude. Confounded with the miſerable maſs of Helots, thoſe wretched victims of Spartan cruelty, they were condemned to laborious drudgery, expoſed to daily inſult, and compelled, ſtill more intolerable! to tend their own flocks, and cultivate their own fields, for the benefit of unrelenting tyrants [13]. The haughty temper of the Spartans became continually more preſumptuous. They totally diſdained ſuch arts and employments as they uſually ſaw practiſed by the induſtry of ſlaves. War, and hunting as the image of war, were the only occupations which it ſuited their dignity to purſue; and this conſtant exerciſe in arms, directed by the military code of Lycurgus, rendered them ſuperior in the field of battle, not only to the neighbouring ſtates

[11] Polyb. l. ii.
[12] Pauſan. Eliac. & Strabo, l. viii.
[13] Pauſanias Meſſeniac.

ſtates of Peloponneſus, but to the braveſt and moſt renowned republics beyond the Corinthian iſthmus.

State of the northern republics of Greece. Of the Grecian colonies.

While the Grecian peninſula was agitated by the ſtubborn conflict between the Spartans and Meſſenians, the northern ſtates had been diſturbed by petty wars, and torn by domeſtic diſcord [14]. The Greek ſettlements in Thrace, in Africa, and Magna Græcia, were yet too feeble to attract the regard of hiſtory. But, during the period now under review, the Aſiatic colonies, as ſhall be explained in a ſubſequent chapter, far ſurpaſſed their European brethren in ſplendor and proſperity.

Political revolutions in Athens.

Having aboliſhed the regal office, the Athenians, whoſe political revolutions were followed with remarkable uniformity by neighbouring ſtates, ſubmitted the chief adminiſtration of their affairs to a magiſtrate, entitled Archon, or ruler. The authority of the Archon long continued hereditary: it became afterwards decennial: at length nine annual Archons were appointed by the powerful claſs of nobility, conſiſting not only of the deſcendants of ſuch foreign princes as had taken refuge in Athens, but of thoſe Athenian families which time and accident had raiſed to opulence and diſtinction. The great body of the people gained nothing by theſe revolutions. The equeſtrian order, ſo called from their fighting on horſeback, which, before the improvement of tactics, rendered them ſuperior in every rencounter with the diſorderly rabble, enjoyed all authority religious, civil, and military [15]. The Athenian populace were reduced to a condition of miſera-

A. C. 754.

A. C. 684.

ble

[14] Thucydid. l. i.

[15] Ariſtot. Politic. l. iv. c. xiii.

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ble ſervitude; nor did they recover their ancient and hereditary freedom, until the admired inſtitutions of Theſeus were reſtored and improved by Solon towards the beginning of the ſixth century before Chriſt.

Unimportance of the military tranſactions preceding the firſt Sacred War. Olymp. xlvi. A. C. 600.

The domeſtic diſſentions which prevailed in every ſtate beyond the iſthmus, were only interrupted by foreign hoſtilities. Interference of intereſt occaſioned innumerable conteſts between the Phocians and Thebans, the Dorians and Theſſalians, the Locrians and Ætolians. Their various inroads, battles, and ſieges, which were begun with paſſion, carried on without prudence, and concluded without producing any permanent effect, have been conſigned by ancient hiſtorians to a juſt oblivion. But the firſt Sacred War is recommended to our attention, both on account of the cauſe from which it aroſe, and the conſequences with which it was attended. This memorable enterpriſe was occaſioned by an injury committed againſt the oracle of Delphi; it was undertaken by order of the Amphictyons; it ended in the total deſtruction of the cities accuſed of ſacrilegious outrage; and its ſucceſsful concluſion was celebrated by the Pythian games and feſtival, which, of all Grecian inſtitutions, had the moſt direct, as well as moſt powerful tendency, to refine rudeneſs, and ſoften barbarity.

Deſcription of the republic of Criſſa.

The territory of the Criſſeans, lying to the ſouth of the Delphi, comprehended, in an extent of about twenty-four miles in length, and fifteen in breadth, three large and flouriſhing cities; Criſſa, the capital, which gave name to the province; Cirrha, advantageouſly ſituated for commerce on the weſtern ſide of a creek of the Corinthian Gulph; and Anticirrha, on the eaſtern ſide

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ſide of the ſame creek, celebrated for the production of hellebore, as well as for the ſkill with which the natives prepared that medicinal plant, the virtues of which were ſo much extolled and exaggerated by credulous antiquity [16].

Its proſperity and inſolence.

The Criſſeans poſſeſſed all the means of happineſs, but knew not how to enjoy them. Their territory, though ſmall, was fertile; and as its value was enhanced by the comparative ſterility of the greateſt part of Phocis [17], it acquired and deſerved the epithet of *Happy*. Their harbour was frequented by the veſſels, not only of Greece, but of Italy and Sicily; they carried on an extenſive foreign commerce, conſidering the limited communication between diſtant countries in that early age; and the neighbourhood of Delphi, at which it was impoſſible to arrive without paſſing through their dominions, brought them conſiderable acceſſions of wealth [18], as well as of dignity and reſpect. But theſe advantages, inſtead of ſatisfying, increaſed the natural avidity of the Criſſeans.

Exacts contributions from the merchants and ſtrangers who reſorted to the oracle of Delphi.

They began to exact vexatious and exorbitant duties from the merchants who came to expoſe their wares in the ſacred city, which, on account of the great concourſe of profligate pilgrims from every quarter, ſoon became the ſeat, not of devotion only, but of diſſipation, vanity, and licentious pleaſure. It was in vain for the merchants to exclaim againſt theſe unexampled impoſitions; the taxes were continually increaſed; the evil admitted not the expectation of either remedy or relief; and the ſtrangers, accuſtomed to it by long habit, began to ſubmit to it without murmur; and perhaps endured the hardſhip with the

[16] Strabo and Pliny.
[17] Strabo, p. 323. &. ſeq.
[18] Pauſan. in Phocic.

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the greater patience, when they perceived that they drew back the tax in the increaſed price of their commodities. Encouraged by this acquieſcence in their tyranny, the Criſſeans levied a ſevere impoſt on the pilgrims, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who viſited the temple of Apollo; a meaſure directly inconſiſtent with a decree of the Amphictyons, which declared that all men ſhould have free acceſs to the oracle [19], as well as extremely hurtful to the intereſt of the Delphians, who ſoon felt a gradual diminution of their profits ariſing from the holy ſhrine. It was natural for thoſe who ſuſtained a loſs, either of gain or of authority, to remonſtrate againſt the extortions of the Criſſeans; but their remonſtrances, inſtead of producing any happy alteration of behaviour, only exaſperated men grown inſolent through proſperity. In the time of profound peace, the Criſſeans, provoked by uſeful admonitions, which they proudly called threats, entered with an armed force the territories of their neighbours; deſtroyed every thing that oppoſed them, with fire and ſword; laid the defenceleſs cities under heavy contributions, and carried many of the inhabitants into ſervitude [20]. Delphi itſelf, how much ſoever it was revered in Greece, and reſpected even by the moſt diſtant nations, appeared to the ſacrilegious invaders, an object better fitted to gratify the deſire of plunder, than to excite the emotions of piety. Neighbourhood had rendered them familiar with the woods, the temples, and the grottoes of the preſiding divinity; with the manners and character of many of his miniſters they were probably too well acquainted to hold them in much reverence; and having deſerved their reſentment by what they had already done, they

[19] Strabo, l. x. p. 418.
[20] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

they reſolved to render it impotent by what they ſhould next accompliſh. CHAP. V.

The deſign of plundering Delphi was no ſooner formed than executed. The imaginations of men were not prepared for ſuch an event; nor had any meaſures been taken to prevent ſuch an unexpected and abominable profanation. The enemy, meeting with no reſiſtance, became maſters of the temple, and ſeized the rich votive offerings accumulated by the pious generoſity of ages. Thence they paſſed into the ſacred wood, and, rendered furious through pride or guilt, attacked, plundered, and murdered, the promiſcuous crowd, who were employed in the uſual exerciſe of their devotions. The young were violated, with a licentious rage which bid defiance to decency and nature. Even a deputation of the Amphictyons, clothed in the venerable garb, and bearing the reſpected enſigns of their office, were repelled with blows and inſults, while they vainly attempted to ſtop the fatal progreſs of theſe frantic and impious outrages, committed againſt every thing held ſacred among men [21]. The Criſſeans plunder the ſhrine of Delphi.

The Amphictyonic council, to whom it belonged to judge and to puniſh the atrocious enormities of the Criſſeans, experienced, in an uncommon degree, thoſe inconveniencies to which all numerous aſſemblies are in ſome meaſure liable. Their proceedings were retarded by formality, warped by prejudice, and diſturbed by diſſention. Notwithſtanding the aggravated crimes of the Criſſeans, it was not without encountering many difficulties, and much oppoſition, that Solon, one of the Athenian repreſentatives, rouſed his aſſociates to the reſolution of avenging the offended Meaſures of the Amphictyonic council.

[21] Pauſan. in Phocic.

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offended majeſty of religion, the violated laws of nature, and their own perſonal injuries. When at length they agreed to this uſeful and pious deſign, the meaſures purſued on the preſent occaſion, as well as in all the future wars undertaken by their authority, were equally ſlow and indeciſive. The forces which they at firſt brought into the field, were by no means equal to the enterpriſe for which they were deſigned. After various reinforcements, they attempted ineffectually, during nine ſummers and winters, to reduce the towns of Criſſa and Cirrha, which finally ſubmitted, in the tenth year of the war, rather to the art than to the power of the beſiegers.

The principal events in the Sacred War.

The events of the preceding years ſtrongly paint the ignorance, the ſuperſtition, and the rude manners of the times. The Criſſeans had no ſooner plundered, than they abandoned, the temple of Apollo. Thither, by the advice of Solon, the Amphictyons ſent meſſengers, to conſult the oracle concerning the proper means, as well as the juſt meaſure, of their vengeance. They were commanded inſtantly to levy war on the Criſſeans; to perſecute them to the laſt extremity; to demoliſh their towns, to deſolate their country, and after conſecrating it to Apollo, Diana, Latona, and Minerva, to prevent it from ever thenceforth being cultivated for the ſervice of man [22]. In obedience to this peremptory injunction of the god, the Amphictyons returned to their ſeveral republics, in order to collect troops, and to animate the exertions of their countrymen in the common cauſe. The Greeks, however, were too deeply engaged in domeſtic diſſentions, to make effectual efforts for the glory of Apollo.

Few

[22] Æſchin. ibid.

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Few adventurers repaired to the holy ſtandard; and the war, neither ſupported by vigour of execution, nor directed by wiſdom of deliberation, languiſhed for ſeveral years under different generals. At length Eurylochus, a Theſſalian prince of great valour and activity, was entruſted with the command of the Amphictyonic army [23]. The new general waited till the time of harveſt, to ravage the open country, to deſtroy the villages by fire and ſword, and to deſolate the *happy* Criſſean plain.

Siege of Criſſa.

On ſeveral occaſions he defeated the army of the Criſſeans, who made frequent and vigorous ſallies in order to defend their poſſeſſions. But when he attempted to make an impreſſion on the fortified ſtrength of Criſſa, its thick walls, its lofty towers, and above all, the activity and courage of its citizens, preſented obſtacles which it was impoſſible to ſurmount. The art of beſieging towns ſtill continued in a ſtate of great imperfection. The battering-rams, and other engines employed in this operation of war, were of too rude a conſtruction to make ſuch a breach in the walls as might not eaſily be repaired. It was in vain that Eurylochus attempted by blockade to reduce the place. The enemy were furniſhed with all neceſſaries in great abundance, from the well-frequented port of Cirrha. Years thus paſſed away, and nothing deciſive was effected. The beſiegers, fatigued with labour, and uneaſy at diſappointment, had often abandoned their camp, and cantoned themſelves on the borders of the Criſſean territory, where they expected more ſalutary ſupplies of proviſions.

Peſtilence in the army of the beſiegers.

When they again returned to their duty, they were afflicted, in the ninth year of the war, with a peſ-

[23] Plut. in Solon. Strabo, l. ix. Polyænus, l. vi. c. xv.

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a peſtilential or epidemic diſorder, occaſioned either by the want of wholeſome food, the great numbers of men cooped up, during the warm ſeaſon, within a narrow ſpace, or by ſome unknown malignity of the atmoſphere. A great part of the army fell a prey to the increaſing contagion. Anxious for the public ſafety, the Amphictyons had recourſe to the wiſdom of Apollo, who, inſtead of recommending to them the aid of an able phyſician, exhorted them to bring from the iſle of Cos the *fawn with gold*. Ambaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to that iſland, in order to unravel the meaning of the god, thus wrapped up in its cuſtomary veil of myſtic obſcurity. They had no ſooner explained their commiſſion in the Coan aſſembly, than an eminent citizen, named Nebros, riſing up, declared the ſenſe of the oracle. "I am the fawn," ſaid he, "pointed out by "Apollo," (for Nebros in Greek ſignifies a fawn), "and my ſon Chryſos" (which is the Greek word for gold) "has carried off the prize of ſtrength, "courage, and beauty, from all his competitors." The perſon who thus ſpoke is juſtly celebrated, on account of his anceſtor Eſculapius, of his deſcendant Hippocrates [24], and of his own unrivalled proficiency in the healing art. The knowledge of phyſic was become the hereditary honour, and almoſt the appropriated poſſeſſion, of his family, by which it had been cultivated for many ages, and to which it is ſuppoſed in a great meaſure to owe its preſent improvement and perfection.

remedied by Nebros of Cos.

Nebros

[24] We owe, almoſt entirely, the hiſtory recorded in the text, to an oration of Theſſalus, ſon of Hippocrates, addreſſed to the Athenians. It is publiſhed among the letters of his father. Vid. Hippocrat. Opera, ex edit. Fæſii, v. ii. p. 1291. There are ſome learned diſſertations on the ſubject in the 5th and 7th volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

Nebros obeyed with alacrity the injunction of Apollo, the peculiar patron of the ſcience in which he excelled. At his own expence he equipped a veſſel of fifty oars, loaded with valuable medicines, as well as with warlike ſtores, and accompanied by his ſon Chryſos, ſet ſail with the Amphictyonic ambaſſadors, in order to cure the confederates, and to conquer the Criſſeans. CHAP. V.

Sack of Criſſa.

His advice, his prudence, and his aſſiduity, reſtored the decaying health of the army. Their numbers, however, were already ſo much diminiſhed, that it ſeemed impoſſible by open force to put a ſucceſsful end to the war. On this occaſion the artful Coan employed a ſtratagem, which would have appeared entirely inconſiſtent with the laws of arms which had long been eſtabliſhed in Greece, if it had not ſeemed to be the dictate of a divine admonition. The horſe of Eurylochus was obſerved for ſeveral days to roll on the ſand, and to ſtrike his foot with great violence againſt a particular ſpot of ground. In digging under this ground, a wooden pipe was diſcovered, which ſupplied Criſſa with water. The extraordinary means by which this diſcovery was made, convinced the ignorant credulity of the Greeks, that ſome important advantage might be derived from it; and upon mature deliberation it was concluded, that Apollo had thus ſuggeſted a contrivance for deſtroying his own and their enemies. Complying, therefore, with the heavenly intimation, Nebros poiſoned the conduit of water; and the effect of this deteſtable artifice was ſoon diſcernible in the languid efforts, and diminiſhed reſiſtance of the beſieged. The beſiegers, on the other hand, encouraged by the evident partiality of the gods, carried on their operations with redoubled vigour. A reward was propoſed for the man

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man who ſhould firſt mount the walls, an honour obtained by the youthful ardour of Chryſos. The city was thus taken by aſſault; the fortifications were demoliſhed, the houſes burnt, and the inhabitants treated with a ſeverity proportioned to the atrocious enormity of their own crimes, and the exaſperated reſentment of the victors.

Conſecration of the Cirrhean plain,

The command of Apollo, however, was not completely executed by the deſtruction of the Criſſean capital. Part of that impious community ſtill ſubſiſted in the maritime town of Cirrha, the reduction of which muſt have preſented great difficulties to the Amphictyons, ſince it was neceſſary for them a third time to have recourſe to the oracle. The anſwer delivered on this occaſion was delivered in twofold obſcurity. The words of the god, at all times dark and doubtful, now ſeemed abſolutely unintelligible, ſince he made the taking of Cirrha, an event which there was every reaſon to expect, depend on a circumſtance which appeared at firſt ſight impoſſible. "You ſhall "not overturn," ſaid he, "the lofty towers of "Cirrha, until the foaming billows of blue-eyed "Amphitrité beat againſt the reſounding ſhores "of the Holy Land." How could the ſea be conveyed, for ſeveral leagues, over rocks and mountains, ſo that its waves might daſh againſt the craggy precipices which ſurround the ſacred groves of Delphi? This was an ænigma, which the oldeſt and moſt experienced members of the Amphictyonic council acknowledged themſelves unable to explain. The condition on which ſucceſs was promiſed them, ſeemed incapable of being fulfilled; the inhabitants of Cirrha flattered themſelves with hopes of unalterable ſecurity; and the wiſeſt of the Amphictyons gave their opinion, that there was good reaſon to abandon an enterpriſe

priſe which ſeemed diſagreeable to Apollo, by whoſe advice the war had been originally undertaken.

adviſed by Solon,

While theſe ſentiments univerſally prevailed in both armies, Solon, the Athenian, alone ventured to propoſe an advice more advantageous for the confederates, as well as more honourable for the holy ſhrine. His ſuperior wiſdom taught him the impiety of ſuppoſing that the god ſhould require an impoſſibility, as the condition of happily terminating a war, the firſt meaſures of which he had himſelf ſuggeſted and approved. It exceeded, indeed, human power to extend the ſea to the boundary of the Holy Land; but by removing this boundary, it was poſſible to make the Holy Land communicate with the ſea. This might eaſily be accompliſhed, ſince it ſufficed, for that purpoſe, to conſecrate the intermediate ſpace with the ſame ceremonies which had been formerly employed in dedicating the Delphian territory [25].

and put in execution.

The opinion of Solon, propoſed with much ſolemn gravity, was honoured with the unanimous approbation of his aſſociates. Every one now wondered that he himſelf ſhould not have thought of an expedient which ſeemed ſo natural and ſo obvious. The preparations were immediately made for carrying it into execution; and the property of the Cirrhean plain was ſurrendered to the god with the moſt pompous formality; the Amphictyons, either not conſidering that they beſtowed on Apollo, what, as it was not their own, they had not a right to give away; or, if this idea occurred, eaſily perſuading themſelves that the piety of the application would atone for the defect of the title.

When

[25] Plutarch. in Solon. Pauſan. in Phoc.

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Cirrha taken, and conſequences of the war.

When the ſenators had performed the conſecration, the ſoldiers aſſailed the walls of Cirrha with the increaſing activity of re-animated hope. That place, as well as the dependent town of Anticirrha, ſituate on the oppoſite ſide of the creek, ſoon ſubmitted to their arms. The impious and devoted citizens were either put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity. The Criſſean community, formerly ſo rich and flouriſhing, was for ever extirpated [26]. Their lands were laid waſte, their cities demoliſhed, the proud monuments of their victories levelled with the ground; and the port of Cirrha, which was allowed to remain as a convenient harbour for Delphi, ſubſiſted as the only veſtige of their ancient grandeur. The territory, as it had been condemned by the divine will to perpetual ſterility, long continued uncultivated; for the Delphians were not obliged to labour the ground in order to acquire the neceſſaries, the accommodations, and even the higheſt luxuries of life. The ſuperſtition of the age furniſhed an abundant reſource to ſupply their wants; the granaries of Apollo filled ſpontaneouſly; and, to uſe the figurative ſtyle of an ancient author, the land, unploughed and unſown by the induſtry of man, flouriſhed in the richeſt luxuriance under the culture of the god [27].

The happy iſſue of the ſacred war celebrated by the Pythian games. Olymp. xlvii. 2. A. C. 590.

The ſucceſsful event of a war begun, carried on, and concluded under the reſpectable ſanction of the Amphictyonic council, was celebrated with all the pomp and feſtivity congenial to the Grecian character. According to an ancient and ſacred inſtitution, the ſeveral republics were accuſtomed, by public ſhews, to commemorate their reſpective victories. When different communities had

[26] Æſchin. in Cteſiphont.

[27] Εφυετο τα παντα υπο γεωργω τω θεω. LUCIAN. Phalar. ii.

had employed their joint efforts in the ſame glorious enterpriſe, the grateful triumph was exhibited with a proportional increaſe of magnificence; but the fortunate exploits of gods and heroes, which had extenſively benefited the whole Grecian name, were diſtinguiſhed by ſuch peculiar and tranſcendant honours as eclipſed the ſplendor of all other ſolemnities. While each republic paid the tribute of provincial feſtivals to the memory of its particular benefactors, the whole nation were concerned in acknowledging the bountiful goodneſs of Jupiter, the protecting aid of Neptune, the unerring wiſdom of Apollo, and the unrivalled labours of Hercules. Hence the Olympian, Iſthmian, Pythian, and Nemean games, which, though alike founded on the ſame principle of pious gratitude, were, from their firſt eſtabliſhment, diſtinguiſhed by various ceremonies, and reſpectively conſecreted to different divinities.

The Amphictyons were principally indebted to the prudent admonitions of Apollo for the fortunate iſſue of a war undertaken by his authority; it therefore became them, while they rejoiced in the happy ſucceſs of their arms, to offer reſpectful thanks to the god. Theſe objects might eaſily be conjoined in the pleaſing texture of ancient ſuperſtition, ſince the celebration of the Pythian games, which had been interrupted by a long train of wars and calamities, would form an entertainment not leſs agreeable to the ſuppoſed dictates of piety, than adapted to the natural demands of pleaſure.

This feſtival diſtinguiſhed from the preceding by two circumſtances.

The feſtival re-eſtabliſhed on this memorable occaſion in honour of Apollo, is mentioned by ancient hiſtorians, on account of two remarkable circumſtances, by which it was diſtinguiſhed. Inſtead of the ſcanty rewards uſually diſtributed among

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among the gymnaſtic combatants at other public ſolemnities, the Amphictyons beſtowed on the victors the moſt precious ſpoils of the cities Criſſa and Cirrha. The exhibitions of poetry and muſic had hitherto been united in all the Grecian feſtivals, and the laurel crown had been adjudged to the poet-muſician, who enlivened the compoſition of his genius by the ſound of his lyre. The Amphictyons for the firſt time ſeparated the kindred arts; propoſed prizes of inſtrumental muſic unaccompanied with poetry, and thus afforded an opportunity to the candidates for fame to diſplay their ſuperior merit in their reſpective profeſſions.

Hiſtory of the ſacred games.

Theſe are the only particulars concerning the re-eſtabliſhment of the Pythian games, which ſeemed worthy the obſervation of Grecian authors, whoſe works were addreſſed to men who knew by experience and obſervation the nature and tendency of their domeſtic inſtitutions. But a more copious explanation is required, to ſatisfy the curioſity of the modern reader. The ſacred games of Greece cannot be illuſtrated by a compariſon with any thing ſimilar in the preſent age; they were intimately connected with the whole ſyſtem of antient polity, whether civil or religious; they were attended with very extraordinary effects, both of a natural and moral kind; and, on all theſe accounts, they merit particular attention in a work which profeſſes to unite the hiſtory of arts to that of arms, and to contemplate the varying picture of human manners, as well as the tranſient revolutions of war and empire.

The Stadium and gymnaſtic exerciſes.

In their moſt perfect form, the ſacred games conſiſted in the exhibitions of the Stadium and Hippodrome, accompanied by the more refined entertainments

entertainments of muſic and poetry. The Olympic Stadium took its name from the meaſure of length moſt commonly employed by the Greeks, conſiſting of the eighth part of a Grecian mile, or ſix hundred and thirty Engliſh feet. The Stadidium, ſtill remaining at Athens, has been accurately meaſured by our travellers, and is an hundred and twenty five geometrical paces in length, and twenty-ſeven in breadth: it forms a long and lofty terrace on the banks of the Ilyſſus, and its ſides were anciently built of white marble. That of Olympia was, probably, of the ſame dimenſions, but far leſs magnificent, being entirely compoſed of earth. The one extremity contained an elevated throne, appropriated for the judges of the games, and a marble altar, on which the prieſteſs of Ceres, and other privileged virgins, ſat to behold a ſolemnity from which the reſt of their ſex were rigorouſly excluded. At the other extremity was the tomb of Endymion, the favourite of chaſte Diana. The ſtadium was divided by pillars into two courſes. The five gymnaſtic exerciſes, ſo much celebrated by all the writers of antiquity, and ſo accurately deſcribed by Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, and Pauſanias, began with the foot race, which is ſuppoſed to have been the moſt ancient, and which always retained the prerogative of diſtinguiſhing the Olympiads by the name of the victorious racer. The exerciſe at firſt conſiſted in running naked from the one end of the Stadium to the other. The courſe was afterwards doubled, and at length the competitors were required to paſs the goal three, ſix, and even twelve times, before they could be entitled to the prize. Motives of utility introduced the race of men loaded with heavy armour, which rendered this exerciſe a conteſt of ſtrength as well as of ſwiftneſs. 2. The ſecond trial of agility

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lity conſiſted in leaping, the competitors endeavouring to ſurpaſs each other in the length, without regard to the height of their leap. They carried in their hands weights of lead, through the perforations of which their fingers paſſed as through the handle of a ſhield, and by theſe they poized, and impelled forwards, their bodies. The perfection attained in this exerciſe, muſt have far exceeded the experience of modern times, if we can believe that Phaulus of Crotona [28] leaped fifty-two feet. 3. The wreſtling of the ancients required equal ſtrength and agility. It was chiefly remarkable, on account of the oil and ſand with which they rubbed their bodies, in order to ſupple their joints, to prevent exceſſive perſpiration, and to elude the graſp of their antagoniſts. The wreſtlers were matched by lot, and the prize was adjudged to him who had thrice thrown his adverſary on the ground. 4. The two following exerciſes tried chiefly the ſtrength of the arms. The firſt conſiſted in throwing a huge maſs of poliſhed iron, braſs, or ſtone, of a globular form, reſembling a ſhield, but without handle or thong. It was called the diſk, and thrown under the hand as the quoit is in England. The object of the competitors was to ſurpaſs each other in the length of the caſt. Akin to this was the art of darting the javelin, which, as that weapon was directed at a mark, required ſteadineſs of eye as well as dexterity of hand. 5. The laſt of the gymnaſtic exerciſes, both in order and in eſteem, was that of boxing. It was ſometimes performed by the naked fiſt, and ſometimes with the formidable cœſtus, compoſed of raw hides lined with metal. Before the victory could be decided, it was neceſſary, from the nature of that exerciſe, that

[28] Pauſanias, p. 624.

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that one of the combatants ſhould acknowledge his defeat; a condition which ſeemed ſo inconſiſtent with the obſtinacy of Grecian valour, that few ventured to contend in this dangerous amuſement. The laws of Sparta abſolutely prohibited her citizens from ever engaging in it, becauſe a Spartan was taught to diſdain ſaving his life by yielding to an opponent. Another reaſon, no leſs remarkable, tended ſtill more to degrade the exerciſe of boxing. Beſides ſtrength and agility, the ſucceſs of the boxer depended on a certain ponderous fleſhineſs of arm, which unfitted him to engage in any other conteſt. The regimen required for keeping up his corpulency, ſo neceſſary for the defence of his bones againſt the weight of blows, was altogether incompatible with the life of a ſoldier; a life of hardſhip and inequality, and continually expoſed to the want of reſt, of proviſions, and of ſleep.

Theſe were the five gymnaſtic exerciſes, in which the Grecian youth were trained with ſo much care, and to which they applied with ſo much emulation. But beſides theſe ſimple ſports, there were two others formed of their various combination; the Pancratium, which conſiſted of wreſtling and boxing; and the Pentathton, in which all the five were united; and to excel in ſuch complicated exerciſes, required an education and way of living, not neceſſary to be obſerved by thoſe who contended in the ſimple feats of ſtrength and agility, and which was ſcarcely compatible with the ſtudy of any other than the athletic profeſſion.

The Hippodrome, or ground allotted for the horſe races, was twice as long as the Stadium [29], and

The Hippodrome and Equeſtrian exerciſes.

[29] Heſychius.

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and ſufficiently ſpacious to allow forty chariots to drive abreaſt [30]. The chariot race was inſtituted at Olympia about an hundred years after the regular celebration of the games, and that of riding horſes twenty years later. Theſe warlike ſports followed the ſame progreſs with the military art, of which they were the image, and in which the uſe of chariots long preceded that of cavalry. The cars of the Greeks, as evidently appears from their medals, were low, open behind, furniſhed with only two wheels, and unprovided with any ſeat for the driver, who ſtood with much difficulty in the body of his vehicle, while he commanded four horſes, which were not paired but formed on one line. Notwithſtanding this inconvenient poſture, they performed ſix and ſometimes twelve rounds of the Hippodrome, amounting to ſix Grecian miles of eight hundred paces each, of which an Engliſh mile contains one thouſand five hundred and fifty. The Grecian heroes excelled, during the heroic ages, in this dangerous exerciſe; but in later times, the owners of the horſes were allowed to employ a charioteer, which enlarged the ſphere of candidates for the Olympic prize, by admitting many foreign princes, as well as the wealthy ladies of Macedon and Laconia, who could not appear in perſon at this important ſolemnity. Though riding horſes were not ſo early employed as chariots, either at the games, or in war, yet we cannot believe, with a fanciful writer [31], that this circumſtance ſhould have been occaſioned by the timidity of the Greeks to mount on horſeback; for we learn from Homer, that, even in the moſt ancient times, they were acquainted with all the feats of dexterity performed by our moſt accompliſhed jockies [32]. But before the Perſian war, the

[30] Pauſan, l. vi. p. 382, & 390. [31] The Chevalier Folard. [32] Iliad, xv. ver. 679.

the poverty of the Greeks prevented them from importing foreign horſes, and their domeſtic breed was naturally of an inferior kind to thoſe of Aſia and Africa. The Spartans firſt employed them in battle during their wars with the Meſſenians. In the Perſian expedition, Xerxes tried the mettle of the Perſian, againſt the Theſſalian horſes, and the former carried off the palm in every conteſt. For a conſiderable time after the ſhameful retreat of that haughty monarch, the Athenians, who then formed the moſt powerful community of Greece, had a ſquadron of only three hundred horſemen: and it was not till that ambitious republic had begun to extend her dominion over the inferior ſtates, that ſhe ſeriouſly applied to the improvement of her cavalry.

The muſical entertainments.

While the Greeks thus acquired the accompliſhments of the body, and diſplayed, at Olympia, their ſkill in horſemanſhip, and their vigour in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, the more refined entertainments of the fancy were not neglected; and the agreeable productions of muſic and poetry, added luſtre and elegance to every Grecian ſolemnity. It is well obſerved by the only ancient writer to whom we are indebted for an hiſtorical account of Grecian muſic, that the arts of peace, as they are more agreeable and more uſeful than thoſe of war, demand, in a ſuperior degree, the regard of the hiſtorian. If this had been the general opinion of authors, the ſtudy of their works would be equally entertaining and inſtructive. The writer of hiſtory would explain the various diſcoveries which happily tend to improve and to embelliſh ſocial life; by introducing ſcenes of gaiety and pleaſure, he would diverſify the eternal theme of human miſery; and while he expatiated on the crimes and calamities of men, he would not neglect to point

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point out the means beſt adapted to prevent the perpetration of the one, and to ſooth the ſuffering of the other. But the Greek hiſtorians have not attempted to afford us this important information; they enlarge copiouſly on ſuch topics as are adapted to the uſe of their countrymen; and they preſerve the moſt mortifying ſilence concerning thoſe ſubjects which deſervedly excite the curioſity of later ages. Of all the arts cultivated by the ingenuity of their contemporaries, muſic was the moſt connected with religion, government, and manners; and the effects aſcribed to Grecian muſic, are numbered among the moſt ſingular as well as the moſt authentic of all recorded events[33]; yet as to the nature, the origin, the progreſs, the perfection, in one word, the hiſtory of this art, we can know little more than what we learn from the muſical treatiſe of Plutarch, to which we have above alluded, which is extremely ſhort and imperfect, obſcure throughout, and in many parts unintelligible[34].

Why introduced at the public games.

Without much hiſtorical information, however, we may venture to explain the introduction of muſical entertainments at the four public ſolemnities. Theſe grand ſpectacles were deſtined to exhibit an embelliſhed repreſentation of the ordinary tranſactions of real life, and while the gymnaſtic

[33] The continual complaints of Plato and Ariſtotle, prove, that the muſic of their age had greatly degenerated from its ancient dignity. It afterwards continued, like all the other arts, gradually to decline; yet, in the ſecond century before Chriſt, the grave, judicious, and well-informed Polybius, aſcribes the moſt extraordinary effects to the Grecian muſic. Polybius, l. iv. c. xx. & ſeq.

[34] Mr. Burette, a French phyſician, has tranſlated this treatiſe in the tenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy, &c. He finds fewer difficulties in it, than preſent themſelves to men far better acquainted with the theory and practice of this elegant art. See Burney on Muſic, vol. i. p. 36.

naſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes repreſented the image of war, the moſt ſerious occupation of the Greeks, muſic recalled the memory of religion and love, their moſt agreeable amuſement. Beſides this, as muſic in thoſe early times was cloſely connected with poetry [35], and as the uſe of proſe compoſition was not known in Greece till the time of Pherecydes of Syros, and Cadmus of Miletus, who flouriſhed only five hundred and forty-four years before Chriſt [36], the name of muſic naturally comprehended all the learning of the age; and to obtain the prize in the muſical conteſts, was equivalent to the glory of being declared ſuperior to the reſt of mankind in mental abilities and endowments.

Extent of Grecian muſic.

Theſe abilities and endowments were anciently regarded in proportion to their utility. Before the practice of writing was introduced, the hiſtory of paſt events could be preſerved only by tradition; and tradition was rendered more ſure and permanent, by being committed to the ſafe protection of harmonious numbers [37]. The cuſtomary offices of religion were celebrated in poetical compoſition, and the various hymns appropriated to the worſhip of particular divinities, were retained by the faithful memory of their reſpective votaries. The tuneful tribe, who were thus employed to extol the bounty of the gods, to exalt the glory of heroes, and to record and perpetuate the accumulated wiſdom of antiquity, condeſcended alſo to regulate the duties, and to improve the pleaſures, of private life. The ſame bards who

Purpoſes to which it was applied.

[35] The ſame words ſignified a ſong and a poem, a muſician and a poet; ωδαι, ασματα; ωδοι, ωδικοι αοιδοι. Heſych.

[36] Strabo, l. i.

[37] Ως δε ειπειν ὁ πιζος λογος κατασκευασμενος μιμημα τυ ποιητικυ εστι· πρωτιστα γαρ ἡ ποιητικη κατασκευη παρηλθεν εις το μεσον. Strabo, l. i.

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taught the men to be brave, exhorted the women to be chaſte[38]. Poetry, accompanied by the ſiſter arts of muſic and dancing, are elegantly called by Homer the chief ornaments of the feaſt. The poet muſician quelled ſeditions in ſtates[39], and maintained the domeſtic quiet of families; while he publiſhed laws of the moſt extenſive influence over the whole community, he diſdained not to animate the humble but neceſſary labours of the mechanic; every profeſſion in ſociety, even the meaneſt and moſt vulgar, was encouraged and adorned by its particular ſong[40]; and the moſt ordinary tranſactions of common life, however trivial and low, and unintereſting, in themſelves, were heightened, and ennobled by the combined charms of muſic and poetry.

The degree of perfection in which theſe arts are found in any country, depends on the language and character of the people by whom they are cultivated. Of this there is abundant proof in the hiſtory of ancient, as well as in that of modern nations. The melancholy, ſtern[41], atrocious

[38] Of this we have an example in Homer's Demodicus.

[39] See what is ſaid above of Tyrtæus, p. 166.

[40] See Athanæus paſſim, and the diſcourſes on the Greek ſongs, in the 3d volume of the excellent ſelection of the Memoirs of the Academy.

[41] The nature of the government furniſhes another reaſon for the imperfection of Egyptian muſic. Homer characteriſes Egypt by the epithet πικρος, bitter, to denote the rigid ſeverity of the laws. Among that grave and formal people, the hours of amuſement, as well as of buſineſs, were preſcribed by law. There was a particular time of the day, not only for attending the courts of juſtice, but for walking, bathing, and even for performing the duties of matrimony. Diodor. Siculus. Poetry, muſic, ſculpture, and all other arts, were regulated by expreſs ſtatute; and if we may believe Plato, continued invariable for many thouſand years. Plato de Legibus. The auſterity and reſtraints of deſpotiſm are inconſiſtent with that flowing freedom of genius neceſſary to the perfection of poetry.

cious and unrelenting temper of the Egyptians (the ſuppoſed inſtructors of Greece), diſqualified that nation either for improving or for reliſhing the beauties of harmony. The harſh diſſonance of the eaſtern languages, their deficiency in vowels, and the inflexible thickneſs of their ſounds, rendered them but little ſuſceptible of muſical compoſition. The muſic of the Egyptians and Orientals, therefore, depended rather on the quantity than the quality of ſound; and the principal object of their art was rather to rouſe the attention by noiſe, than to charm the ſoul by melody.

Its origin.

The language and manners of the Greeks were of a different, and a far ſuperior kind, to thoſe of the neighbouring nations. Hence may be deduced the origin and peculiar excellence of their muſic, which, though injudiciouſly [42] aſcribed to the invention of Thracians, Myſians, and other barbarous ſtrangers, muſt have been the natural production of Grecian genius, ſince the three moſt ancient modes of muſic were the Dorian, Ionian, and Eolian, correſponding with the three great diviſions of the Hellenic race, and the three principal diſtinctions of the Hellenic tongue [43].

Cauſes of the perfection of the Grecian language and muſic.

The perfection of language, as well as of muſic, depends on the melody of its ſounds; their meaſure or rhythm; their variety; and their ſuitableneſs to the ſubject which they are meant to deſcribe or to expreſs. The circumſtances of the Greeks, in the earlieſt periods of their ſociety [44], rendered them peculiarly attentive

[42] While detraction referred the diſcovery of muſic to ſtrangers, vanity referred it to the gods; and both accounts ſerve to prove the great antiquity of the art. Plut. de Muſic.

[43] We owe the knowledge of this important circumſtance to Heraclides of Pontus, the contemporary and ſcholar of Plato. His words are cited by Athenæus, l. xiv.

[44] See above, chap. ii.

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tive to all these objects. They lived continually in crowds; all matters of consequence were decided by the voice of the assembly; and, next to the force of his arm, every warrior felt himself indebted to the persuasive accents of his tongue. The perpetual necessity of employing the power of eloquence, during the infancy of their political state, made them retain the original tones and cadences, by which men, as yet unpractised in the use of arbitrary signs, had made known their affections and their wants. These tones and cadences, imitating the language of action (the first and most natural language of solitary savages), possessed a degree of energy and of warmth which can never be attained by the mere artifice of articulate sounds[45]. By uniting them to these sounds, the Greeks gave all the force of a natural to an arbitrary sign. Music and action were incorporated in the substance of their speech; and the descriptive power of words was extended to all those objects which can be characterised by sound and motion, or which the various modificaons of these qualities can suggest to the mind of man.

A language thus founded on the broad basis of nature, contained within itself the fruitful seeds of the imitative arts, and the rich materials of all that is *beautiful* and *grand* in literary composition[46]. It

[45] See an excellent discourse of the Abbé Arnaut, on the Greek accents, in the 3d volume of the Choix de Memoirs.

[46] These words very inadequately express the ἡδυς and the καλος of Dionysius, de Struct. Orat. The ingenious and philosophical critic ranges, under two heads, the qualities of style fitted to please the ear and the imagination. These are the *sweet* and the *fair*. Under the first are contained smoothness, beauty, grace, persuasion, &c. Under the second, dignity, weight, magnificence, and force. The two kinds of style have a similar relation to each other, which the pleasures of the taste, expressed by the word ἡδυς, have to those of the eye, expressed by καλος.

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It is a ſubject of equal curioſity and importance, to examine how theſe materials were wrought up, and how theſe ſeeds were unfolded. In attempting, with much diffidence, to give ſome account of this delicate and refined operation, we ſhall obſerve the diviſion above mentioned, and conſider the melody, meaſure, variety, and expreſſion of the Grecian poetry and muſic; arts once deemed ſo intimately connected, that their disjunction at the Pythian games, of which we have already taken notice, was emphatically compared, by ancient writers, to the ſeparation of the ſoul and body.

Melody of language.

The pleaſure ariſing from the agreeable ſucceſſion of ſounds, depends either on the combination of letters, or on that of muſical tones [47]. The attention which the Greeks paid to the former, is evident from the whole ſtructure of their language. Wherever propriety permits [48], they always employ full, open, and [49] *magnificent* ſounds; innumerable rules of flexion and derivation are founded merely on the pleaſure of the ear; and the great principle of the fine arts, to move and affect, without fatiguing the ſenſes, cannot be better illuſtrated, than by the inimitable compoſition [50] of elements which characteriſes the general texture of the Grecian tongue. Whether the ancient poets and orators diſcovered this compoſition by inveſtigation, or only preferred it from taſte,

[47] Dionyſius comprehends both under the word μελος, melody.

[48] The το τρεπτον, Dionyſius obſerves, may ſometimes require harſh, cloſe, and diſagreeable ſounds.

[49] The μεγαλοπρεπεις of Dionyſius.

[50] As all languages are relative to the organs of ſpeech, they may all be analized into about twenty-four letters, or elementary ſounds, the combination of which forms the wonderful variety of language; a variety reſulting from the various character and circumſtances of different nations.

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taſte, is a queſtion that may be eaſily anſwered, if we reflect, that ſuch a diſcovery by inveſtigation ſuppoſes an acquaintance with the moſt abſtruſe principles of philoſophy, principles altogether unknown in that early age, during which the compoſition of elemental ſounds attained its higheſt beauty and perfection. We may therefore, without temerity, conclude, that ſentiment firſt directed to the practice of thoſe rules which reaſon afterwards approved; and that this progreſs equally obtained in the articulation of voice, and the intonation of ſound.

Melody of muſic.

The *latter*, the agreeable compoſition of which is properly ſtyled melody, was improved to ſuch an extraordinary degree about the time of Homer, as rendered the productions of Olympus, and other ancient poet-muſicians, the admiration of all ſucceeding ages. Unfortunately for the hiſtory of the arts, we have not any ſuch analyſis of the muſic of Olympus, as Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus has left us of the poetry of Homer. We are informed, however, that the ancient melody was not only divided, like the modern, by tones and ſemitones, but alſo diſtinguiſhed by the dieſis, or quarter-tone; an interval of which modern muſicians rarely make uſe. The genus of muſic, regulated by this interval, a genus to which the moſt powerful effects are aſcribed by ancient writers, was known by the name of the enharmonic; the genus, proceeding by ſemitones, was called the chromatic; and the diatonic, which denotes a progreſſion by tones and ſemitones, expreſſed a muſical ſcale nearly reſembling that of the modern nations of Europe[51].

The different genera.

Theſe

[51] It is ſufficient to explain the things ſignified by the enharmonic and diatonic. When, or why, theſe names were beſtowed on the two kinds of muſic which they reſpectively denote, is diſputed by philologiſts; and I have not met with any thing on the ſubject that ſeemed worthy of being tranſcribed.

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These observations will give the reader an idea of the intervals in the different *genera*, which is all that we can learn on this subject from the learned collection of Meibomius. In none of the musical treatises in that collection do we find any specimen of ancient melody; nor are we enabled, by any circumstance mentioned in them, to ascertain the qualities which formed its principal merit. The invention of the enharmonic genus is ascribed by Plutarch to Olympus, who happening to skip certain intervals in the diatonic scale, observed the beauty of the effect, and the peculiar force and character which the regular omission of the same intervals bestowed on the melody. Upon this observation, he is said to have founded a new genus of music remarkable for simplicity, gravity, and grandeur. These qualities might, doubtless, be produced by the happy discovery, seconded by the lofty genius of Olympus; and to them, perhaps, we may refer the enthusiasm and sublimity by which his compositions were distinguished. The employing of the greater intervals supported the dignity and character, while the use of the diesis chiefly contributed to the refinement and delicacy, of Grecian music. The bold separation of notes, expressed the firmer feelings, and described the stronger emotions of the soul; while the more insensible distinctions of sound painted the innumerable shades, and faint fluctuations, of passion; as when the voice gradually ascended through the smallest perceptible divisions, it would admirably express the progress of a respectful but ardent affection, unable to hide, yet afraid to reveal its force, and striving by repeated efforts to overcome its natural timidity.

Peculiar effect of the enharmonic genus explained.

But by whatever conjectures we may explain the powers of ancient enharmonic, it appears from the

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the univerſal conſent of Greek writers, that the melody of muſic and of language differed only in degree, not in kind. The variations of *accent*, for *that* is the proper word to expreſs the melody of language, ſeldom exceeded, in common diſcourſe, the difference of three notes and a half; which makes Dionyſius obſerve, that it never exceeds the compaſs of one interval, the diapenté, or fifth. He pretends not, however, that in rhetorical declamation, the flexions of the voice were ſo narrowly circumſcribed; and it is probable that in poetry, their range was always more extenſive than in the moſt animated proſe. When the poet, therefore, compoſed his verſe, he was obliged to pay an equal attention to accent and to quantity: the acuteneſs and gravity of ſounds, as well as the length and ſhortneſs of ſyllables, contributed to the effect of his art; and each particular word having not only its determined duration, but its appropriated tones, obtained that place in the verſe which was felt to be moſt agreeable to the ear, and beſt adapted to the ſubject. The poet, therefore, naturally performed the office of the muſician, and clothed his own thoughts and ſentiments with that combination of ſounds, which rendered them moſt beautiful and expreſſive.

Connection between the melody of language and muſic.

As accent regulated the melody, quantity regulated the rhythm of ancient muſic. The moſt melodious ſucceſſion of tones, however flattering to the ear, muſt ſoon become tireſome and diſagreeable, when continued without interruption or pauſe, and undiſtinguiſhed by ſuch proportions of duration, as are readily ſeized and meaſured by the ſenſes. This truth the Greeks illuſtrated by a compariſon. The moſt brilliant compoſition of colours is nothing better, they obſerved, than a gaudy

Of quantity and rhythm.

gaudy ſhow, dazzling the ſight for a moment, but paſſing afterwards diſregarded or unobſerved. But to this ſhowy colouring, let the painter add the ſolid beauties of deſign, and he will convert an empty amuſement of the eye, into an elegant entertainment of the fancy. What deſign is to colouring, meaſure is to melody. It is meaſure that animates the ſong, and which, combined with the inimitable charms of Grecian verſe, produced thoſe extraordinary effects, which the ignorance and credulity of early ages weakly deemed miraculous. On meaſure principally depended the different modes of muſic, by which moſt oppoſite paſſions were alternately excited in the mind; and courage, pride, timidity, love, anger, reſentment, ſucceſſively diffuſed through a numerous aſſembly, at the will of a ſkilful compoſer. The difference of modes, indeed, aroſe alſo, in ſome meaſure, from the difference of key; and the ſame ſucceſſion of ſounds, pronounced with various degrees of acuteneſs or gravity, may doubtleſs produce effects more or leſs powerful: but diſſimilar effects it never can produce; ſo that the grandeur of the Doric, the poliſhed elegance of the Ionic, the ſoothing ſweetneſs of the Eolic mode[32], muſt have reſulted from the rhythm or meaſure, which governing the movement of the verſe, thereby determined its expreſſion.

Of propriety and expreſſion.

Beſides theſe three modes, formerly mentioned as the original invention of Greece, the natives of that country gradually adopted ſeveral others that had been diſcovered by the neighbouring nations; particularly the Phrygian, conſecrated to religious ceremonies, and the Lydian, appropriated to the expreſſion of complaint or ſorrow. The variety, indeed,

[32] Lucian Harmod. ſub initio, & Heraclid. apud Athenæum, l. xiv.

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Of the variety and perfection of Grecian muſic.

indeed, at length became greater than can be eaſily conceived by ſuch as are unacquainted with the mechaniſm of ancient languages. Every ſpecies of verſe (and of verſe there were above an hundred different kinds) occaſioned a change of muſical meaſure, and introduced what, in muſical language, may be called a different time. Theſe meaſures were only to be employed agreeably to the rules of propriety and decorum which had been diſcovered in thoſe great principles of nature, to which all rules of art muſt ultimately be referred. A ſlow ſucceſſion of lengthened tones expreſſed moderation and firmneſs; a rapid inequality of verſe betrayed diſorderly and ignoble paſſions; the mind was tranſported by ſudden tranſitions, and rouzed by impetuous reiterations of ſound; a gradual aſcent of notes accorded with all thoſe affections which warm and expand the heart; and the contrary movement naturally coincided with ſuch ſentiments as depreſs the ſpirits, and extinguiſh the generous ardour of the ſoul. Having fixed, with the moſt accurate preciſion, the wide variety of *modes* and *genera*, the Greeks ſeldom confounded them in the ſame piece, and never applied them to any ſubject which they had not been originally deſtined to expreſs. The natural perceptions of taſte were gradually ſtrengthened by habit; the principles of muſic were clearly aſcertained, and univerſally underſtood; and poſſeſſing the warmth and energy of the language of nature, they required the perſpicuity and extent of the language of convention. This is juſtly deemed the height of muſical perfection [53], and to

[53] The queſtion, whether the Greeks knew muſic in parts, has been carefully examined by Mr. Burette (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions); by Rouſſeau (Dictionaire de Muſique);

to this height the Greeks had attained, in the beginning of the 6th century before Chriſt. CHAP. V.

Muſique); and by Dr. Burney (Hiſtory of Muſic, vol. I. p. 146, & ſeq.) Theſe writers, who are ſo well entitled to decide on this ſubject, pronounce the Greeks to have been unacquainted with counterpoint. But that their ignorance in this reſpect, did not detract from their perfection, or diminiſh the effects of their muſic, may be credited, on the unſuſpicious teſtimony of an ingenious Italian. "Il contrapunto, eſſendo "compoſito di varie parti, l'una acuta, l'altera grave, queſta "di andamento preſto, quella di tardo, que hanno a trovarſi "inſieme, & ferir l'orecchie ad un tempo, come potrebbe "egli muovere mell' animo noſtro, una tal determinata paſ-"ſione, la quale, di ſua natura, rechiede un determinato "moto, et un determinato tuono." Algorotti, Saggio ſopra l'Opera in Muſica.

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The Grecian Bards.—Heroic Poetry.—Change of Manners.—Iambic or Satire.—Elegy.—Tyrtæus, Callinus, Mimnermus.—Life of Archilochus.—Terpander.—Lyric Poetry.—The Nine Lyric Poets.—Sappho, Alcæus, Anacreon, Myrtis, Corinna, Pindar.—Effects of the Sacred Games.—Strength.—Courage.—Contempt of Prejudices.—Taſte.—Moral Principle.—Intellectual Powers.—Genius.

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Early perfection of the Grecian muſic and poetry.

POETRY has deſcribed the wonderful effects of Grecian muſic; and the inimitable excellence of ancient poets can alone render the deſcription credible. Yet the early perfection of theſe elegant arts, aſſerted by the graveſt writers of antiquity, ſeems extremely inconſiſtent with the received doctrines concerning the progreſs of civil ſociety. Both in the ancient and modern world, the great ſyſtem of practical knowledge, ſubſervient to the uſeful purpoſes of human life, appears to have been ſlowly raiſed, and gradually extended, by ſucceſſive trials, and reiterated efforts. Among ſavages, ſcarcely any diſtinction of profeſſions takes place; the activity of each individual ſupplies his own wants. In early ages of ſociety, men are ſtill condemned to a wide variety of occupations; and their attention being diſtracted by a multiplicity of purſuits, it is impoſſible that, in any one art, they ſhould reach proficiency, or even aſpire to excellence. But, contrary to this obſervation, the Grecian muſic and poetry are repreſented as moſt perfect in their united ſtate; the

the immortal fathers of verſe excelled alike, it is ſaid, in all the various kinds of poetical compoſition [1]; and their inimitable productions were ſo far from advancing, by a gradual progreſs, to perfection, that the moſt ancient are, by univerſal conſent, entitled to a juſt preference [2].

The hiſtory of theſe admired authors is, unfortunately, as uncertain, as their merit was illuſtrious. The Greeks poſſeſſing much traditionary, and little recorded information, concerning the antiquities of their country, the great inventors of arts, and generous benefactors of ſociety, have been deprived of their merited fame and well-earned honours. Their names indeed, like firm rocks reſiſting the aſſaults of the ocean, bid defiance to the depredations of time; but of Linus, Orpheus, Muſæus, and Melampus, little elſe than the names remain; and to determine the time in which they flouriſhed, was a matter of as much difficulty two thouſand years ago [3], as it remains in the preſent age.

If

[1] We are told by Ariſtotle, in the fourth chapter of his Poetics, that Homer wrote an iambic poem, intitled Margites, bearing the ſame relation to comedy and ſatire, that the Iliad bears to tragedy and panegyric. Notwithſtanding the expreſs teſtimony of the great critic, two very elegant ſcholars have ſaid, that the hexameter was the only kind of verſe known in the time of Homer; the Abbé Arnaut, in his excellent diſcourſe on the Greek accents, and Mr. Burette, in his Commentary on Plut. de Muſic.

[2] Græcorum Antiquiſſima quæque ſcripta vel optima. Horat. Epiſt. l. ii. Ep. 1.

[3] Herodotus, who read his hiſtory at the Olympic games 444 years B. C. expreſſes himſelf as follows: "Homer and "Heſiod lived about four hundred years ago; not more; "and theſe are the poets who compoſed a Theogony for the "Greeks; who aſſigned to the gods their reſpective appella-"tions and epithets; diſtinguiſhed their ſeveral forms; and "defined the arts in which they excelled, and the honours to "which

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If even the chronology of the antient bards be ſo extremely uncertain [4], it cannot be expected that we ſhould be able to give a circumſtantial account of their life and writings. Inſtead of conſidering minutely, therefore, the private hiſtory of individuals, a taſk which ſuits neither the deſign of the preſent work, nor the incredulity of the preſent age, we ſhall endeavour to explain the general nature and tendency of their profeſſion, as well as the circumſtances which conſpired to raiſe it to that rank and dignity which it long held in ſociety. During the heroic ages, the Grecian poets had one uniform character; and if we may depend on the poſitive aſſertions of antiquity, the ſame individual was alike ſucceſsful in the various branches

" which they were entitled. As to the poets who are ſup-
" poſed to have preceded them, I am of opinion that they
" flouriſhed in a later age." According to Herodotus, therefore, the age of Homer is fifty years later than it is placed by the marbles of Paros. But on this ſubject we have ſurer evidence than any monuments of marble, or even the teſtimony of Herodotus can afford. The circumſtantial minuteneſs, and infinite variety, which characteriſe the Iliad and Odyſſey, prove their inimitable author to have lived near the times which he deſcribes. He converſed in his youth with thoſe who had ſeen the heroes of the Trojan war; and, in the vigour of his age, beheld the grandchildren of Æneas, Ulyſſes, Achilles, and Agamemnon.

Νυν δε δη Αινειαο γενος Τρωεσσι ανασσει
Και παιδες παιδων τοι κεν μετοπισθε γενωνται.

Iliad. xx. ver. 306.

The learned reader may conſult the note on the paſſage in Clerk's Homer, where Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus is quoted, to prove that the poet ſays nothing inconſiſtent with Æneas's voyage into Italy. It is to be obſerved, that the force of the criticiſm evaporates in Mr. Pope's tranſlation.

[4] The preceding note proves the ignorance of Herodotus, and his contemporaries, concerning the hiſtory of their ancient bards; ſince of theſe venerable fathers of the Grecian religion and policy, two are mentioned by Homer himſelf; Linus, in the deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles, Il. xviii.; Melampus, in the 11th book of the Odyſſey, ver. 15.

branches of his divine art [5]. The earlieſt poets, therefore, may be repreſented in one picture, and delineated by the ſame ſtrokes, until their profeſſion came to be ſeparated into different departments. We ſhall then diſtinguiſh the heroic, iambic, lyric, elegiac, and other kinds of poetical compoſition; offer ſome account of the improvers of each particular ſpecies; and examine ſuch fragments of their works as deſerve attention, not merely on account of their own intrinſic merit, but as genuine and authentic, and indeed the only genuine and authentic tranſcripts of the manners of that early age in which they were compoſed.

The Grecian bards.

In ancient Greece, the favourites of fortune were often the favourites of the muſes. There remain not, indeed, the works of any Grecian king; but we are told by Homer, that Achilles ſung to his lyre the glory of heroes; Amphion, to whoſe muſical powers ſuch wonderful [6] effects are aſcribed, reigned in Thebes; the poet Melampus obtained royal authority in Argos; and Chiron, the wiſe Centaur [7], though deſcended of the moſt illuſtrious anceſtors, and intitled to the firſt rank among the Theſſalian princes, preferred to the enjoyment of power, the cultivation of poetry, and retired, with his favourite muſes, to a ſolitary cavern at the foot of Mount Pelion, which was ſoon rendered, by the fame of his abilities, the moſt celebrated ſchool of antiquity [8].

The muſical arts were not only deemed worthy the ambition of princes, but thought capable of

[5] There are not any two kinds of poetry more different than thoſe aſcribed to Homer by Ariſtotle, Poetic. ch. iv.

[6] Movet Amphion lapides canendo. Hor.

[7] Moſt of the heroes of the Trojan war were his diſciples. Xenoph. de Venat. ſub initio.

[8] Xenoph. ibid.

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of elevating ordinary men to the firſt ranks in ſociety. By excelling in ſuch accompliſhments, Anthes of Bœotia, Olen of Lycia, Olympus of Phrygia [9], obtained the higheſt pre-eminence. Nor was it during their lifetime only, that they enjoyed the happy fruits of their elegant labours. They were regarded as peculiarly deſerving of a double immortality; living for ever in the memory of men, and being admitted, according to the belief of antiquity, to the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours in the celeſtial regions [10].

It has been already obſerved, that the texture of the Grecian tongue was ſingularly well adapted to the improvement of poetry; and this favourable circumſtance was admirably ſeconded by the political condition of the Greeks in the early periods of their ſociety. Religion then formed the ſole principle of government; and the belief of religion was chiefly ſupported by the Theogonies [11], while its ceremonies were principally adorned by the hymns, of the bards. Theſe two kinds of poetry, doubtleſs the moſt ancient and the moſt venerable, formed the main pillars of the political edifice; and the eſſential parts of this edifice conſiſting in the praiſe of the gods, its brighteſt ornaments

[9] Mr. Burette has collected the moſt intereſting particulars concerning theſe bards, in his Commentary on Plut. de Muſic.

[10] Muſæum ante omnes. Virg. En. vi. It is not eaſy to diſcover the reaſon why Virgil, in his Elyſium, has placed Muſæus before all the reſt. This venerable bard, by ſome called the ſon, by others the diſciple, of Orpheus, is univerſally allowed to have been a native of Attica. The admirer of Grecian eloquence (Orabant Cauſſas melius) intended, perhaps to compliment the country of Muſæus.

[11] A Theogony is a poem explaining, not merely, as the name denotes, the generation, but alſo the hiſtory of the gods. Moſt of the ancient poets mentioned in the text wrote Theogonies. Diod. l. iii. Plut. de Muſic.

ornaments were compoſed of the glory of heroes. The hymns maintained the power of religion, the ſong animated to valour; and both powerfully affected that peculiar ſenſibility of temper, and that romantic turn of fancy, the prevailing characteriſtics of Greece during the heroic ages.

Their influence on ſociety.

Neither the Rûners of the north, nor the Troubadours of Provence, nor the Bards of Germany, nor even the Druids of Gaul and Britain, poſſeſſed more diſtinguiſhed authority than the Aoidoi, or Rhapſodiſts, of the Greeks. The firſt requiſite of their profeſſion was, to know many ſoothing tales [12]; and it was the daily object of their art, to delight gods and men [13]. The piety of the prieſt, and the inſpiration of the prophet, were intimately connected with the enthuſiaſm of poetry; and poets, who had celebrated the glory of the paſt, were naturally employed to rear the hopes of the future generation [14]. It is probable, however, that the ancient bards had frequent avocations from their literary labours. The curioſity, natural to men of genius, would frequently tempt them to viſit diſtant countries. The admiration paid to their abilities could only be upheld by novelty. Both inclination and intereſt, therefore, would prompt them to ſail to foreign lands, to examine their civil and religious inſtitutions, and to converſe with their prieſts and poets, from whom they might derive ſuch information as would enable them, on their return home, to

Their travels.

[12] Πολλα θελκτηρια. HOMER.

[13] Θεοισι και ανθρωποισι ασειδειν. Idem.

[14] In early ages, the education of youth was entruſted only to the firſt ranks in ſociety. This profeſſion was practiſed in Greece, by Homer, as we learn from his Life, falſely aſcribed to Herodotus, yet certainly very ancient. In Gaul it belonged to the Druids. Vid. Cæſar de Bello Gallico, l. vi.

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ſurpriſe, entertain, and inſtruct their fellow-citizens.

Of all nations, the Greeks enjoyed moſt advantages for travelling; and of all Grecian profeſſions, that of the bard. The general diffuſion of their national language and colonies, as well as the ſacred character with which they were inveſted, entitled this venerable claſs of men to expect a ſecure retreat among the moſt inhoſpitable barbarians. Whatever country they viſited, the elegant entertainment derived from their art procured them a welcome reception at religious feſtivals, and all public ſolemnities. Amidſt the moſt dreadful calamities which afflict mankind, the bards alone were exempted from the common danger. They could behold, in ſafety, the tumult of a battle; they could witneſs, undiſturbed, the horror of a city taken by ſtorm; calm and ſerene themſelves, they might contemplate the furious conflicts, and wild agitations, of the paſſions. It belonged to them only, and to the ſacred character of the herald, to obſerve and examine, without perſonal danger, the natural expreſſions of fear, rage, or deſpair, in the countenances and geſtures of the vanquiſhed, as well as the inſolent triumph of ſucceſs, the fury of reſentment, the avidity of gain, and the thirſt of blood, in the wild aſpect, and mad demeanour of the victors. Having conſidered at full leiſure the moſt ſtriking peculiarities of thoſe agitated and diſtreſsful ſcenes, the poet might retire to his cavern, or grotto, and there delineate, in ſecure tranquillity, ſuch a warm and expreſſive picture of the manners and misfortunes of men, as ſhould aſtoniſh his contemporaries, and excite the ſympathetic terror and pity of the moſt diſtant poſterity.

The reſpect belonging their character,

favourable to their poetical ſtudies.

If

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If the Grecian bards were fortunate in obſerving ſuch events of their own age as were moſt ſuſceptible of the ornaments of poetical imitation, they were ſtill more fortunate in living at a period which afforded a wonderful variety of ſuch events. Amidſt the unſettled turbulence of riſing ſtates, the foundation and deſtruction of cities, the perpetual wars and negotiations of neighbouring communities, they were daily preſented with ſubjects worthy the grandeur of the heroic muſe. The eſtabliſhment of colonies, the origin of new ſuperſtitions, as well as the imaginary legends which ſupported the old, furniſhed copious materials for many a wondrous ſong. Theſe materials, being eagerly embraced by the choice, were embelliſhed by the fancy of the early bards; who, continually rehearſing them to their contemporaries, had an opportunity of remarking, in their approbation or diſlike, the circumſtances neceſſary to be added, taken away, or altered, in order to give their productions the happieſt effect, and the higheſt degree of ſtrength and beauty. As writing was little practiſed for the purpoſe of communicating knowledge, ſucceeding poets learned to repeat the verſes of their predeceſſors; and, having treaſured them in their memory, they adopted them as their own. Frequent repetition, attended with ſuch careful obſervations as were natural to men whoſe character depended on the ſucceſs of their art, led to new alterations and amendments[15]; and their performances, thus improving by degrees, acquired that juſt meaſure of perfection, to which nothing could, with propriety, be added, and from which nothing could, with propriety, be taken away. In this manner, perhaps,

Peculiar advantages of the age in which they lived.

The perfection and authority of their works.

[15] Εγιννοσαν την ποιητικην εκ των αυτοσχεδιασματων. Ariſtot. Poet. c. iv.

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perhaps, the Iliad and Odyſſey received the laſt poliſh; the harmonious animation of poetry was admired as the language of the gods; and poets, originally the miniſters of heaven, the inſtructors of youth, and the rewarders of merit, were finally regarded as the great authors of religion, the principal benefactors of mankind, and, as ſhall be explained hereafter, the wiſe legiſlators of nations.

Change of manners, and introduction of iambic or ſatire.

As the ſingular manners and events of the heroic ages, naturally produced the lofty ſtrains of the epic muſe, ſo the ſtate of ſociety in Greece, during the immediately ſucceeding periods, highly favoured the introduction of other kinds of poetry. The abolition of the royal governments gave free ſcope to the activity and turbulence of democracy; and the rivalſhips and enmities of neighbouring ſtates, rankling in the minds of their citizens, prepared the imaginations of men for taking a malignant pleaſure in works of invective and reproach. The innumerable cauſes of alienation, hatred, and diſguſt, which operated, alſo, within the boſom of each little republic, opened an inexhauſtible ſource of ſatire. The competitions for civil offices, for military command, and for other places of truſt, profit, or honour, all of which were conferred by the free ſuffrages of the people, occaſioned irreconcilable variance between the ambitious members of the ſame community, and ſubjected the characters of men to mutual ſcrutiny and remark. The ſentiments of the Greeks, not being perverted by the habits of ſlavery, nor reſtrained by the terrors of a deſpot, they boldly expreſſed what they freely thought; they might openly declare a juſt contempt; and, while they extolled in the lofty ode and ſwelling panegyric, the heroes and patriots whom

whom they admired, they laſhed the cowards and traitors whom they deſpiſed, with all the ſeverity of ſatire. CHAP. VI.

Elegiac verſe.

The ode and ſatire may be ſucceſsfully cultivated by imitators in the worſt of times; but they could ſcarcely have been invented and perfected under any other than a popular government. The plaintive elegy, on the other hand, which deſcribes the torments of unſucceſsful love, or which paints the affliction of a miſerable parent, an affectionate ſon, a diſconſolate wife, or a faithful friend, for the loſs of the ſeveral objects moſt dear to their hearts, ſeems to be the ſpontaneous production of every ſoil, and hardly to admit any change of impreſſion from the fluctuating forms of ſociety. The particular purpoſes, however, to which the Greeks principally applied this ſpecies of poetry, appear to have been ſuggeſted by their peculiar circumſtances at the time of its origin. During the violence and diſorder occaſioned by the political revolutions, the frequent migrations, and the almoſt uninterrupted hoſtilities which ſucceeded and increaſed the calamities of the Trojan war, it was natural for thoſe who reaſoned concerning the affairs of men, to form, according to the original bent of their minds, two oppoſite theories for the beſt improvement of human life. Men of a firm texture of ſoul would prepare for the miſery which awaited them, by ſtrengthening their natural hardineſs, and fortifying their natural intrepidity. The contempt of pain, and danger, and death, would be the great principle of their lives, and the perpetual ſubject of their ſong; and while they deſcribed the inevitable diſgrace of weakneſs and cowardice, they would extol, with the moſt lively ſenſibility, the glory of valour, the triumphs of ſucceſs, and the joys of victory. Such

The purpoſes to which it was applied naturally ſuggeſted by the ſtate of ſociety.

themes

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themes might delight the martial muſe of Tyrtæus and Callinus, but could offer no charms to the effeminate ſoftneſs of Mimnermus, or the licentious debauchery of Archilochus. To perſons of their character, the calamities of the times, inſtead of appearing an argument for virtue, would prove an incitement to pleaſure. The precarious condition of their lives and fortunes, while it depreciated all other objects, would increaſe the value of preſent enjoyment. In the agreeable amuſements of the fleeting hour, they would ſeek refuge againſt the melancholy proſpect of futurity. The pleaſures of the table, the delights of love, the charm of the elegant arts and of converſation, would be perpetually ſtudied in their lives, and perpetually recommended in their poetry.

Theſe obſervations illuſtrated by the hiſtory of Archilochus. Olymp. xv. 3. A. C. 718.

The precious remains of their writings, and ſtill more the authentic circumſtances related concerning the characters of the ancient poets, ſufficiently confirm the truth of theſe obſervations. Next to Homer, Archilochus is the earlieſt Greek writer, whoſe life is recorded ſo minutely as may ſerve to throw any conſiderable light on the hiſtory of his country. We are told by Herodotus[15], that he flouriſhed in the time of Gyges, king of Lydia, who mounted the throne ſeven hundred and eighteen years before Chriſt. He was a native of the iſle of Paros, one of the Cyclades, which had already become wealthy and populous. His father, Teleſicles, muſt have been a perſon of diſtinction, ſince he was employed to head a deputation of his countrymen to the oracle of Apollo. The object of the Parians was to obtain a favourable anſwer from the god concerning an enterpriſe,

[15] Lib. i. cap. 12.

enterpriſe, which they had long meditated, of ſettling a colony in the valuable iſland of Thaſos, oppoſite to the coaſt of Thrace. The oracle approved the deſign, and, in order to reward the reſpectful behaviour, and to repay the rich preſents delivered to the holy ſhrine by Teleſicles, who had unfortunately diſgraced the dignity of his rank by an unequal marriage with a beautiful ſlave named Enipo, declared that the fame of Archilochus, the glorious fruit of this diſhonourable connection, ſhould deſcend to the lateſt ages of the world.

The prophecy would naturally contribute to its own accompliſhment; eſpecially as Archilochus deſcended from a family, in which the love of poetry was an hereditary paſſion. Tellis, his grandfather, accompanied the prieſteſs of Ceres, in order to eſtabliſh the Eleuſinian myſteries in the iſle of Thaſos, an employment, which, like the ſacred commiſſion of Teleſicles at the city of Apollo, could not have been exerciſed by any other than a favourite of the Muſes. Enjoying the example of ſuch anceſtors, and encouraged by the admonition of the god, it was to be expected that the young poet ſhould ſecond the gifts of nature by the efforts of induſtry; and that his juvenile productions ſhould ſoon have been diſtinguiſhed above thoſe of his contemporaries, by dignity of ſentiment, force of expreſſion, and beauty of imagery.

In that martial age, no ſuperiority of genius, rank, or fortune, could exempt its poſſeſſor from the duty of ſerving his country in the exerciſe of arms[16]. The Parian colony in Thaſos, having ineffectually

[16] This was not the caſe in the heroic ages; the bards, though called Ἥρωες, as being of the firſt rank in ſociety, were exempted from the fatigues of war. Hom. Odyſſ. paſſim.

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ineffectually endeavoured by its own ſtrength to eſtabliſh a ſettlement in Thrace, was obliged, in order to accompliſh this deſign, to have recourſe to the aſſiſtance of the parent iſle. Archilochus ſerved in this expedition, which, though finally ſucceſsful, was chequered with a great variety of fortune. During an engagement with the barbarous Thracians, in which his countrymen were defeated and put to flight, he ſaved his life by throwing away his ſhield; an action ſo extremely inconſiſtent with the military prejudices of the age, that all his eloquence and ingenuity were incapable of extenuating its infamy.

On his return home, he renewed his addreſſes to a Parian damſel, named Neobulé. Her father Lycambes, who had at firſt granted, afterwards refuſed his conſent, whether diſguſted by the unwarlike and therefore contemptible character of Archilochus, or tempted by the alluring offers of a richer rival. If we believe the poet, it was avarice alone that corrupted the ſordid mind of Lycambes; and both he and his daughter, regardleſs of their plighted faith and repeated oaths, ſacrificed their ſentiments and character, to the mean gratification of this ignoble paſſion.

This aſſertion he maintained by his poetical invectives, full of indignation and reſentment againſt the whole family of the ſuppoſed traitors. His verſes were rehearſed at the public games, where the force and vivacity of the ſatire were univerſally admired. Calumny, however, ſeems to have joined her poiſoned darts to the more fair and equitable weapons employed by the anger of diſappointed love. Neobulé and her ſiſters were accuſed of every vice moſt inconſiſtent with the modeſt dignity of the female character. Yet

ſuch

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ſuch an accuſation is extremely improbable, conſidering the reſerved circumſpection of Neobulé herſelf, during the ardent ſolicitations of Archilochus; a behaviour which naturally increaſed the fire of his paſſion, and ſharpened the edge of his ſatire.

His reproach and calumny, however ill-grounded and unreaſonable, gained an eaſy credit among the rivals and enemies of Lycambes; and the bitter taunts and invectives, which the malice of the poet had invented, the ſcornful contempt of the Parians too faithfully retained. An old poem was no ſooner in danger of being forgotten, than it was ſucceeded by new verſes, couched in the livelieſt turns of ingenious ſatire. The perpetual ſtrokes of malevolence, darted againſt the family of Lycambes, by the perſevering cruelty of the poet, rendered their characters ſuſpicious to the public, and their lives painful to themſelves. They determined to withdraw from a ſcene, which ſeemed a conſtant variation of miſery; and died, in deſpair, by their own hands.

The poems which produced this melancholy effect, and of which ſome ſcattered remains have reached the preſent times, were written in iambic [17] verſe of ſix and four feet. When the lines were of the ſame length throughout, the piece was entitled an iambic; but when ſhort and long verſes alternately ſucceeded each other, it was called, from this circumſtance, an epode [18]; a name which Horace

[17] The term iambic is ſynonymous, in Greek, with the words reproachful, ſatirical. Ariſt. Poet.

[18] This word, concerning the meaning of which there have been innumerable diſputes, ſimply denotes the ſucceſſion of verſes or ſtanzas, of different length or ſtructure. In the firſt

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Horace has given to thoſe performances in which he imitated the poetry and ſpirit of Archilochus, not copying, with ſervility, his ſentiments and expreſſion [19].

Though iambic was the favourite [20] purſuit of Archilochus, his genius was not intirely confined to that ſpecies of writing. Endowed with an extreme ſenſibility of heart, he was inclined to gratitude and friendſhip, as well as to enmity and reſentment. Animated by the former ſentiments, he lamented the death of a kinſman and friend, who had unfortunately periſhed by ſhipwreck. The piece conſiſted of alternate hexameter and pentameter verſes, and abounded in elegiac ſtrains, which were admired by the greateſt critics of antiquity. The ſublime Longinus, in particular, extols the affecting deſcription of the ſhipwreck; and Plutarch [21] has preſerved the concluſion of the piece, in which the poet having aſſerted the hurtfulneſs of ſorrow to the living, and its inutility to the dead, determines thenceforth to abſtain from unavailing lamentations, and to ſeek relief for his affliction in wine, love, and other ſenſual pleaſures.

His malignity.

Theſe ſentiments of Archilochus ſeem to prove, that whatever may have been the poetical merit of

firſt ſenſe it is explained in the text: in the ſecond it will be explained in ſpeaking of the ode, of which the epode regularly formed the third ſtanza, as we learn from Hepheſtion, Terentianus Maurus, Marius Victorinus, and other ancient grammarians and philologiſts.

[19] Parios ego primus iambos
Oſtendi Latio, numeros animoſque ſecutus
Archilochi, non res, & agentia verba Lycamben.
Epiſt. lib. i. 19.

[20] Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.

[21] De audiend. Poet.

of his elegy, the tender paſſions were leſs fitted than the iraſcible, to make a durable impreſſion on his heart. He ſoon forſook the elegiac muſe; and his natural diſpoſition, as well as the fame which he had already acquired by his ſatires, led him to purſue that ſpecies of writing with unabating ardour. The perpetual rivalſhips and competitions among the principal Parian citizens, who aſpired at the firſt offices of government, frequently degenerating into hatred, malice, and revenge, they obſerved with infinite delight, the aſperſions, however foul and falſe, that were caſt on their opponents. The malignity of the public thus nouriſhed and exaſperated the venom of the poet; but there was a degree of virulence beyond which it could not proceed. After making the circle of the whole ſociety, and equally offending friends and foes by his exceſſive and indiſcriminate reproach, Archilochus came to be regarded as a public enemy. The licentious impurity of his manners, which bid defiance to every law of decency and of nature, heightened the deteſtation of his character, and he was compelled to fly in diſgrace from his native iſland, to which his genius would have been an ornament, had his behaviour been more modeſt and inoffenſive[22]. CHAP. VI. Baniſhment.

Baniſhed from the iſle of Paros, the poet ſought protection in the Thaſian colony, to the eſtabliſhment of which the ſervices of his father had ſo eminently contributed; but, unfortunately for his repoſe, the fame of his ſatires had gone before him, and the diſgrace of having loſt his ſhield in the Thracian expedition was a ſtain not eaſily wiped off. His reception among the Thaſians, therefore, anſwered neither his own expectations, nor the Wanderings.

[22] Critias apud Ælian. Hiſt. l. ix. c. xiii.

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the liberal ſpirit of ancient hoſpitality. He ſoon quitted a place in which his company was ſo little acceptable, yet not before he had lampooned the principal citizens of Thaſos, and endeavoured, by a ſingular and abſurd exceſs of reſentment, to ſatiriſe the narrowneſs and ſterility of the iſland itſelf.

Recovers the public eſteem at Olympia.

The wandering poet was not more fortunate in ſeveral other diſtricts of Greece in which he took refuge. The warlike Spartans would ſcarcely admit into their city, a writer who had ſaid that it was better for a ſoldier to loſe his ſhield than his life, becauſe he might purchaſe new armour, but could not acquire a new exiſtence. Archilochus, thus abandoned, perſecuted, and contemned, made one ſpirited effort for recovering his ancient character, and regaining the public eſteem. The time approached for celebrating the Olympic feſtival. The irregularity of his manners, the general deteſtation of his behaviour, and, above all, his vindication of cowardice, would, according to general rules, have excluded him from aſſiſting at that ſolemnity; but having removed the prejudices which the citizens of Elis had naturally conceived againſt him, by diſplaying his wonderful talents for muſic and poetry, he took care to inſinuate, that he was poſſeſſed of an ode in praiſe of Hercules, which, if rehearſed before the public aſſembly, would equally entertain the fancy, and improve the piety of the ſpectators. The intereſt of religion being materially concerned in this propoſal, the judges of the games thought proper to comply with it. Archilochus appeared on the appointed day among the Olympic bards. After his competitors had given ſpecimens of their art in ſuch muſical compoſitions as the audience were accuſtomed to hear, he began the ſong in honour of Hercules, accompanied with the ſound of his lyre, and

and written with ſuch new variations of verſe, as neceſſarily occaſioned new modulations of melody. It is probable that, on this occaſion, he firſt practiſed the invention aſcribed to him by Plutarch [23], of paſſing, with rapidity, from one rhythm, or meaſure, to another of a different kind. The novelty, the beauty, and the grandeur of his compoſition raviſhed the ſenſes, and elevated the ſouls of his hearers. The demerit of the performer was obliterated in the perfection of his ſong. The unanimous applauſe of the aſſembly, declared his ſuperiority to every rival, and he was immediately rewarded by the prize, and adorned with the crown, of victory [24].

Returns to his native iſland.

Having acquired ſuch diſtinguiſhed renown in the public theatre of aſſembled ſtates, Archilochus returned, with exultation, to his native country, the glory of which had been proclaimed at Olympia, in conſequence of the ſucceſsful merit of a baniſhed citizen. This proclamation being deemed the higheſt honour which an individual could procure for his community, the hatred and reſentment formerly entertained againſt the poet was converted into gratitude and admiration. The renewed reſpect of his country occaſioned many ebullitions of poetical vanity, which evaporated in ſome verſes that have reached the preſent times [25]. When death put an end to his labours, it could not extinguiſh his fame. His obſequies were diſtinguiſhed by every ſad circumſtance of funeral pomp; and his memory was celebrated

[23] De Muſic.

[24] We learn from Pindar and his ſcholiaſt, Ode Olymp. ix. that this celebrated poem of Archilochus long continued to be ſung at the Olympic games, in order to grace the coronation of thoſe victors who either could not afford, or who did not incline, to purchaſe an ode in their particular honour.

[25] Athenæus, l. xiv. Pauſanias, l. x. Stobæus, ſerm. 123.

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His ſingular honours.

lebrated by a feſtival, eſtabliſhed by the gratitude of his countrymen, and adopted by the general admiration of the Greeks, during which the verſes of Archilochus were ſung alternately with the poems of Homer [26]: and thus, by a fatality frequently attending men of genius, he ſpent a life of miſery, and acquired honour after death. Reproach, ignominy, contempt, poverty, and perſecution were the ordinary companions of his perſon; admiration, glory, reſpect, ſplendour, and magnificence were the melancholy attendants of his ſhade.

Hiſtory of the Lyric Poets.

Terpander.

Archilochus was the principal improver, not only of the iambic, but of the graver kind of lyric poetry; and Terpander, who flouriſhed in the ſame age, was, as far as we can trace the hiſtory of the arts, the chief promoter of the gay and feſtive kinds of lyric compoſition. This agreeable poet was a native of Leſbos. He obtained the muſical prize in the Carnean feſtival at Sparta; and in the beginning of the ſeventh century before Chriſt, gained four ſucceſſive prizes at Delphi, as appeared by a correct regiſter of the conquerors in the Pythian games, preſerved in the time of Plutarch [27]. Theſe advantages procured him the reſpect of his contemporaries; but he was honoured by poſterity chiefly for his improvement of the lyre, and for the new varieties of meaſure which he introduced into the Grecian poetry [28].

The example of Archilochus and Terpander [29] was followed by the nine Lyric poets who, in the courſe

[26] Anthol. p. 212. Ariſt. Rhetor. l. ii.

[27] De Muſic.

[28] Euclid Harmon. Strabo, l. xiii.

[29] Πινδαρος φησιν ὁτι των σκολιων μελων Τερπανδρος ευρετης ην. Plut. de Muſic. "Pindar ſays, that Terpander invented the "Scholia," which, according to Pollux and Heſychius, properly denote the drinking ſongs of the Greeks; but in a more general

courſe of two centuries flouriſhed almoſt in regular ſucceſſion, and maintained the poetic fame of their country. Of the two moſt ancient, Alcman and Steſichorus, we have only a few imperfect remains: of Sappho there are two complete odes; her followers Alcæus, Simonides, Ibycus, and Bacchilides are known by a few mutilated fragments, and by the remarks of ancient critics; but we ſtill poſſeſs many inimitable odes of Pindar, and many pleaſant ſongs of Anacreon.

Sappho, Alcæus, &c.

As to the Grecian lyriſts in general, it is worthy of obſervation, that except Alcman of Sardis, who on account of his merit was naturaliſed at Sparta, Pindar of Thebes in Bœotia, and Steſichorus of Himera in Sicily, all the reſt were born on the Aſiatic coaſt, or in the iſlands of the Ægean ſea. Theſe enchanting climates were the beſt adapted to inſpire the raptures peculiar to the ode, as well as to excite that voluptuous gaiety characteriſtic of the Grecian ſong [30]. Amidſt the romantic ſcenes of Ionia, was felt with uncommon ſenſibility the force of that pleaſing painful paſſion, which, uniting grief, joy, and enthuſiaſm, contains the fruitful ſeeds of whatever is moſt perfect in muſic and poetry [31]. Here the celebrated Sappho breathed the amorous flames by which ſhe was conſumed; while her countryman and lover Alcæus declared the warmth of his attachment, excited leſs perhaps by the beauty of her perſon, than by the bewitching charms of her voice. But neither Alcæus, who flouriſhed in the beginning of the ſixth, nor Anacreon, who flouriſhed in the beginning

general ſenſe, ſignify every kind of lyric poetry, not aſpiring to the dignity of the ode.

[30] Hippocrat. de Locis, vol. ii. p. 346. Edit. Lugd. Bat.

[31] Agreeably to the principles eſtabliſhed by Theophraſtus in Plutarch's Sympoſium.

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beginning of the fifth century before Chriſt, allowed the natural vivacity of their tempers to be overcome by the ſeverities of a paſſion which they conſidered chiefly as an inſtrument of pleaſure. When unfortunate in love, they had recourſe to wine; and their lively invitations to this enjoyment compoſed the favourite *airs* of antiquity [32]. Of Alcæus it is uſual to judge by the ſcattered remains of his works preſerved in Plutarch [33] and Athenæus [34], and by the high commendations beſtowed on him by Horace and Quintilian. The Latin poet, however, ſeems on many occaſions to have ſo exactly imitated, or rather tranſlated the Greek, that the copy will perhaps beſt enable us to form a complete idea of the original [35].

Alcæus, though he chiefly indulged in the gay and ſportive ſtrains of poetry, was yet qualified to undertake more lofty [36] themes; but the whole ſoul of Anacreon was of that effeminate texture which fitted him only to ſing of love and pleaſure [37]. Venus, Bacchus, Cupid, and the Graces were the peculiar divinities whom he adored; and the preſents which he offered at their ſhrine, were the moſt acceptable that any mortal could beſtow. He not only obſerved the external rites and ceremonies which they commanded, but proved that

Anacreon.

[32] Give us a ſong of Alcæus or Anacreon, was a common ſaying in the age of Socrates. Athenæus, l. x. c. viii.

[33] Sympoſ. c. vii.

[34] Lib. x.

[35] Μηδεν αλλο φυτευσης προτερον διυδρεω αμπελω. ALC.
Nullam, Vare, ſacra vite, prius ſeveris arborem.
Other tranſlations equally literal, may be diſcovered by carefully examining the fragments in Athenæus, l. x.

[36] In luſus & amores deſcendit, majoribus tamen aptior. QUIN. l. x. c. i.

[37] Α Βαρβιτος δι χορδαις
Εφωτα μυσον ηχει—— ANAC. Od. i.

that his heart and mind had imbibed the genuine ſpirit of their worſhip. Throughout the whole of his works, now remaining [38], there reign the moſt inimitable ſimplicity, purity, and ſweetneſs of diction: his verſes flow with a ſmooth volubility; his images, ſentiments, and reaſonings (if what in him ſeems much intuitive conviction can be called reaſonings) are copied from the warmeſt impreſſions of nature. Yet in theſe poems, otherwiſe ſo beautiful and ſo perfect, there may be diſcovered an extreme licentiouſneſs of manners, and a ſingular voluptuouſneſs of fancy, extending beyond the ſenſes, and tainting the ſoul itſelf.

Steſichorus.

The diſſolute gaiety of Anacreon, the delicate ſenſibility of Sappho, and the tearful complaints of Simonides [39], were all expreſſed in that eaſy equable flow of uninterrupted harmony, which, in the opinion of the moſt learned of their countrymen [40], poſſeſſes more grace than ſtrength, and more beauty than grandeur. The majeſtic muſe of Steſichorus was of a more elevated kind. Diſdaining the ſubjects to which the other lyriſts deſcended, he ſung of war and heroes, and ſupported, by his harp, the whole weight and dignity of epic poetry [41]. Such, at leaſt, are the ſentiments of a celebrated critic, who had read his works, of which we

[38] The works of Anacreon are ſaid, by Petrus Alcyonius de exilio, to have been burned by the Greek prieſts of Conſtantinople, from which ſome learned men, deſtitute of taſte, have abſurdly concluded, that the works aſcribed to the old poet are ſpurious. It cannot, ſurely, be ſaid of thoſe poems, "Etſi excitant animos noſtrorum hominum ad flagrantiorem "religionis cultum, non tamen verborum Atticorum propri-"etatem & linguæ Græcæ elegantiam docent;" which is the character that Petrus Alcyonius gives of the compoſitions ſubſtituted by the prieſts in their place.

[39] Mœſtius lachrymis Simonideis. Catull.

[40] Dionyſius Halicarn.

[41] Epici carminis onera lyra ſuſtinentem. Quint.

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we are at preſent entitled to judge only by their reſemblance to thoſe of Pindar, who poſſeſſed a ſimilar turn of genius, and treated the ſame lofty themes.

Pindar;

The honours beſtowed on Pindar by his contemporaries, as well as the admiration in which his name was uniformly held by the moſt improved nations of antiquity, render both his perſon and his works objects of a very natural curioſity. He was born five hundred and twenty years before Chriſt, and his long life almoſt completed the full revolution of a century. His age, therefore, extended beyond the period of hiſtory now under our review; yet the works of his predeceſſors having periſhed by the ravages of time and barbariſm, it is neceſſary to examine, in this place, the nature and character of the writings of Pindar, as the only materials remaining that can enable us to form a general notion of the performances recited by the lyric poets at the principal Grecian ſolemnities. Pindar, from his earlieſt years, was carefully trained by his father (himſelf a muſician) to the ſtudies of muſic and poetry. His genius, naturally wild and luxuriant, was corrected by the leſſons of his fair countrywomen, Myrtis and Corinna [42], whoſe poetical productions had acquired unrivalled fame, not only in Thebes, but among all the neighbouring cities [43]. His firſt efforts for equalling their renown were diſplayed at the muſical conteſts celebrated in his native country; where, after conquering Myrtis, he was five times overcome by Corinna, who, if we may believe, however, the voice of ſcandal, owed her repeated victories, more to the charms of her beauty, than to the ſuperiority of her genius.

[42] Pauſanias, l. ix. c. xxii.
[43] Lucian. Ælian. Var. Hiſt.

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the admiration in which he was held.

us [44]. But in the four public aſſemblies of Greece, where females were not admitted to contend, Pindar carried off the prize from every competitor. The glory, in particular, which his poetry both acquired and beſtowed at Olympia, made the greateſt generals and ſtateſmen of the age court the friendſhip of his muſe. To the temples of the gods, and eſpecially to the celebrated temple of Delphi, his hymns and pœans drew an extraordinary concourſe of Greeks and ſtrangers. The prieſts, prophets, and other miniſters of Apollo, ſenſible of the benefits which they derived from his muſical fame, repaid the merit of his ſervices by erecting his ſtatue in the moſt conſpicuous part of the temple, and declared by their organ the Pythia, that Pindar ſhould be honoured with one half of the firſt-fruit offerings annually preſented by the devout retainers of the Delphian ſhrine [45]. Pindar was thus, during his lifetime, aſſociated to the honours of the gods; and after his death, his memory was adorned by every mark of reſpect that public admiration can beſtow. The beauty of the monument, erected to him by his fellow-citizens in the Hippodrome of Thebes, was admired after the revolution of ſix centuries [46]. At the Theoxenian feſtival, a portion of the ſacred victim was appropriated, even as late as the time of Plutarch, to the deſcendants of the poet. The inveterate hoſtility of the Spartans, when they deſtroyed the capital of their ancient and cruelleſt enemies, ſpared the houſe of Pindar, which was equally reſpected in a future age by the warlike and impetuous ſon of Philip, and the giddy triumph of his Macedonian captains [47].

[44] Pauſan. Ibid.
[45] Pauſan. Phocic.
[46] Pauſan. Bœotic.
[47] Polyb. Hiſtor.

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Diviſion and nature of his works.

Pindar, we are told, acquired unrivalled fame by his hymns to Jupiter, his pœans to Apollo, and his dithyrambics to Bacchus. But as all theſe works have periſhed, as well as his love verſes, his elegies, and his parthenia [48], we are unfortunately obliged to confine our obſervations to the odes, which were rehearſed at the ſacred games, in praiſe of the conquerors in the gymnaſtic and equeſtrian conteſts. Theſe conquerors being perſons of the firſt diſtinction in Greece, the poet takes occaſion to celebrate the ſplendour of their paſt lives, the dignity of their character, the fame of their anceſtors, and the glory of their ſeveral republics. The tutelary deities, to whom they owed their felicity, are not forgotten; and hence, by an eaſy tranſition, the poet paſſes to the worſhip of the god in whoſe honour the games were eſtabliſhed; to the adoration of the heroes who had appointed them; and to innumerable other epiſodes, which are often more intereſting and more beautiful than the original ſubject.

Such, moſt commonly, are the materials of the ode; and its form uſually conſiſted of three ſtanzas, of which the two firſt, being of an equal length, were either of them longer than the third. This arrangement was introduced as moſt ſuitable to the occaſion of the poem, as well as to the ſcene on which it was rehearſed. The occaſion was the ſolemn ſacrifice, accompanied by a public entertainment given to the ſpectators by the friends of the ſucceſsful candidate for Olympic fame. Grateful acknowledgments to the gods formed a principal part of the ceremony, which could not, without impiety, be omitted by the victor, who had obtained ſo honourable a prize through the

[48] Sung, as the word denotes, by a chorus of virgins.

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the assistance of his protecting divinity. On the altar of this divinity the sacrifice was performed; and in his temple was sung the panegyrical poem, containing the united praises of the beneficent god, and of his favoured votary. The chorus waited, as usual, to begin the song, till preparations were made for the feast. They repeated the first stanza, properly called strophé, while they gratefully danced, towards the right, round the well-replenished altar; returning, in an opposite direction, to the place from which they set out, they recited the second stanza, therefore called antistrophé; then standing motionless before the altar, and, as it were, in the immediate presence of the divinity, with whose statue it was adorned, they sung the concluding stanza, with a richer exuberance, and more complicated variations, of melody [49]. The ode, therefore, was distinguished from other pieces of poetry, not by being set to music [50] (for this was common to them all), but by being sung by a chorus, who accompanied the various inflections of the voice with suitable attitudes and movements of the body.

His characteristic excellence.

The lyric poetry of the Greeks thus united the pleasures of the ear, of the eye, and of the understanding. In the various nature of the entertainment consisted its essential merit and perfection; and he only could be entitled the prince of lyric poets, whose verses happily conspired with the general tendency of this complicated exhibition. By the universal consent of antiquity, this Poet is Pindar, whom, ever since the eulogium of Horace,

[49] Marius Victorinus de Gram. and the Scholia on Hephæstion.

[50] This error runs through the whole of the otherwise very sensible discourse of Mr. Charbanon on lyric poetry, in the Memoires de l'Academie.

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Horace, critics have extolled for the brilliancy of his imagination, the figurative boldneſs of his diction, the fire, animation, and enthuſiaſm of his genius. The panegyrics, beſtowed on him, have generally more of the wildneſs of the ode, than of the coolneſs of criticiſm; ſo that the peculiar nature of his excellencies may ſtill deſerve to be explained. It will be allowed by every one who reads his works with attention, that Pindar is leſs diſtinguiſhed by the ſublimity of his thoughts and ſentiments, than by the grandeur of his language and expreſſion; and that his *inimitable* [51] excellence conſiſts in the energy, propriety, and magnificence of his ſtyle, which is admirably fitted to aſſociate with the lengthened tones of muſic, and the figured movements of the dance. The uniform cadence, the ſmooth volubility, and the light unimportance of ordinary compoſition, are extremely ill adapted to this aſſociation, which bringing every ſingle word into notice, and ſubjecting it to obſervation and remark, muſt expoſe its natural meanneſs, inſignificance, and poverty. But as much as the language of ordinary writers would loſe, that of Pindar would gain, by ſuch an examination. His words and phraſes are choſen with an habitual care, and poſſeſs a certain weight and dignity, which, the more they are contemplated, muſt be the more admired. It is this magnificence of diction, thoſe compound epithets, and thoſe glowing expreſſions (which the coldneſs of criticiſm has ſometimes condemned as extravagant) that form the tranſcendent merit of the Pindaric ſtyle, and diſtinguiſh it even more than the general flow of the verſification, which is commonly ſo natural, free, and unreſtrained, that it bears leſs reſemblance to poetry, than to a beautiful and

[51] Pindarum quiſquis ſtudet *emulari*, &c.

and harmonious proſe. It is not meant, however, that this great poet paid more attention to the choice, than to the arrangement, of words. The majeſty of the *compoſition* equalled, and in the opinion of a great critic, even ſurpaſſed the value of the materials. Dionyſius, the critic to whom I allude, has explained by what admirable refinements of art Pindar gave to his words a certain firmneſs and ſolidity of conſiſtence, ſeparated them at wide intervals, placed them on a broad baſe, and raiſed them to a lofty eminence, from which they darted thoſe irradiations of ſplendour that aſtoniſhed the moſt diſtant beholders.

But the moſt exalted fame cannot extend with equal facility to diſtance of time and diſtance of place. The poems of Pindar are now deprived of their accompaniments of muſic and dancing, by which they were formerly ennobled and adorned. They are now read in the retirement of the cloſet, without intereſt and without emotion. They were anciently ſung to large aſſemblies of men, who believed the religion which they deſcribed, knew the characters whom they celebrated, and felt the influence of that piety and patriotiſm which they were admirably calculated to uphold. Such paſſages as may appear moſt exceptionable in the cool moments of ſolitary ſtudy, would obtain the higheſt applauſe amidſt the joyous animation of ſocial triumph, when men are naturally diſpoſed to admire every happy boldneſs of expreſſion, and to behold, with unuſual rapture, thoſe lofty and dangerous flights which elevate the daring muſe of Pindar.

Phyſical effects of the public games.

In examining the effect of the games, as inſtitutions for bodily exerciſe and mental improvement, it is neceſſary to reflect, not only on the univerſality

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univerſality of their eſtabliſhment, but on the frequency of their repetition. Beſides the public ſolemnities already deſcribed, innumerable provincial feſtivals were celebrated in each particular republic. The Athenians employed near a third part of the year in ſuch amuſements; and if we may be allowed to conjecture, that thoſe communities which inſtituted moſt feſtivals, would moſt excel in the arts and exerciſes diſplayed in them, we may conclude, from the national deſignations of the Olympic victors, preſerved in ancient authors, that the number of the Athenian feſtivals was rivalled by that of ſeveral other ſtates.

For theſe warlike and elegant amuſements the youth were carefully trained by the diſcipline of the gymnaſia, in which they learned whatever can give ſtrength and agility to the limbs, eaſe and grace to the motions, force and beauty to the genius. Bodily ſtrength and agility were accompanied by health and vigour of conſtitution. Their athletic hardineſs bore, without inconvenience, the viciſſitudes of cold and heat. Even in the ſcorching warmth [52] of July (for that was the ſeaſon of the Olympic games), they received, bare-headed, the direct rays of the ſun. And the firm organization, acquired by perpetual exerciſe, counteracted that fatal propenſity to vicious indulgence, too natural to their voluptuous climate, and produced thoſe inimitable models of ſtrength and beauty, which are ſo deſervedly admired in the precious remains of Grecian ſtatuary.

They produced courage,

Theſe corporeal advantages were followed by a train of excellencies to which they are nearly allied. There is a courage depending on nerves and blood, which was improved to the higheſt pitch

[52] Lucian, Solon.

pitch among the Greeks. They delight, ſays Lucian [53], to behold the combats of bold and generous animals; and their own contentions are ſtill more animated. In the memorable war with Perſia, they ſhewed the ſuperiority of their national courage; and it is worthy of obſervation, that the moſt ſignal exploits were performed in the field of battle by thoſe who had been previouſly adorned with the Olympic crown. It was a general boaſt, that one Grecian could conquer ten Perſians [54]; and the ſuggeſtions of reaſon tend to confirm the evidence of hiſtory. In the battles of the Greeks and Perſians, victory was not obtained by the mechanical exertions of diſtant hoſtility. The conteſt was decided by the point of the ſword and ſpear. Theſe weapons require activity of the limbs, ſteadineſs of the eye, and dexterity of the hand. They improve the courage as well as the vigour of the ſoldier; and both were admirably promoted by the habitual exerciſes of the gymnaſia, which inſpired not only the ſpirit to undertake, but the ability to execute, the moſt dangerous and difficult enterpriſes.

and temperance.

The gymnaſtic arts encouraged other qualities ſtill more important than bodily accompliſhments and courage. Chiefly by *their* influence, the love of pleaſure and the love of action, the two moſt powerful principles in the human breaſt, were directed to purpoſes not only innocent but uſeful. The deſire of an Olympic crown reſtrained alike thoſe weakneſſes which form the diſgrace, and thoſe vices which form the guilt and miſery, of undiſciplined minds; and an object of earthly and periſhable ambition, led to the ſame external purity and temperance, that is recommended by the precepts

[53] In Solon.

[54] Herodot. l. viii.

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cepts, and enforced by the ſanctions, of a divine and immutable religion. The oil, the crown, the robes, and the palms, compoſe not the *only* reſemblance between the Chriſtian and the Olympic victors. Theſe viſible images have been borrowed, indeed, by the ſacred writers, to aſſiſt our imperfect conception of divine truths[55]; but they have been borrowed from an inſtitution which reſembles Chriſtianity, not in the honours and rewards which it propoſed, but in the efforts and duties which it required. The ambition of honeſt fame[56] taught men to controul the appetites of the body by the affections of the ſoul; the ſprings of emulation repreſſed the allurements of ſenſuality; one dangerous paſſion combated another ſtill more dangerous; and a train of uſeful prejudices ſupported the cauſe, and maintained the aſcendant, of virtue.

Contempt for the modern notions concerning the point of honour.

Many of the peculiarities which diſtinguiſh the Greeks from the maſs of ancient and modern nations, ſeem to have derived their origin from the ſame uſeful inſtitutions; particularly the cuſtom of going unarmed, and their perpetual contempt for the capricious notions concerning the point of honour. Theſe unpoliſhed republicans were accuſtomed, in the private gymnaſias, as well as at the public entertainments, to inflict and to ſuffer the moſt provoking indignities. A barbarous Scythian, who witneſſed a ſpectacle that ſeemed to him as ſhocking and intolerable as it would appear to a puctilious modern gentleman, declared to his Athenian conductor, that if any perſon ſhould offer the ſame inſults to him, which the Athenian

[55] 1 Corinth. 9th chapter, four laſt verſes.

[56] Qui ſtudet optatam curſu contingere metum,
Multa tulit fecitque puer ſudavit & alſit.
Abſtinuit vivere & vino.

Athenian youths were continually offering to each other, he would ſoon convince the aſſembly, that his ſword was not an empty ornament of his perſon, but an uſeful guardian of his honour [57]. Such were the ſentiments of the Scythian; and hiſtory proves, that ſuch are the ſentiments of all uncultivated minds. An untutored barbarian ſets no bounds to his reſentment. The ſmalleſt injury renders his anger implacable; his indignation againſt the offender is proportioned, not to the nature of *his* offence, but to his own pride, which is boundleſs. The ſlighteſt fault requires the ſevereſt atonement; and not only a blow, but a word, or a look, may inflict a ſtain on the delicacy of his ſuppoſed honour, which can only be waſhed out by the blood of the aggreſſor. The exceſſes of this ſanguinary temper, before they were corrected by the refinements of Grecian philoſophy, were repreſſed by the habitual practice of the gymnaſtic exerciſes. In the ſchools appropriated to the advancement of theſe uſeful arts, the Greeks learned the valuable leſſon of repelling injuries by others of a ſimilar kind, of proportioning the puniſhment to the offence, and of thus preventing a ſlight occaſion of animoſity from degenerating into a ſolid ground of revenge. If any citizen of thoſe warlike republics had worn armour in time of peace, he muſt have been regarded either as a madman or as an aſſaſſin; for to the chaſtiſed principles of Grecian diſcipline, it would have appeared altogether abſurd that the ſword or dagger ſhould be thought neceſſary to retaliate the reproaches of the tongue, or even the more daring inſults of the arm.

Emulation and rewards of the victors.

The entertainments of the public feſtivals thus tended to eradicate the wild exceſſes of reſentment, and

[57] Lucian. Anacharſis.

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and to improve the mild and gentle virtues; but conſidered in another view, the ſame entertainments were calculated to promote ardour, emulation, friendſhip, patriotiſm, and all the animated principles and contentions of active life. The rewards beſtowed on the conquerors were the moſt flattering which in that age could be propoſed. Odes were ſung in their praiſe; ſtatues were erected to them on the ſcene of victory; the names of their parents and country were jointly celebrated with their own; they were entitled to the firſt ſeats at all public entertainments; maintained at the expence of their reſpective communities; and in their native cities, rewarded not only with monuments and inſcriptions, but ſometimes with altars and temples. Of theſe honours and rewards, the appropriated ſymbols were the olive, the pine, the parſley; and the laurel crowns; which were reſpectively diſtributed at the ſeveral ſolemnities of Olympia, the Iſthmus, Nemea, and Delphi. Obſerving the ſmall value of theſe badges of diſtinction, without adverting to the ſolid benefits which they conferred, the Perſian Tigranes would have diſſuaded his maſter from going to war with a people, who, inſenſible to intereſt, fought only for glory [58]. But had Tigranes been more completely informed concerning the inſtitutions of Greece, he would have underſtood, that both intereſt and glory operated moſt powerfully upon the candidates for Olympic fame, and not only their perſonal intereſts, but thoſe of their friends, their parents, and their country, who, being aſſociated to their honours, were regarded by them with that love and affection which men naturally feel for the objects of their protection and bounty.

In

[58] The word is ἀρετης in the original; but here means the reward of virtue. Vid. Herodot. l. viii. c. 26.

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Influence of the muſical and poetical conteſts.

In explaining the influence of the Grecian ſolemnities, we muſt not forget the muſical and poetical exhibitions, which, from being employed to reward the victors in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, came to be themſelves thought worthy of reward. The martial leſſons of Tyrtæus and Callinus admirably conſpired with the effects which have already been deſcribed, encouraging the firm and manly virtues both by the enthuſiaſm with which their precepts were conveyed, and by the lively impreſſions which they gave of thoſe objects for which it is important to contend. The courage depending on blood and nerves is uncertain and tranſitory in its exiſtence, and even while it exiſts, may be indifferently employed to purpoſes beneficial or deſtructive. It belonged to the martial bards to determine its doubtful nature, to fix and illuſtrate its genuine motives, and to direct it to the proper objects of its purſuit.

They infuſed a proper mixture of ſoftneſs and ſenſibility into the Grecian character.

The muſical entertainments thus ſtrengthened, refined, and exalted the manly principles inſpired by all the cuſtoms and inſtitutions of that warlike age. But as bravery is a hardy plant that grows in every ſoil, the moſt beneficial conſequence of the arts conſiſted in infuſing a proper mixture of ſoftneſs and ſenſibility into the Grecian character. This is well known to be their effect in every country where they are allowed to flouriſh [59]. The Greeks, in a peculiar manner, required their aſſiſtance; nor could it have been poſſible for that people, without the happy influence of the arts, to controul the barbarity naturally occaſioned by their conſtant employment in war, the ſavage cruelty introduced by the practice of domeſtic

[59] Ingenuas didiciſſe fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros. HORACE.

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Their effects on moral principle,

meſtic ſervitude, and the intolerable ferocity which ſeems eſſentially inherent in the nature of democratical government. Amidſt theſe ſources of degeneracy and corruption, the time and application neceſſary to attain proficiency in the purſuits of genius, habituated the Greeks to gentle amuſements, and innocent pleaſures. The honours and rewards beſtowed on the ſucceſsful candidates for literary fame, engaged them to ſeek happineſs and glory in the peaceful ſhade of retirement, as well as on the contentious theatre of active life; and the obſervations and diſcoveries occaſionally ſuggeſted by the free communication of ſentiment, ſtrengthened and confirmed thoſe happy prejudices which combat on the ſide of virtue, and enforce the practice of ſuch rules of behaviour as are moſt uſeful and agreeable in ſociety.

and on the intellectual powers,

If the muſical and literary entertainments acquired ſuch an happy influence over the moral diſpoſitions of the heart, they produced a ſtill more conſiderable effect on the intellectual faculties of the mind. It is almoſt impoſſible, in the preſent age, to conceive the full extent of their efficacy in improving the memory, animating the imagination, and correcting the judgment. As to the memory, indeed, there is a period in the progreſs of ſociety preceding the introduction of writing, when the energies of this faculty have been exerted among many nations with a wonderful degree of force. Even among the barbarous Celtic inhabitants of our own iſland, the Druids could repeat an incredible number of verſes, containing the knowledge of their hiſtory, laws, and religion; and a period of twenty years was required to complete the poetical ſtudies of a candidate for the prieſthood [60].

But,

[60] Cæſar, de bello Gallico, l. vi.

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prepared the Greeks for their high attainments in eloquence and philoſophy.

But if the Greeks were equalled by other nations in the exerciſe of the memory, they have always been unrivalled in the delicacy of their taſte, and the inimitable charms of their fancy. Theſe excellences, whether originally produced by natural or moral cauſes, or more probably by a combination of both, were, doubtleſs, extended and improved by emulation and habitual exerciſe. To this exerciſe the public ſolemnities afforded a proper field; and, in the conteſts of muſic and poetry, were diſplayed the opening bloſſoms of Grecian genius, bloſſoms which afterwards ripened into thoſe fruits of philoſophy and eloquence, that will form the admiration and delight of the laſt ages of the world.

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State of the Grecian Colonies.—The Ionians flouriſh in Arts and Arms.—Their Wars with the Lydians.—The Aſiatic Greeks ſubdued by Cræſus.—Splendour of the Lydian Court.—Foundation of the Perſian Monarchy.—Cauſes of its rapid Grandeur.—Which alarms Cræſus.—His Alliance with the Lacedæmonians.—He invades the Perſian Dominions.—Meaſures of his Allies.—Cræſus defeated by Cyrus.—End of the Lydian Monarchy.

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State of the Greek colonies in Europe and Africa. Olymp. xx. 1. A.C. 700.

ABOVE two thouſand years have elapſed ſince it was obſerved, to the honour of Europe, that a handful of Greeks, having eſtabliſhed themſelves in Aſia and Africa, continually maintained and extended their poſſeſſions in thoſe quarters of the world [1]. Wherever the ſpirit of enterpriſe diffuſed their ſettlements, they perceived, it is ſaid, on the ſlighteſt compariſon, the ſuperiority of their own religion, language, inſtitutions, and manners; and the dignity of their character and ſentiments eminently diſtinguiſhed them from the general maſs of nations whoſe territories they invaded, and whom they juſtly denominated Barbarians [2]. Yet theſe honourable advantages, inſtead of conciliating good-will, tended only to exaſperate hoſtility. The northern Greeks were perpetually haraſſed by the fierce inroads of the Thracians: the ſouthern were endangered by the united ſtrength of Egypt and Lybia. The colonies in

[1] Hippocrat. vol. i. p. 350. Edit. Lugdun. 1763.
[2] Iſocrat. Panegyr. paſſim.

in Magna Græcia, having eaſily reſiſted the rude, though warlike natives of that country, were called to contend with the more formidable power of Carthage. But the conſequences of all theſe wars, which ſhall be deſcribed in due time, extended not beyond the countries in which they firſt aroſe. The memorable conflict between the Greek colonies in the eaſt, and the great nations of Aſia, forms a ſubject more vaſt and more intereſting. Not confined to the extremities, it reached and ſhook the centre of Greece. It recoiled with more deſtructive violence on Perſia; its duration comprehends the moſt illuſtrious period in the hiſtory of both countries; and its extent embraces all the great nations of antiquity, together with the ſcattered communities of Grecian extraction in every part of the world.

State of the Greek colonies in Aſia.

In the third century after their eſtabliſhment in the eaſt, and above ſeven hundred years before the Chriſtian æra, the Greeks of Aſia, and particularly the Ionians, far ſurpaſſed their European anceſtors in ſplendor and proſperity [3]. While ancient Greece was haraſſed by inteſtine diſſenſions, and its northern frontier expoſed to the hoſtility of neighbouring Barbarians, the eaſtern colonies enjoyed profound peace, and flouriſhed in the vicinity of Phrygia and Lydia, the beſt cultivated and moſt wealthy provinces of Lower Aſia [4], and perhaps of the ancient world. Hiſtory and poetry alike extol the golden treaſures of the Phrygian and Lydian kings [5]. Their ſubjects wrought mines of gold, melted the ore, moulded figures in bronze, dyed wool, cultivated muſic, enjoyed the amuſements of leiſure, and indulged the demands

[3] Herodot. paſſim. Plin. l. v. & Senec. ad Helv.
[4] Strabo, l. xii. & l. xiii.
[5] Idem. p. 628. & 621. Edit. Paris.

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of luxury [6], when the neighbouring countries of Cappadocia and Armenia remained equally ignorant of laws and arts, and when the Medes and Perſians, deſtined ſucceſſively to obtain the empire of Aſia, lived in ſcattered villages, ſubſiſted by hunting, paſturage, or robbery, and were clothed with the ſkins of wild beaſts [7].

They engroſs the commerce of Lydia, Phrygia, and Egypt.

Yet the Lydians and Phrygians, ſatisfied with their domeſtic advantages, ſeem never to have directed their attention towards foreign commerce [8]. When the voluptuouſneſs or oſtentation of their kings and nobility made them covet the conveniencies and luxuries of diſtant countries, they were contented to owe theſe new gratifications, firſt to the Phœnician merchants, and afterwards to the Greek ſettlements eſtabliſhed on their coaſts. Through the ſupine neglect of their neighbours, reſpecting maritime affairs, the Aſiatic Greeks acquired without conteſt, and enjoyed without moleſtation, beſides ſeveral valuable iſlands, the whole weſtern coaſt of the continent, extending, in a waving line, above ſix hundred miles in length, beautifully diverſified by hill and dale, interſected by rivers, broken by bays and promontories, and adorned by the nobleſt proſpects and fineſt climate in the world. The face of that delightful country will be more particularly

[6] Herodot. l. i. c. cxliv. Plin. l. vi. c. lvi.

[7] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

[8] The Lydians and Phrygians are mentioned, in Caſtor's Epochs, among the ſeventeen nations, who, according to that careleſs and ignorant compiler, ſucceſſively became maſters of the Mediterranean ſea; but the extravagant dreams of this fabulous writer are at variance with the whole tenor of ancient hiſtory. It is extraordinary that thoſe who ever looked into Herodotus ſhould pay any regard to the unwarranted aſſertions of Caſtor; yet this fabuliſt has been generally followed by modern chronologers and compilers. See BLAIR's Tables, &c.

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particularly deſcribed, when it becomes the unhappy ſcene of military operations. It is ſufficient at preſent to obſerve, that its Ionian inhabitants, poſſeſſing the mouths of great rivers, having convenient and capacious harbours before them, and behind, the wealthy and populous nations of Aſia, whoſe commerce they enjoyed and engroſſed, attained ſuch early and rapid proficiency in the arts of navigation and traffic, as raiſed the cities of Miletus [9], Colophon [10], and Phocæa [11], to an extraordinary pitch of opulence and grandeur. Their population increaſing with their proſperity, they diffuſed new colonies every where around them. Having obtained footing in Egypt [12], in the eighth century before Chriſt, they acquired, and thenceforth preſerved, the excluſive commerce of that ancient and powerful kingdom. Their territories, though in the greateſt breadth compreſſed between the ſea and the dominions of Lydia to the extent of ſcarce forty miles, became not only flouriſhing in peace, but formidable in war [13], and bore ſomething of a ſimilar relation to the powerful kingdoms of Egypt, Lydia, and Aſſyria, which had hitherto ſwayed the politics of the ancient world, that the ſmall but induſtrious republics of Italy had to the reſt of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; or, to deſcribe their condition ſtill more exactly, that the Netherlands, three hundred years ago, had to the extenſive countries of France, England, and Germany.

[9] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 523. Comparing their ancient and actual ſtate, the Greek proverb ſaid, Παλαι ποτε ησαν αλλιμοι Μιλησιοι: Once, but long ago, the Mileſians were powerful.

[10] Athen. l. xiv. p. 643.

[11] Strabo, p. 582 & p. 647. Herodot. l. iv. c. clii.

[12] Herodot. l. ii. c. cxxxii.

[13] Idem. ibid. & Ariſtot. de Civitat. l. iv. c. iv.

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Improved the arts which they had learned in thoſe countries.

Such multiplied advantages could not languiſh in the hands of men, who, as we ſhall ſoon learn from their hiſtory, had genius to conceive, and courage to execute, the moſt arduous deſigns. With the utmoſt induſtry and perſeverance, they improved and ennobled the uſeful or elegant arts, which they found already practiſed among the Phrygians and Lydians. They incorporated the muſic of thoſe nations with their own. Their poetry, as above deſcribed, far excelled whatever Pagan antiquity could boaſt moſt precious [14]. They rivalled the ſkill of their neighbours in moulding clay, and caſting braſs. They appear to have been the firſt people who made ſtatues of marble. The Doric and Ionic orders of architecture, perpetuate, in their names, the honour of their inventors. Painting was firſt reduced to rule, and practiſed with ſucceſs among the Greeks; and we may be aſſured that, during the ſeventh century before Chriſt, the Ionians ſurpaſſed all their neighbours, and even the Phœnicians, in the arts of deſign, ſince the magnificent preſents which the far-famed oracle of Delphi received from the oſtentation or piety of the Lydian kings, were chiefly the productions of Ionian [15] artiſts. In the following century Ionia gave birth to philoſophy; and we ſhall have occaſion to explain hereafter by what means both ſcience and taſte were diffuſed from that country over Greece, Italy, and Sicily. But our preſent ſubject recalls us from the hiſtory of arts to that of arms.

Invent others peculiar to themſelves.

Incurſion of the Cimmerians.

The firſt formidable enemies with whom the Aſiatic Greeks had to contend, were the barbarous

[14] See chap. vi.

[15] Herodot. l. i.

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rous Cimmerians[16], who, being driven from the banks of the Euxine, by a Scythian horde ſtill fiercer than themſelves, overflowed, with irreſiſtible violence, the fineſt provinces of Aſia Minor. But the invaſion of the Cimmerians is deſcribed as a predatory[17] incurſion, not as a regular plan of enterpriſe directed to the purpoſes of conqueſt and ſettlement. The hurricane ſoon ſpent its force; the Greeks recovered from the terror inſpired by theſe deſultory ravagers, and, within a few years after their departure, the Ionian and Eolian colonies, who ſeem to have carried their ancient enmity into their new acquiſitions, totally forgot their recent and common danger, and engaged in cruel domeſtic wars.

Domeſtic diſſentions

Theſe unnatural diſſentions were quieted by the growing power of the Lydians, which extending itſelf on all ſides, finally reduced the greateſt part of Leſſer Aſia, a country once affording the materials of many rich and flouriſhing kingdoms, but now reduced to beggary and barbariſm, under the oppreſſive yoke of Turkiſh tyranny. The territory of Lydia, which extended its name with its authority, from the river Halys to the Ægean, and from the weſtern ſhore of the Euxine, to the northern coaſt of the Mediterranean, was anciently confined to that delightful diſtrict ſituate at the back of Ionia, watered on the north by the river Pactolus, famous for the golden particles

interrupted by the growth of the Lydian power.

[16] Strabo, p. 292, ſays, that the Cimmerians were called Cimbri, by the Romans. He ſpeaks frequently of them, particularly p. 108, 193, 292, 494. Their impetuous and deſtructive incurſions are well expreſſed by the elegiac poet Callinus, cited in Strabo, p. 648.

Νυν δ' επι Κιμμεριων στρατος ερχεται ομβιμερεγων.

[17] Ου καταστροφη εγενετο των πολιων αλλα εξ επιδρομης αρπαγη.
HERODOT.

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cles[18] intermixed with its ſand, and on the ſouth by Cayſter, whoſe banks, frequented by ſwans, have afforded one of the moſt beautiful compariſons in the Iliad[19]. The kingdom of Lydia was anciently ſubject to a race of princes[20], ſtyled Atyatidæ, from the heroic Atys, the great founder of their houſe. To the family of Atys ſucceeded that of Hercules, which had obtained the government before the war of Troy, and continued to reign five hundred and five years, till their honours expired in the unhappy Candaules. The ſtory of Candaules, of his beautiful wife, and of his fortunate ſervant, has been adorned by the father of hiſtory with the inimitable charms of his Ionic fancy. The vain, credulous prince, injudiciouſly diſplaying the beauty, offended the modeſty, of his injured ſpouſe. Gyges[21], the moſt favoured of her huſband's attendants, to whom his weak maſter had proſtituted the ſight of her naked charms, was involuntarily employed as the inſtrument of her reſentment. As a reward for taking away the life of Candaules, he was honoured with the hand of the queen, and from the rank of captain of the guards, advanced to the throne of Lydia.

Olymp. xv. 3. A.C. 718.

Gyges makes war on the Ionians.

This revolution, which happened ſeven hundred and eighteen years before Chriſt, was felt by the

[18] They were waſhed down from Mount Tmolus, the gold of which was exhauſted in the time of Strabo. Vid. Strab. l. xiii.

[19] Καυστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥεέθροις, &c. Iliad ii. ver. 460. and Pope, ver. 540.

[20] Herodotus, l. i. throughout, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, l. i. c. 27. & ſeq. furniſh the principal materials for the hiſtory of Lydia.

[21] Herodotus was unacquainted with the wonderful ſtory of Gyges's ring, which had the power of rendering him inviſible; by means of which he was enabled to kill his maſter, and uſurp his throne. Plato, l. ii. de Repub.

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the neighbouring nations, who ſoon diſcovered in the enterpriſing character of Gyges, the difference between adventurers who acquire, and princes who inherit, a crown. The Ionian cities of Aſia offered a tempting prize to the valour of Gyges, and the valuable mines[22] diſcovered between the cities Atarneus and Pergamos, as well as the gold obtained from the river Pactolus[23], enabled him to hire ſuch a number of troops as ſeemed neceſſary to accompliſh his ambitious deſigns. The citizens of Miletus and Smyrna were haraſſed by a long war; but of all the Ionic ſettlements, Colophon alone ſubmitted to his arms.

Takes Colophon. Olymp. xxv. 1. A. C. 680.

Ardys, his ſucceſſor, following the military example of Gyges, ſtormed the city Priené, and invaded the territories of the Mileſians. He tranſmitted his enmity againſt that people to his ſon Sadyattes, from whom it deſcended to his more warlike grandſon. Alyattes, grandſon of Ardys, annually invaded the country of Miletus, cut down the trees, burnt the ſtanding corn, ravaged and deſolated the whole territory. The houſes he allowed to remain entire, that the Mileſians guided by the ordinary attachment which binds men to their ancient habitations, might return thither after his departure, and again apply to the ſowing and cultivation of the ground, the fruits of which he was determined next harveſt to deſtroy. In this manner he continued, during eleven years, to haraſs, but was unable to conquer, the Mileſians. The inhabitants of the country retired

The war continued by his ſucceſſors. Olymp. xl. 2. A. C. 619.

[22] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 625.

[23] Strabo, p. 680. The wealth of Gyges was proverbial in the time of Anacreon.

Ου μοι μελει Γυγαιω
Του Σαρδιων ανακτος, &c.

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tired at his approach, and ſhut themſelves up in their capital, the walls of which bid defiance to his aſſaults; nor was it poſſible to reduce by blockade a city, that had long been, and ſtill continued, miſtreſs of the ſea. But Alyattes perſiſted in diſtreſſing thoſe whom it ſeemed impoſſible to ſubdue; and he was carrying on his twelfth autumnal incurſion with fire and ſword, when an unforeſeen accident occaſioned a ſpeedy termination of the war.

An unforeſeen event puts an end to the war. Olymp. xliii. 2. A. C. 607.

The beautiful territory of Miletus was, according to annual cuſtom, thrown into a blaze, and the flames of the ſtanding corn, impelled by the violence of the wind, communicated with the temple of Aſſeſian Minerva. That ſacred edifice was burnt to the ground. Alyattes, who was attended on his march by pipes, harps, and flutes, adapted to the voice both of men and of women, did not immediately conſider, amidſt the noiſe of feſtivity, and the parade of military triumph, the fatal conſequences of this enormous impiety. But ſickening ſoon after at Sardis, he had leiſure, during the quiet and ſolitude of his diſtemper, to reflect on the horror of his crime; and prying into futurity with that anxious ſolicitude which is the uſual attendant of guilt, he diſpatched meſſengers to the temple of Delphi, to conſult the Grecian god concerning the means of mitigating the diſtreſs of his preſent ſtate of mind. Apollo refuſed giving an anſwer to his petition, until he had rebuilt the temple of Minerva. The Lydian prepared to comply with this condition, and immediately ſent ambaſſadors to Miletus, to propoſe a ſuſpenſion of arms, until the great work ſhould be completed. That city was then governed by Thraſybulus, who, by one of thoſe revolutions not unfrequent in the Grecian republics, had attained

attained the rank of tyrant[24], as it was then called, in a ſtate uſually governed as a democratical community. Similarity of views and diſpoſitions had introduced a friendly connection between Thraſybulus and the celebrated Periander of Corinth; who was no ſooner acquainted with the advice of Apollo, than he ſent immediate intimation of it to the Mileſian prince, counſelling him at the ſame time to avail himſelf of the preſent conjuncture to promote the intereſt of his country. In compliance with this advice, Thraſybulus employed an expedient equally ſingular and ſucceſsful. When the Lydian ambaſſadors arrived at Miletus, they expected to behold a city in diſtreſs, not only deſtitute of the accommodations and luxuries, but ill provided in the chief neceſſaries of life. But their ſurprize was extreme, to obſerve vaſt magazines of corn open to public view, to perceive an extraordinary abundance of all the other fruits of the ground; and to behold the inhabitants revelling in fulneſs and feſtivity, as if their country had never ſuffered the cruel ravages of an invader. This appearance of eaſe and plenty, was exhibited by the contrivance of Thraſybulus, by whoſe command the corn and other proviſions had been carried from the private magazines into the ſtreet, that the Lydians, returning to Sardis, the uſual reſidence of their prince, might acquaint him with the proſperous condition of a people, whom it had been the great object

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[24] In the ſtrict ſenſe, τυραννος means him who has acquired ſovereignty in a free republic. The word has no relation to the abuſe of power, as in the modern acceptation. Thraſybulus of Miletus, Periander of Corinth, Piſiſtratus of Athens, Polycrates of Samos, Alexander of Pheræ, and Dionyſius of Syracuſe, were all called τυραννοι, though their characters were as widely different as thoſe of Titus and Domitian, the extremes of virtue and vice.

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object of his reign to afflict and to annoy. Alyattes was much affected by the intelligence, and at length conſented to a peace with the Mileſians on honourable terms. To compenſate for his paſt injuries and impiety, he promiſed to dedicate to Minerva two new edifices, the magnificence of which ſhould far eclipſe the ſplendour of her ancient temple. The promiſe was performed, the new temples were conſecrated, Alyattes recovered from his diſtemper, and peace ſubſiſted for a ſhort time between the two nations.

Happy reign of Alyattes.

The long reign of Alyattes, which, if we may credit the doubtful evidence of ancient authors in matters of chronology, laſted fifty-two years after the treaty with Miletus, was not chequered with any great variety of fortune. He conquered, indeed, the city, and ſmall territory of Smyrna, a Grecian ſettlement then in its infancy, but which was deſtined afterwards to become, by its happy ſituation for commerce, the moſt wealthy and populous eſtabliſhment in thoſe parts, and to be ſtyled, in the pompous language of inſcription, the ornament of Ionia, the firſt and chief city of the Aſiatic coaſt [25]. His arms were equally ſucceſsful in repelling the deſtructive invaſions of the Scythian hordes, who ravaged the northern parts of his dominions, and in reſiſting the dangerous ambition of the Medes, the moſt powerful nation of Upper Aſia. Satisfied with theſe advantages, Alyattes became unwilling to commit his future fortune to the viciſſitudes of war. Fixed in this purpoſe, he ſpent his remaining days amidſt the happineſs of his wealth and grandeur, in contemplating the various ſtages of his proſperity, in liſtening to the flattery

[25] Marm. Oxon.

flattery of his courtiers, in receiving the grateful homage of his ſubjects, and in enjoying that pomp and pleaſure which uſually ſurround an eaſtern throne. CHAP. VII.

The war renewed by Crœſus; Olymp. liv. 3. A. C. 562.

This fortunate prince was ſucceeded, five hundred and ſixty-two years before Chriſt, by his ſon Crœſus, whoſe uninterrupted proſperity in the firſt years of his reign, far eclipſed the glory of all his predeceſſors. But the ſplendour of Crœſus was that of a paſſing meteor, which dazzles for a while, and diſappears for ever. Of all the kings of Lydia, he was the greateſt conqueror, but he was alſo the laſt king of that country [26], as well as the laſt prince of his family. Under various unjuſt pretences he attacked the Grecian cities of Aſia Minor, which being undiſturbed by foreign war, had unfortunately engaged in domeſtic diſſentions. While jealouſy hindered the Greeks, ignorance prevented the barbarians, from forming a confederacy ſufficient to reſiſt the Lydian power. The Carians, Myſians, and Phrygians, fighting ſingly, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; and the whole peninſula of Leſſer Aſia (excepting only the little territory of the Lycians and Cicilians), extending eaſtward as far as the river Halys, and inhabited by three nations of Grecian, and eleven of barbarian extraction [27], finally acknowledged the power of Crœſus, and tamely received his commands.

who ſubdues the Aſiatic Greeks, as well as the neighbouring nations.

He is diverted from his deſign of raiſing a naval power.

Having met with ſuch extraordinary ſucceſs by land, the Lydian prince determined to render his power equally conſpicuous by ſea. For this purpoſe,

[26] Lydia deſcended to the rank of a province, as will appear below.

[27] The Phrygians, Myſians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Lydians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Bithynians, Carians, and Pamphylians.

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purpoſe, he thought ſeriouſly of equipping a fleet, with which he purpoſed to invade and conquer the Grecian iſlands directly fronting his dominions. But this deſign, which, conſidering the ſlow progreſs in maritime power among the nations moſt diligent to attain it, would probably have failed of ſucceſs, was prevented by the advice of a philoſophical traveller, conveyed in ſuch a lively turn of wit, as eaſily changed the reſolution of the king. Bias of Priené, in Ionia, ſome ſay Pittacus, of Mitylene, in the iſle of Leſbos, while he travelled, after the Grecian cuſtom, from curioſity and a love of knowledge, was preſented to Crœſus at the Lydian court; and being aſked by that prince, what news from Greece? he anſwered with a republican freedom, that the iſlanders had collected powerful ſquadrons of cavalry, with an intention of invading Lydia. "May the "gods grant," ſaid Crœſus, "that the Greeks, "who are unacquainted with horſemanſhip, ſhould "attack the diſciplined valour of the Lydian ca-"valry; there would ſoon be an end to the con-"teſt." "In the ſame manner," replied Bias, "as if the Lydians, who are totally unexpe-"rienced in naval affairs, ſhould invade the Gre-"cians by ſea." Struck by the acuteneſs of this unexpected obſervation, Crœſus deſiſted from his intended expedition againſt the iſlands; and inſtead of employing new means for extending his conqueſts, determined peaceably to enjoy the laurels which he had won, and to diſplay the grandeur which he had attained.

The ſplendour of Crœſus' court.

His court was the gayeſt and moſt ſplendid of any in that age; and the Aſiatic Greeks, whatever diſhonour they incurred, ſuſtained not, perhaps, any real loſs by their eaſy ſubmiſſion to a vain and weak

weak man, but a magnificent and liberal prince[28], who was extremely partial to their country. They acknowledged the conqueror, indeed, by a very moderate tribute, but they enjoyed their ancient laws, and adminiſtered without controul their domeſtic concerns and government[29]. Crœſus ſpoke their language, encouraged their arts, admired their poets and *ſophiſts*. Ionia, perhaps, was[30] never more happy than under the eye of this indulgent maſter, whoſe protection nouriſhed the tender ſhoot of philoſophy, which had begun to ſpring up ſhortly before his reign. Thales of Miletus, Pyttacus of Mytalene, Bias of Priené, Cleobulus, of Lindus, and the other wiſe men, as they are emphatically ſtyled, who lived in that age, not only gave advice and aſſiſtance to their countrymen in particular emergencies, but reſtrained their vices by wholeſome laws, improved their manners by uſeful leſſons of morality, and extended their knowledge by important and difficult diſcoveries. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to conſider more fully the improvements made by thoſe ancient ſages, who are ſaid to have maintained a correſpondence with each other, as well as with Chilon of Sparta, Periander of Corinth, and Solon of Athens, men who acquired ſuch reputation by their practical wiſdom, as rendered them the oracles of their reſpective countries. Moſt of theſe, as well as Æſop the fabuliſt, and the elegant Greek poets of the times, were bountifully received

Condition of the Aſiatic Greeks under his government.

[28] Such is the character which reſults from conſidering the conduct of Crœſus. The tranſactions of his reign will not warrant our adopting the admirable panegyric of him by Pindar (Pyth. i.)

Ου φθινει Κροισω φιλοφρων αρετη, &c.

He was taught wiſdom late, and only by adverſity.

[29] Herodot.

[30] Thucydid.

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received at the court of Crœſus. There is ſtill on record a memorable converſation between that prince and Solon, which ſeemed to predict the ſubſequent events of his reign, and which had a late, but important influence on the character and fortune of the Lydian king.

His converſation with Solon.

Crœſus having entertained his Athenian gueſt, according to the ancient faſhion, for ſeveral days, before he aſked him any queſtions, oſtentatiouſly ſhowed him the magnificence of his palace, and particularly the riches of his treaſury. After all had been diſplayed to the beſt advantage, the king complimented Solon upon his curioſity and love of knowledge; and aſked him, as a man who had ſeen many countries, and reflected with much judgment upon what he had ſeen, whom of all men he eſteemed moſt happy? By the particular occaſion, as well as the triumphant air with which the queſtion was propoſed, the king made it evident that he expected flattery rather than information. But Solon's character had not been enervated by the debilitating air of a court, and he replied with a manly freedom, "Tellus, the Athenian." Crœſus, who had ſcarcely learned to diſtinguiſh, even in imagination, between wealth and happineſs, enquired with a tone of ſurpriſe, why this preference to Tellus? "Tellus," rejoined Solon, "was not conſpicuous for his riches, or his grandeur, being only a ſimple citizen of Athens; but he was deſcended from parents who deſerved the firſt honours of the republic. He was equally fortunate in his children, who obtained univerſal eſteem by their probity, patriotiſm, and every uſeful quality of the mind or body; and as to himſelf, he died fighting gallantly in the ſervice of his country, which his valour rendered victorious in a doubtful combat; on which

which account the Athenians buried him on the ſpot where he fell, and diſtinguiſhed him by every honour which public gratitude can confer on illuſtrious merit.

Crœſus had little encouragement, after this anſwer, to aſk Solon, in the ſecond place, whom, next to Tellus, he deemed moſt happy? Such, however, is the illuſion of vanity, that he ſtill ventured to make this demand, and ſtill, as we are informed by the moſt circumſtantial of hiſtorians, entertained hopes of being favourably anſwered. But Solon replied with the ſame freedom as before, "The brothers Cleobis and Biton; two youths of Argos, whoſe ſtrength and addreſs were crowned with repeated victory at the Olympic games; who deſerved the affection of their parents, the gratitude of their country, the admiration of Greece; and who having ended their lives with peculiar felicity [30], were commemorated by the moſt ſignal monuments of immortal fame." "And is the happineſs of a king, then," ſaid Crœſus, "ſo little regarded, O Grecian ſtranger! that you prefer to it the mean condition of an Athenian or Argive citizen?" The reply of Solon ſufficiently juſtified his reputation for wiſdom. "The life of man," ſaid he, "conſiſts of ſeventy years, which make twenty-ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty days; an immenſe number, yet in the longeſt life, the events of any one day will not be found exactly alike to thoſe of another. The affairs of men are liable to perpetual viciſſitudes; the Divinity who preſides over our fate, is envious of too much proſperity; and all human life, if not condemned to calamity, is at leaſt liable

[30] Τελευτη τε βιε αξιη επιγινετο. Herodot. l. i. c. 31.

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liable to accident[31]. Whoever has uninterruptedly enjoyed a proſperous tide of ſucceſs, may juſtly be called fortunate; but he cannot before his death be entitled to the epithet of happy."

Crœſus affected by the loſs of his ſon Atys.

The events which ſoon followed this converſation, prove how little ſatisfaction is derived from the poſſeſſion of a throne. Victorious in war, unrivalled in wealth, ſupreme in power, Crœſus felt and acknowledged his unhappineſs. The warmeſt affections of his ſoul centered in his ſon Atys, a youth of the moſt promiſing hopes, who had often fought and conquered by his ſide. The ſtrength of his attachment was accompanied with an exceſs of paternal care, and the anxiety of his waking hours diſturbed the tranquillity of his reſt. He dreamt that his beloved ſon was ſlain by a dart; and the ſolicitude with which he watched his ſafety, preventing the youth from his uſual occupations and amuſements, and thereby rendering him too eager to enjoy them, moſt probably expoſed him to the much-dreaded misfortune. Reluctantly permitted to engage in a party of hunting, the juvenile ardour of Atys, encreaſed by the impatience of long reſtraint, made him neglect the precautions neceſſary in that manly amuſement. He was ſlain by a dart aimed at a wild boar of monſtrous ſize, which had long ſpread terror over the country of the Myſians. The weapon came from the hand of Adraſtus, a Phrygian prince and fugitive, whom Crœſus had purified from the involuntary guilt of a brother's blood, and long diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of bounty. To the grateful protection of the Phrygian,

[31] Ουτω ων ω Κροισε πας εστι ανθρωπος συμφορη. The laſt word is improperly explained in all the tranſlations that I have met with.

Phrygian, Crœſus recommended, at parting, the ſafety of his beloved ſon. A mournful proceſſion of Lydians brought to Sardis the dead body of Atys. The ill-fated murderer followed behind. When they approached the royal preſence, Adraſtus ſtepped forward, and intreated Crœſus to put him to death; thinking life no longer to be endured after killing, firſt his own brother, and then the ſon of his benefactor. But the Lydian king, notwithſtanding the exceſs of his affliction, acknowledged the innocence of Adraſtus, and the power of fate. "Stranger, your action is blame-"leſs, being committed without deſign. I know "that my ſon was deſtined to a premature death." Adraſtus, though pardoned by Crœſus, could not pardon himſelf. When the mourners were removed, he privately returned, and periſhed by his own hand, on the tomb of Atys.

Rouſed from his inactivity by the growing power of Perſia.

Two years Crœſus remained diſconſolate for the loſs of his ſon, and might have continued to indulge his unavailing affliction during the whole courſe of his life, had not the growing greatneſs of Perſia, which threatened the ſafety of his dominions, rouſed him from his dream of miſery. That country was anciently confined to a ſmall part of the immenſe region at preſent known by the Perſian name. Its inhabitants had recently become formidable, and, in the courſe of a few years, under the elder Cyrus, they extended their name and conqueſts over Upper Aſia, overturned the power of Crœſus, enſlaved the Greeks of Aſia Minor, and, for the firſt time, threatened Europe with the terrors of Aſiatic deſpotiſm. This memorable revolution deſerves not only to be examined in its conſequences, but traced to its ſource, becauſe the Grecian wars and tranſactions, during the ſpace of above two centuries, with the Perſian empire,

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form an important object of attention in the preſent hiſtory.

The revolutions in Upper Aſia, till the eſtabliſhment of the Perſian empire.

The firſt Aſſyrian monarchy extended its dominion in Upper Aſia, from the northern deſerts of Scythia, to the Southern or Indian Ocean. On the weſt it was ſeparated by the river Halys from the dominions of Lydia. The river Indus formed its eaſtern boundary. The conquerors of the eaſt have aſſumed, in all ages, the title of King of Kings; a title expreſſive of the nature, as well as of the greatneſs of their power. The various provinces which they conquered, though acknowledging their univerſal dependence on the emperor, were yet ſubject to their particular princes, who, while they paid their appointed tribute during peace, and furniſhed their contingent of troops in time of war, were permitted, in their ancient territories, to retain the power, and to diſplay the pomp, of royalty. This ſyſtem of government is more favourable to the extent than to the permanence of empire. The different members of this unwieldy body were ſo feebly connected with each other, that to ſecure their united ſubmiſſion, required almoſt as much genius as to atchieve their conqueſt. When the ſpirit which animated the immenſe maſs was withdrawn, the different parts fell aſunder; revolutions were no leſs rapid than frequent; and, by one of thoſe events familiar in the hiſtory of the Eaſt, the warlike ſceptre of Ninus and Semiramis was wreſted from the effeminate hands of Sardanapulus. In the year ſeven hundred and forty-ſix before Chriſt, the provincial governors of Babylonia and Media, diſdaining to receive orders from this enervated ſhadow of their ancient lords, rejected his contemptible authority, and eſtabliſhed two new dynaſties, which, having governed Aſia for two centuries,

were

were again reunited by the fortunate valour of Cyrus. CHAP. VII.

Extraction of Cyrus.

This extraordinary man, who raiſed the Perſian glory on the ruins of the Medes and Babylonians, was the ſon of Cambyſes, the tributary prince of Perſia: on the mother's ſide he derived a more honourable deſcent from Mandana, daughter of Aſtyages, the ſupreme lord of Media, and many kingdoms of the Eaſt. The powerful monarchy erected by Cyrus was diſtinguiſhed by the name of his native province, as the preceding empires had been denominated after the provinces of their reſpective conquerors, although all of them, comprehending the ſame nations, were bounded by nearly the ſame limits, Cyrus alone having extended his empire to the Grecian ſea.

Deſcription of Perſia.

The territory of Perſia, to the name of which we allude, is ſituated on the ſouthern frontiers of Media, and reaches to the Perſian gulph. The mountainous nature of the country renders it improper for cavalry, but it formerly produced a bold and hardy race of men, who, uncorrupted by the effeminacy of the Aſiatic plains, required only the directing genius of a commander to lead them to war and victory. Such a commander they found in Cyrus, whoſe mind, burſting through the ſhackles impoſed on virtues and abilities by the manners and climate of the Eaſt [32], extended the name and conqueſts of Perſia from the Tigris to the Indus, and from the Caſpian Sea to the Ocean; a name which, after the revolution of ſo many ages and empires, is ſtill retained by that ſpacious region of the earth.

[32] See his panegyric in Xenophon's Cyropædia, and in Æſchylus's Perſæ.

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The early inſtitutions of that country embelliſhed by ancient hiſtorians.

As it is natural to account, by extraordinary cauſes, for extraordinary events, hiſtorians have aſcribed inſtitutions and cuſtoms to the Perſians worthy of rendering them the maſters of the world. The philoſophical Xenophon, embelliſhing and diſguiſing with wonderful art the moſt admired, and the moſt admirable, branches of Grecian diſcipline, has beſtowed them with too laviſh a generoſity on the founders of a nation, who became the unrelenting enemies of his country. But, notwithſtanding all the refinements of his ingenious and well cultivated invention, it is not impoſſible to ſee through the thick artifice of the diſguiſe; and, as truth only is conſiſtent, we may diſcern very material contradictions in the only remaining accounts of the ancient manners of the Perſians.

Their early education conſiſted, if we may credit both Xenophon and Herodotus, in learning to manage the horſe, to ſhoot with the bow, and to ſpeak truth. Yet it is neceſſary to obſerve that the firſt of thoſe arts, how well ſoever it might be underſtood in later times by the Perſian nobility, muſt have been very little known to their anceſtors in the time of Cyrus. The craggy mountains which they inhabited were unfavourable to the rearing of horſes, and the poverty of their circumſtances was ill adapted to maintain them. While all the other nations of Upper Aſia, except the Scythians, fought on horſeback, the Perſian armies were compoſed chiefly of infantry: and when it is conſidered, that the Grecians under Alexander, the Romans under the republic, as well as the northern barbarians who over-ran and ſubdued the countries of the eaſt and weſt, became maſters of the world chiefly through the firm intrepidity of their infantry, there is reaſon to aſſign, as the main

Real cauſes of the Perſian grandeur.

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main cauſe of the Perſian conqueſts, not their acquaintance with horſemanſhip, but rather their ignorance of that art, which obliged them to employ the determined valour of foot ſoldiers againſt the deſultory aſſaults of horſemen. The Perſians were commonly armed with ſwords and lances, inſtead of bows and darts, the uſual weapons of the people of Aſia. This diſtinction was occaſioned by their want of cavalry. While their neighbours, truſting to the mettle and ſwiftneſs of their ſteeds, employed the harmleſs efforts of diſtant hoſtility, the Perſians fought hand to hand, each man buckling cloſely to his foe. If defeated, they had no means of eſcape; but it was not to be expected that, practiſing ſuch a ſuperior ſtyle of war, under the conduct of an accompliſhed general, they ſhould ever meet with a defeat; and indeed Cyrus always proved victorious over the civilized nations of Aſia; nor was the career of his triumph interrupted, till, contending againſt the barbarous Scythians, who joined the Perſian arms and diſcipline to their own irreſiſtible fury, he loſt at once his army and his life [33].

The reign of Cyrus. A. C. 559—529.

His firſt conqueſts.

But before experiencing this fatal reverſe of fortune, he was deſtined, in the courſe of thirty years, to act a diſtinguiſhed part on the theatre of the world, which long retained the marks, and will always preſerve the memory of his reign. Among the firſt conqueſts of Cyrus were the territories of Armenia and Chaldea, which had openly revolted againſt eſtabliſhed authority. If we believe Xenophon, Cyrus was ſent againſt theſe rebellious countries as the lieutenant of his grandfather

[33] In the hiſtory of Cyrus, the plain relation of Herodotus is to be preferred to the moral embelliſhments of Xenophon, except when the accounts of the latter are confirmed by the authority of ſcripture.

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father Aſtyages, who from his palace in Ecbatan diffuſed his ſovereign mandates over many provinces of Upper Aſia. The relation of Herodotus makes it probable, that Cyrus had before this time aſſumed the government of Media, over which the cruelty, injuſtice, and ſuperſtitious fears of Aſtyages, rendered him unworthy to reign, even in the opinion of his moſt truſty ſubjects.

Which alarm Crœſus. Olymp. lvii. 4 A.C. 549.

However that may be (for it affects not the deſign of the preſent narrative), it was natural to expect that the Perſian ſucceſs in Armenia, a province ſituate ſo near to the Lydian dominions, ſhould alarm the fears of Crœſus, and determine that prince to reſiſt the encroachments of a power which endangered the permanence of his own. In taking this reſolution, which might probably be attended with the moſt important conſequences, he was deſirous to learn the will of heaven concerning the iſſue of the war. The principal oracles which he conſulted were thoſe of Branchis in Ionia, of Hammon in Lybia, and of Delphi in Greece. Among theſe reſpected ſhrines, the oracle of Delphi maintained its aſcendant, as the moſt faithful interpreter of fate. Crœſus was fully perſuaded of its veracity; and deſirous generouſly to compenſate for the trouble which he had already given, and ſtill meant to give, the prieſts of Apollo, he ſacrificed three thouſand oxen to the god, and adorned his ſhrine with dedications, equally valuable for the workmanſhip and for the materials; precious veſſels of ſilver, ewers of iron beautifully inlaid and enamelled; various ornaments of pure gold, particularly a golden lion, weighing ten talents, and a female figure, three cubits, or near five feet high. In return for theſe magnificent preſents, the oracle flattered Crœſus, in ambiguous language, with obtaining an eaſy victory

Crœſus conſults the oracle of Delphi.

victory over his enemies, and with enjoying a long life and a proſperous reign. The god at the ſame time enjoined him to contract an alliance with the moſt powerful of the Grecian ſtates. CHAP. VII.

Elevated with theſe favourable predictions of Apollo, Crœſus prepared to yield a ready obedience to the only condition required on his part, for the accompliſhment of his aſpiring purpoſe. Not deeming himſelf ſufficiently acquainted with the affairs of Greece, to know what particular republic was meant by the oracle, he made particular enquiry of thoſe beſt informed concerning the ſtate of Europe, and diſcovered, that among all the members of the Grecian confederacy, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were juſtly entitled to the pre-eminence. In order to learn which of thoſe communities deſerved the epithet of moſt powerful, it was neceſſary to ſend ambaſſadors into Greece. The Lydians diſpatched with this important commiſſion ſoon diſcovered that the Athenians, after having been long haraſſed by internal diſſentions, were actually governed by the tyrant Piſiſtratus. The Spartans, on the other hand, though anciently the worſt-regulated of all the Grecian communities, had enjoyed domeſtic peace and foreign proſperity, ever ſince they had adopted the wiſe inſtitutions of Lycurgus. After that memorable period, they had repeatedly conquered the warlike Argives, triumphed over the hardy Arcadians, and, notwithſtanding the heroic exploits of Ariſtomenes, ſubdued and enſlaved their unfortunate rivals of Meſſené. To the Lydian ambaſſadors, therefore, the Spartan republic appeared to be pointed out by the oracle, as the community whoſe alliance they were enjoined to ſolicit. Having repaired accordingly to Sparta, they were introduced not only to the kings and ſenate, but,

Enters into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A. C. 548.

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but, as the importance of the negociation required, to the general aſſembly of the Lacedæmonians, to whom they, in few words, declared the object of their commiſſion: We are ſent, O Lacedæmonians! by Crœſus, king of the Lydians and of many other nations, who, being commanded by the oracle of Apollo, to ſeek the friendſhip of the moſt powerful people of Greece, now ſummons you, who juſtly merit that epithet, to become his faithful allies, in obedience to the will of the god whoſe authority you acknowledge." The Lacedæmonians, pleaſed with the alliance of a warlike king, and ſtill more with the fame of their valour, readily accepted the propoſal. To the ſtrict connection of an offenſive and defenſive league, they joined the more reſpected ties of ſacred hoſpitality. A few years before this tranſaction, they had ſent to purchaſe gold at Sardis, for making a ſtatue of Apollo. Crœſus had on that occaſion gratuitouſly ſupplied their want. Remembering this generoſity, they gave the Lydian ambaſſadors, at their departure, as a preſent for their maſter, a veſſel of braſs, containing three hundred amphoras (above twelve hogſheads), and beautifully carved on the outſide with various forms of animals.

His flattering proſpects.

Crœſus, having thus happily accompliſhed the deſign recommended by the oracle, was eager to ſet out upon his intended expedition. He had formerly entered into alliance with Amaſis king of Egypt, and Labynetus king of Babylon. He had now obtained the friendſhip of the moſt warlike nation of Europe. The newly-raiſed power of Cyrus and the Perſians ſeemed incapable to reſiſt ſuch a formidable confederacy.

Elevated

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He invades the Perſian territories. Olymp. lviii. 1. A.C. 548.

Elevated with theſe flattering ideas of his own invincible greatneſs, Crœſus waited not to attack the Perſian dominions until he had collected the ſtrength of his allies. The ſanguine impetuoſity of his temper, unexperienced in adverſity, unfortunately precipitated him into meaſures no leſs ruinous than daring. Attended only by the arms of Lydia, and a numerous band of mercenaries, whom his immenſe wealth enabled him at any time to call into his ſervice, he marched towards the river Halys, and having croſſed, with much difficulty, that deep and broad ſtream, entered the province of Cappadocia, which formed the weſtern frontier of the Median dominions. That unfortunate country ſoon experienced all the calamities of invaſion. The Pterian plain, the moſt beautiful and the moſt fertile diſtrict of Cappadocia, was laid waſte; the ports of the Euxine, as well as ſeveral inland cities, were plundered; and the inoffenſive inhabitants were either put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity. Encouraged by the unreſiſting ſoftneſs of the natives of thoſe parts, Crœſus was eager to puſh forwards; and if Cyrus did not previouſly meet him in the field, he had determined to proceed in triumph to the mountains of Perſia. Againſt this dangerous reſolution he was in vain exhorted by a Lydian, named Sandanis, who, when aſked his opinion of the war, declared it with that freedom which the princes of the eaſt have in every age permitted, amidſt all the pride and caprices of deſpotic power, to men diſtinguiſhed by the gifts of nature or education. "You are preparing, O king, to march againſt a people who lead a laborious and a miſerable life; whoſe daily ſubſiſtence is often denied them, and is always ſcanty and precarious; who drink only water, and who are clothed with the ſkins of wild beaſts. What can the Lydians gain by the conqueſt of Perſia;

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Perſia; they who enjoy all the advantages of which the Perſians are deſtitute? For my part, I deem it a bleſſing of the gods, that they have not excited the warlike poverty of theſe miſerable barbarians to invade and plunder the luxurious wealth of Lydia[34]." The moderation of this advice was rejected by the fatal preſumption of Crœſus, who confounding the dictates of experienced wiſdom with the mean ſuggeſtions of puſillanimity, diſmiſſed the counſellor with contempt.

Is defeated by Cyrus in Cappadocia.

Mean while, the approach of Cyrus, who was not of a temper to permit his dominions to be ravaged with impunity, afforded the Lydian king an opportunity of bringing the war to a more ſpeedy iſſue, than by his intended expedition into Perſia. The army of Cyrus gradually augmented on his march, the tributary princes cheerfully contributing to the utmoſt of their power towards the aſſiſtance of a maſter whoſe valour and generoſity they admired, and who now took arms to protect the ſafety of his ſubjects, as well as to ſupport the grandeur of his throne. Such was the rapidity of his movement, eſpecially after being informed of the deſtructive ravages of the enemy in Cappadocia, that he arrived from the ſhores of the Caſpian to thoſe of the Euxine Sea, before the army of Crœſus had provided the neceſſaries for their journey. That prince, when appriſed of the neighbourhood of the Perſians, encamped on the Pterian plain; Cyrus likewiſe encamped at no great diſtance; frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the light troops; and at length a general engagement was fought with equal fury and perſeverance, and only terminated by the darkneſs of night. The loſs on both ſides hindered a renewal of the battle. The numbers, as well as the

[34] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxi.

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the courage of the Perſians, much exceeded the expectation of Crœſus. As they diſcovered not any intention to haraſs his retreat, he determined to move back towards Sardis, to ſpend the winter in the amuſements of his palace, and after ſummoning his numerous allies to his ſtandard, to take the field early in the ſpring, with ſuch an increaſed ſtrength as ſeemed ſufficient to overpower the Perſians [35].

The prudent conduct of Cyrus.

But this deſign was defeated by the careful vigilance of Cyrus. That experienced leader allowed the enemy to retire without moleſtation; carefully informing himſelf of every ſtep which they took, and of every meaſure which they ſeemed determined to purſue. Patiently watching the opportunity of a juſt revenge, he waited till Crœſus had re-entered his capital, and had diſbanded the foreign mercenaries, who compoſed the moſt numerous diviſion of his army. It then ſeemed the proper time for Cyrus to put his Perſians in motion; and ſuch was his celerity, that he brought the firſt news of his own arrival in the plain of Sardis [36]. Crœſus, whoſe firmneſs might well have been ſhaken by the imminence of this unforeſeen danger, was not wanting, on the preſent occaſion, to the duties which he owed to his own fame, or to the luſtre of the Lydian throne. Though his mercenaries were diſbanded, his own ſubjects, who ſerved him from attachment, who had been long accuſtomed to victory, and who were animated with a high ſenſe of national honour, burned with a deſire of enjoying an opportunity to check the daring inſolence of the invaders. Crœſus indulged and encouraged this generous ardour.

35 Herodot. l. i. c. lxxvii.

36 Αυτος αγγελος Κροισω εληλυθει. He came his own meſſenger to Crœſus.

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dour. The Lydians, in that age, fought on horſeback, armed with long ſpears; the ſtrength of the Perſians conſiſted in infantry. They were ſo little accuſtomed to the uſe of horſes, that camels were almoſt the only animals which they employed as beaſts of burden. This circumſtance ſuggeſted to a Mede, by name Harpagus, a ſtratagem, which, being communicated to Cyrus, was immediately adopted with approbation by that prince [37]. Harpagus having obſerved that horſes had a ſtrong averſion to the ſhape and ſmell of camels, adviſed the Perſian army to be drawn up in the following order: All the camels, which had been employed to carry baggage and proviſions, were collected into one body, arranged in a long line, fronting the Lydian cavalry. The foot ſoldiers of the Perſians were poſted immediately behind the line, and placed at a due diſtance. The Median horſe (for a few ſquadrons of theſe followed the ſtandard of Cyrus) formed the rear of the army. As the troops on both ſides approached to join battle, the Lydian horſes, terrified with the unuſual appearance of the camels, mounted with men in arms, were thrown into diſorder, and turning their heads, endeavoured to eſcape from the field. Crœſus, who perceived the confuſion, was ready to deſpair of his fortune; but the Lydians, abandoning their horſes, prepared with uncommon bravery to attack the enemy on foot. Their courage deſerved a better fate; but unaccuſtomed as they were to this mode of fighting, they were received and repelled by the experienced valour of the Perſian infantry, and obliged to take refuge within the fortified ſtrength of Sardis, where they imagined themſelves ſecure. The walls of that city bid defiance to the rude art of attack,

Defeats Crœſus in the plain of Sardis.

Crœſus ſhuts himſelf up in that city, and craves aſſiſtance from his Spartan allies.

[37] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxx.

attack, as then practiſed by the moſt warlike nations. If the Perſian army ſhould inveſt it, the Lydians were provided with proviſions for ſeveral years; and there was reaſon to expect, that in a few months, and even weeks, they would receive ſuch aſſiſtance from Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece (to which countries they had already ſent ambaſſadors), as would oblige the Perſians to raiſe the ſiege [38].

State of Sparta at that time.

The Lydian miniſters diſpatched into Greece met with great ſympathy from the Spartans. That people were particularly obſervant of the faith of treaties; and while they puniſhed their enemies with unexampled ſeverity, they behaved with generous compaſſion towards thoſe whom they had once accepted for allies. The benevolent principles of their nature were actually warmed and elevated by the triumph of a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the moſt formidable of their domeſtic foes. They had maintained a long and bloody war with the Argives, for the ſmall, but valuable diſtrict of Thyrea, ſituate on the frontiers of the rival ſtates. The Spartans at length obtained poſſeſſion of it; but the Argives advanced with an army more powerful than any that they had ever led into the field, in order to make good their ancient pretenſions. The wars of the Greeks were not merely undertaken from the dictates of intereſt and ambition, but conſidered as trials of ſkill, and conteſts of honour. When a conference, therefore, was propoſed, we know not by which of the parties, it was agreed, in order to avoid a greater effuſion of blood, that three hundred combatants on the Spartan, and an equal number on the Argive ſide, ſhould determine, by the ſucceſs of their arms, the diſputed title to Thyrea, as well as

[38] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxx.

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as the warlike pre-eminence of their reſpective republics. Three hundred champions being ſelected for this purpoſe from either army, it ſeemed neceſſary that the remainder of both nations ſhould retire; for the Argive and Spartan citizens, who felt with a republican ſenſibility for the intereſt of their communities, could not have remained tame ſpectators of the battle. The combatants fought with an obſtinate valour, of which there are few examples in hiſtory. Each ſoldier behaved as if the ſucceſs of the day had been committed to his ſingle ſpear; and each was eager to ſacrifice his own life to the preſervation of his country's fame. Theſe generous ſentiments were fully proved by the iſſue of the battle. At the approach of night, only three combatants ſurvived, two Argives, and the Spartan Othryades. The Argives, either through neglect or pity, ſpared the life of their ſingle opponent, and returned home with the melancholy tidings of their bloody victory. Othryades ſtill kept the field, collecting the ſpoil, and carrying into his own camp the arms of the enemy, which he erected into the uſual trophy of military ſucceſs. Next day the two armies, conſiſting of a great proportion of the citizens capable of bearing arms, arrived at the ſcene of action. The ſurpriſe of the Argives is not to be expreſſed, when they ſaw the appearance of the field. Notwithſtanding the Spartan trophy, they ſtill inſiſted, that as *two* of their champions, and only *one* of the enemy's, had ſurvived, they were juſtly entitled to the glory of the day; but, ſeemingly with more reaſon, the Spartans maintained that this honour belonged to Othryades. From verbal altercation, carried on with that warmth which the importance of the diſpute naturally inſpired, they made an eaſy tranſition to acts of violence [39].

Their victories over the Argives.

The

[39] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxii

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The conflict was long, fierce, and bloody; but the ſuperior diſcipline of Sparta finally prevailed. The Argives lamented their defeat, as the greateſt calamity that had ever befallen them. The inward feelings of their hearts were expreſſed by external demonſtrations of ſorrow. Like moſt of the Grecian nations, they had hitherto adorned their long hair, to increaſe the gracefulneſs of manly beauty, and render them more terrible to their enemies. But in remembrance of this diſaſter they ſhaved their heads [40], deprived the Argive women of their golden ornaments, and bound themſelves by a dreadful imprecation never more to aſſume their wonted appearance, until they had recovered poſſeſſion of Thyrea. The Spartans, on the other hand, celebrated their victory with the livelieſt expreſſions of national triumph. Othryades alone partook not the general joy: Aſhamed of returning to Sparta a ſolitary monument of three hundred brave men, he, with a generous deſpair, ſacrificed his own life to the manes of his warlike companions. Such were the circumſtances of the Lacedæmonian republic, when the ambaſſadors of Crœſus came to demand their aſſiſtance. The proſperity of their own ſituation naturally heightened, by contraſt, the melancholy condition of their unfortunate ally, beſieged, as they learned, in his capital, by a victorious army.

[40] At funerals, the Greeks cut off their hair, to be conſumed in the funeral pile with the bodies of their friends. Thus, at the interment of Patroclus, Achilles

Στας απαυενθε πυρης ξανθην απεκειρατο χαιτην
Την ρα Σπερχειω ποταμω τρεφε τηλεθοωσαν.

In the Oreſtes of Euripides, Helen is blamed for ſparing her locks, and cutting off only the ends. "She is," ſays Electra, "ἡ παλαιη γυνη, the ſame coquette as ever." Lyſias ſpeaking of a great national calamity, ſays metaphorically, "It becomes Greece to ſhave her head." Lyſias, Orat. Funeb. The Argives, as a community, realiſed the metaphor.

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They determine to aſſiſt Crœſus.

my. They immediately reſolved to ſend him a ſpeedy and effectual relief; and for this purpoſe aſſembled their troops, made ready their veſſels, and prepared every thing neceſſary for the expedition.

Sardis taken by the Perſians. Olymp. lviii. 1. A.C. 548.

The valour of the Spartans might perhaps have upheld the ſinking empire of Lydia, but before their armament could ſet ſail, Crœſus was no longer a ſovereign. Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of Sardis, that city had been taken by ſtorm, on the twentieth day of the ſiege; the walls having been ſcaled in a quarter, which, appearing altogether inacceſſible, was too careleſsly guarded. This was effected by the enterpriſe of Hyreades, a Mede, who accidentally obſerved a centinel deſcend part of the rock in order to recover his helmet. Hyreades was a native of the mountainous province of Mardia, and being accuſtomed to clamber over the dangerous precipices of his native country, reſolved to try his activity in paſſing the rock upon which he had diſcovered the Lydian. The deſign was more eaſily accompliſhed than he had reaſon to expect; emulation and ſucceſs encouraged the braveſt of the Perſians to follow his example; theſe were ſupported by greater numbers of their countrymen; the garriſon of Sardis was ſurpriſed; the citadel ſtormed; and the rich capital of Lower Aſia ſubjected to the vengeful rapacity of an indignant victor[41].

The Perſians were accuſtomed, like other nations of the ancient world, to exerciſe the rights of conqueſt, without reſpecting the laws of humanity. Though they fought, and conquered, and plundered, only for the benefit of their prince, whoſe ſlaves and property they themſelves were, yet

[41] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxiv.

yet in the firſt emotions of military ſucceſs, they diſcovered all the eagerneſs of avarice, and all the fury of reſentment; acting, as if they had been called to puniſh, not the enemies of their king, but their own perſonal foes; and as if each man had been entitled to reap the full fruits of his rapacious cruelty.

Ungenerous treatment of Crœſus.

The Lydian prince, delivered, as we are told, by an extraordinary accident from the blind rage of the ſoldiery[42] ſeemed to be reſerved for a harder fate. Dragged into the preſence of his conqueror, he was loaded with irons; and the ſtern, unrelenting Cyrus, of whoſe humane temper of mind we have ſo beautiful, but ſo flattering a picture in the philoſophical romance of Xenophon, ordered him, with the melancholy train of his Lydian attendants, to be committed to the flames. An immenſe pile of wood and other combuſtibles, was erected in the moſt ſpacious part of the city. The miſerable victims, bound hand and foot, were placed on the top of the pyre. Cyrus, ſurrounded by his generals, witneſſed the dreadful ſpectacle, either from an abominable principle of ſuperſtition, if he had bound himſelf by a vow to ſacrifice Crœſus as the firſt fruits of his Lydian victory, or from a motive of curioſity, equally cruel and impious, to try whether Crœſus, who had ſo magnificently adorned the temples and enriched the miniſters of the gods, would be helped in time of need by the miraculous interpoſition of his much honoured protectors[43].

[42] Herodot. p. 36. Crœſus had a dumb ſon, who ſeeing a Perſian ruſh againſt his father, whoſe misfortunes had rendered him careleſs of life, firſt ſpoke on this occaſion: Ανθρωπε μη κτεινε Κροισον. The learned in phyſiology will decide, whether certain impediments of ſpeech may ſometimes be conquered by the impetuous violence of ſome ſtrong paſſion.

[43] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxvi.

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Meanwhile the unfortunate Lydian, oppreſſed and confounded by the intolerable weight of his preſent calamity, compared with the ſecurity and ſplendour of his former ſtate, recollected his memorable converſation with the Athenian ſage, and uttered with a deep groan the name of Solon. Cyrus aſked by an interpreter, "Whoſe name he invoked?" "*His*," replied Crœſus, emboldened by the proſpect of certain death, "whoſe words ought ever to ſpeak to the heart of kings." This reply not being ſatisfactory, he was commanded to explain at full length, the ſubject of his thoughts. Accordingly he related the important diſcourſe which had paſſed between himſelf and the Athenian, of which it was the great moral, that no man could be called happy till his death [44].

Cyrus receives him into favour.

The words of a dying man are fitted to make a ſtrong impreſſion on the heart. Thoſe of Crœſus deeply affected the mind of Cyrus. The Perſian conſidered the ſpeech of Solon as addreſſed to himſelf. He repented of his intended cruelty towards an unfortunate prince, who had formerly enjoyed all the pomp of proſperity. He dreaded the concealed vengeance that might lurk in the boſom of Fate; and gave orders that the pyre ſhould be extinguiſhed. But the workmen who had been employed to prepare it, had performed their taſk with ſo much care, that the order could not ſpeedily be obeyed. At that moment, Crœſus calling on Apollo, whoſe favourite ſhrine of Delphi had experienced his generous munificence, and whoſe perfidious oracle had made him ſo ungrateful a return, the god, it is ſaid, ſent a plentiful ſhower to extinguiſh the pyre. This event, which

[44] See above, p. 272.

which ſaved the life, and which ſufficiently atteſted the piety of Crœſus, ſtrongly recommended him to the credulity of his conqueror. It ſeemed impoſſible to pay too much reſpect to a man who was evidently the favourite of heaven. Cyrus gave orders that he ſhould be ſeated by his ſide, and thenceforth treated as a king; a revolution of fortune equally ſudden and unexpected. But the mind of Crœſus had undergone a ſtill more important revolution; for, tutored in the uſeful ſchool of adverſity, he learned to think with patience, and to act with prudence; to govern his own paſſions by the dictates of reaſon, and to repay by wholeſome advice, the generous behaviour of his Perſian maſter [45].

Crœſus reproaches the oracle of Delphi;

The firſt advantage which he derived from the change in Cyrus's diſpoſition towards him, was the permiſſion of ſending his fetters to the temple of the Delphian Apollo, whoſe flattering oracles had encouraged him to wage war with the Perſians. "Behold," were his meſſengers inſtructed to ſay, "the trophies of our promiſed ſucceſs! behold the monuments of the unerring veracity of the god!" The Pythia heard their reproach with a ſmile of contemptuous indignation, and anſwered it with that ſolemn gravity which ſhe was ſo carefully taught to aſſume: "The gods themſelves cannot avoid their *own* deſtiny, much leſs avert, however they may retard, the determined fates of men. Crœſus has ſuffered, and juſtly ſuffered, for the crime of his anceſtor Gyges, who entruſted, as chief of the guards, with the perſon of Candaules, the laſt king of the race of Hercules, was ſeduced by an impious woman to murder his maſter, to defile his bed, and to uſurp his royal

[45] Herodot. l. i. c. lxxxix.

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dignity. For this complicated guilt of Gyges the misfortunes of Crœſus have atoned: but know, that, through the favour of Apollo, theſe misfortunes have happened three years later than the fates ordained [46]." The Pythia then proceeded to explain her anſwers concerning the event of the war againſt Cyrus, and proved, to the Conviction of the Lydians, that her words, if properly underſtood, portended the deſtruction, not of the Perſian, but of the Lydian empire. Crœſus heard with reſignation, the report of his meſſengers, and acknowledged the juſtice of the Delphian oracle, which maintained and increaſed the luſtre of its ancient fame.

whoſe predictions are explained to his ſatisfaction.

[46] Herodot. l. i. c. xci. & ſeq.

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Cyrus threatens the Aſiatic Colonies.—Their Meaſures.—The Spartans remonſtrate againſt his Deſign.—Conqueſts of Harpagus.—Migrations of the vanquiſhed Greeks.—Cyrus takes Babylon.—Cambyſes ſubdues Egypt.—Receives Tribute from the African Greeks.—Reign of Darius.—Final Settlement of the Perſian Empire.—Degeneracy of Manners.—Revolt of Ionian.—State of Greece.—The Ionian Revolt abetted by the Athenians and Eretrians—who burn Sardis.—The Aſiatic Greeks defeated by Sea and Land.—Their Condition under the Perſian Government.

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Cyrus threatens the Ionians. Olymp. lviii. 2. A.C. 547.

DURING the reign of Crœſus, and his four warlike predeceſſors, the Aſiatic Greeks ſometimes enjoyed their favourite form of republican government, ſometimes ſubmitted to domeſtic tyrants, alternately recovered and loſt their national independence. The ſucceſs of the ambitious Cyrus was not likely to improve the condition of the Ionians, who, during the dependance of his fortune, had repeatedly neglected opportunities to deſerve his gratitude. Before invading Lower Aſia, he earneſtly entreated them to ſhare the glory of his arms; but they preferred their allegiance to Crœſus, to the friendſhip of a leſs known, and perhaps, ſeverer tyrant. When the fortune of war, or rather the ſuperiority of his own genius, had given Cyrus poſſeſſion of all the neighbouring provinces, the Ionians were forward to declare, by embaſſy, their acceptance of his proffered

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proffered alliance; or, if that ſhould now be refuſed, to requeſt his protection on the ſame terms required by his Lydian predeceſſor. This ſubmiſſive propoſal only inflamed the ambition of the Perſian; and his celebrated anſwer [1], on this occaſion, clearly announced to the Greeks, that if they would eſcape the rigour of ſervitude, they muſt owe their ſafety to the ſtrenuous exertions of a brave defence, not to the clemency of Cyrus.

Meaſures of the Aſiatic colonies.

When his hoſtile intentions were made known in Ionia, the inhabitants of that delightful country aſſembled in the Panionian grove, their ordinary rendezvous in general and important deliberations. This place, which, together with the adjoining promontory of Mycalé, was ſolemnly conſecrated to Neptune, formed the centre of the Ionic coaſt. Towards the north extended the ſpacious bay of Epheſus, beyond which the beautiful peninſula of Clazomené ſtretched an hundred miles into the Ægean. On the ſouth, the territory of Miletus occupied ſixty-two miles of the winding ſhore. But the Mileſians ſent not their deputies to the preſent convention; for having been the confederates, not the ſubjects of Crœſus, they were admitted into the Perſian alliance on terms of equality and independence. The Grecian intereſt in Aſia, thus ungenerouſly abandoned by the principal member of the confederacy, was ſupported with unuſual ſpirit and unanimity by all the inferior communities. Repreſentatives immediately appeared from Myus and

The Ionian confederacy.

[1] After the Oriental faſhion, he anſwered them by an apologue. A piper, ſeeing a great ſwarm of fiſhes in the ſea began to play, in order to allure them to land. But as they diſregarded his muſic, he employed a net with better ſucceſs. When caught, the fiſhes jumped about in the net. But he told them, "It is unneceſſary now to dance, ſince I have ceaſed to play." Herodot. l. i. c. cxli.

and Priené, which were ſituate, like Miletus, on the coaſt of Caria; from Epheſus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomené, Erythræ, Phocæa, and Smyrna, which formed the maritime part of Lydia; and from the iſles of Chios and Samos, which completed the whole number of the Ionic ſettlements. CHAP. VIII.

That of the Eolians.

Meanwhile the Eolians, alarmed by the ſame danger, convened in their ancient capital of Cymé. Their inferior towns were, Lariſſa, Neontichus, Tenus, Cilla, Notion, Æginoæſſa, Pittané, Ægea, Myrina, and Greneia. Their territory was more extenſive, and more fertile, than that of their Ionian rivals, but their climate leſs temperate[2], their harbours leſs commodious, and their cities far leſs conſiderable in power and fame.

Of the Dorians.

It may ſeem extraordinary, that the Dorians, eſpecially thoſe inhabiting the peninſula of Caria, who were likewiſe deſtined to feel the Perſian power, ſhould not have joined in meaſures neceſſary for the common defence. But this circumſtance it is ſtill poſſible to explain. Of the ſix Doric republics, who annually aſſembled at Triopium to celebrate the feſtival of Apollo[3], four were encouraged, by their inſular ſituation, to contemn the threats of Cyrus. Cnidus, as will appear hereafter, hoped to derive from art the ſame advantages which its confederates, Cos, Lindus, Jaliſſus, and Camirus,

[2] Herodotus's encomium on the climate of Ionia is remarkable: Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστι, τῷ μὲν ὥρῃσι, καὶ τῶν ὡρέων. ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἱδρυσαμένοι πόλεας, πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν: "These Ionians, to whom Panionium belongs, have built cities in the fineſt climate, and in the moſt beautiful ſituations, of all men whom we know." He then proceeds to obſerve, that the countries on all ſides of Ionia were oppreſſed by cold and humidity on the one hand, or heat and drought on the other. Herod. l. i. c. cxlii.

[3] Three in the iſle of Rhodes, one in Cos.

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Camirus, enjoyed by nature. And Halicarnaſſus, the ſixth Dorian ſtate, as we are informed with a laudable impartiality, by a native of that city, had been recently excluded from the Triopian feſtival. This diſgrace was occaſioned by the ſordid avarice of Agaſicles the Halicarnaſſian, who having conquered in the Triopian games, carried away the tripod, which was the prize of his victory; whereas, according to an eſtabliſhed rule, he ought to have conſecrated it in the temple of Apollo. His ſacrilege deprived his country of the common benefits of the Dorian name [4].

Contraſt between the ancient and modern ſtate of Lower Aſia.

To enliven the dryneſs of geographical deſcription, eſſential, however, to the perſpicuity of the preſent narrative, we ſhould in vain turn our thoughts to the actual condition of the Aſiatic ſhore. Few veſtiges remain of the Doric and Eolic cities; and even the Ionic, which far ſurpaſſed them in magnificence and pleaſure, can ſcarcely be recognized by the learned and curious traveller. Nothing now remains but the indelible impreſſions of nature; the works of men have periſhed with themſelves. The phyſical advantages of Lower Aſia continue nearly [5] the ſame now, as two thouſand years ago; but the moral condition of that country, compared to what it once was, is the ſilent obſcurity of the grave, contraſted with the vivid luſtre of active life.

The Aſiatic Greeks ſend an embaſſy craving

The Aſiatic Greeks having examined the ſtate of their affairs, were fully ſenſible of their own weakneſs, compared with the ſtrength of the enemy. In forming their eſtabliſhments in Aſia, they

[4] Herodot. l. i. c. cxliv.

[5] The changes in the face of the country, produced chiefly by the receding of the ſea, may be ſeen in the ſplendid work of Monſ. Choiſeuil Gouffier, Le Voyage pittoreſque de la Grèce, &c.

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they had confined themſelves to a long and narrow line on the coaſt, looking with a wiſhful eye towards the mother-country, from which, in every calamity, they expected aſſiſtance and protection. The reſult, therefore, of the preſent deliberation was to ſend an embaſſy into Greece, in order to explain the danger to which they were expoſed, and to ſhew the neceſſity of powerful and timely aid. It might have been expected that Attica, the native country of the Ionians, ſhould have received the firſt viſit of the ambaſſadors; but Athens was then governed by the tyrant Piſiſtratus, who, it was ſuppoſed, would be averſe to take arms againſt a tyrant like himſelf. Sparta, though a republic of greater power and renown, was little connected, either by commerce or affinity, with the Greeks of Aſia. The propoſals of the Aſiatic ambaſſadors, therefore, were very coolly received by the Spartan ſenate. On ſuch occaſions, however, it was cuſtomary to take the opinions alſo of the people. In the aſſembly convened for this purpoſe, Pythermus, a Phocæan, clothed with purple, as a mark of his conſideration in his native country, ſpoke for himſelf and his colleagues. But the beauties of his Ionic dialect were unable to move the reſolutions of the Lacedæmonians, who, mindful of the ancient enmity between the Ionic and the Doric race, declined ſending any forces into Aſia, to reſiſt the arms of Cyrus. Though their generoſity furniſhed no public aſſiſtance, their caution privately diſpatched ſeveral Spartan citizens to obſerve the operations of the war. When theſe men arrived in Ionia, they were eaſily perſuaded to exceed the bounds of their commiſſion. They appointed Lacrines, the moſt conſiderable of their number, to travel to the Lydian capital, in order to acquaint Cyrus, that if he committed hoſtilities againſt any

aid, to the mother country.

Olymp. lviii. A.C. 540.

The Spartans remonſtrate with Cyrus againſt his deſign of ſubduing the Aſiatic Greeks.

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any of the Grecian cities, the Lacedæmonian republic would know how to puniſh his injuſtice. Cyrus aſtoniſhed at ſuch an inſolent meſſage from a people altogether unknown to him, aſked the Greeks preſent (for there was always a great number of Grecian fugitives in the armies of their neighbours), who the Lacedæmonians were[5]? and what number of men they could bring into the field? When informed of theſe particulars, he replied to the Spartan ambaſſador, "That he never ſhould fear men who had a ſquare in the midſt of their city, in which they met together to practiſe mutual falſehood and deception[6]; and that if he continued to enjoy the bleſſings of health, he hoped to afford the Spartans more domeſtic reaſons of complaint, than his military preparations againſt the Greeks of Aſia."

His anſwer to them.

His lieutenant Harpagus reduces all the countries of Lower Aſia. Olymp. lx. 2. A.C. 539.

The interview with Lacrines happened among the laſt public tranſactions during Syrus's reſidence at Sardis. Having reduced Crœſus into captivity, the only enemy in thoſe parts who ſeemed worthy of his arms, he was eager to return towards the eaſt, in order to complete his conqueſts in Upper Aſia. The Grecians he knew to be a warlike people; but as their numbers were inconſiderable, their cities ſmall and ill fortified, he thought proper to attempt in perſon objects of greater moment, and to commit the Grecian war to the ſkill of his lieutenant, Harpagus[7].

In

[5] Herodotus leaves it uncertain whether this ignorance was not affected, the better to mark his contempt.

[6] Cyrus alludes to the market-places, or public ſquares, common in all Grecian cities, with the uſe of which the Aſiatics were totally unacquainted, "being deſtitute," as Herodotus ſays, "of all places of public reſort."

[7] His predeceſſor, Mazares, died almoſt immediately after he had taken Priené and Magneſia, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves. Herodot. l. i. c. lxi.

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In the courſe of a few months, this general became maſter of all the countries of Lower Aſia, poſſeſſed by either Greeks or Barbarians. Having the command of men and labour, he cauſed mounds of earth to be thrown up, adjacnt to the Grecian walls. In this ſervice, immenſenumbers muſt have periſhed by the darts of the enemy; but the work was no ſooner completed than the Perſians, running up the mounds, got poſſeſſion of the walls, drove the Greeks from thir battlements, overpowered them from their own fortifications, entered, and ſacked their towns[s].

The Phocæans leave their country. Olymp. lx. 2. A.C. 539.

When we conſider the fury with which the wars of the ancients were carried on, and reflect, that the immediate conſequences of a defeat were ſervitude or death, we have reaſon to believe that the Greeks would make a reſolute and blooly defence. This indeed ſufficiently appears, by the evidence of a few ſcattered facts preſerved in hiſtory. The firſt place which Harpagus attacked vas the celebrated capital of the Phocæans, the moſt northern city of Ionia. The inhabitants, as already mentioned, were famous for their long and ſucceſsful navigations, in the courſe of which they had often viſited the coaſts of Spain, the Mexico and Peru of the ancient world. The money derived from that country had enabled them to build the beſt fortification that was to be ſeen in all thoſe parts; yet they entertained not any hopes of reſiſting the Perſian invaders. Such, however, was their love of liberty, and their dread of ſeeing in their ſtreets the army of a conqueror, that they reſolved on a meaſure which has been often propoſed, but ſeldom executed. When Harpagus ſent them his commands, they begged the favour of a day's pauſe for deliberation. In all probability they had

[s] Herodot. lib. i. cap. clxii, clxiii. & ſeq.

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had already taken many neceſſary meaſures for effecting their eſcape; for, during that ſhort interval, their ſhips were prepared, their money and goods put on board, their wives and families embarked, and the whole community was floating on the waves when the Perſians arrived to take poſſeſſion of deſolated dwellings and empty walls. The advantageous ſituation of Phocæa, and the pains which had been taken to improve and to embelliſh it, make this reſolution appear the more extraordinary; if any thing, at leaſt, can add to the wonder, that a whole people ſhould unanimouſly abandon their temples, their altars, and what in ancient times, ſeemed not leſs ſacred, the tombs of their anceſtors; ſhould totally diveſt themſelves of every right to a country which they were accuſtomed to call their own; and ſet ſail with their wives and children, ignorant whither to direct their courſe, or in what friendly port they might expect protection or repoſe[9].

Their adventurers.

The Phocæan fleet, conſiſting of more than two hundred ſail, made for the iſle of Chios, which, of all the Ionic ſettlements, ſeemed moſt ſecure againſt the Perſian arms. Having arrived there, they endeavoured to purchaſe from the Chians the ſmall Oenuſſian iſlands: but the Chians, jealous of their commerce, and knowing the adventurous ſpirit of the fugitives, denied their requeſt. The Phocæans, thus cruelly rejected by men of the ſame race and language with themſelves, ſet ſail on a much longer voyage, for the iſle of Cynus, or Corſica, where, about twenty years before, they had formed a ſmall eſtabliſhment. As they coaſted, in the night, along the ſolitary ſhore of their ancient city, a few ſhips, manned

[9] Herodot. l. i. c. clxiv.

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manned with enterprising crews, landed in the harbour, surprised the Persian garrison, and put every man to the sword. After applauding this memorable act of revenge, the whole fleet, transported with fury against the Persians, bound themselves by mutual oaths never to return to Phocæa, until a burning ball of iron, which they threw into the sea, should again emerge unextinguished [10]. Yet such is the powerful attachment of men to their ancient habitations, that in a few hours, more than one half the fleet, unable to resist the alluring prospect of their native country, disregarded their oaths, and sailed for the well-known harbour. The destruction of the Persian garrison removed the only obstacle in the way of immediate possession; and the blame of this massacre might be thrown on their countrymen who fled, while those who returned to Phocæa might prove their innocence, by speedily submitting to every burden imposed on them. Meanwhile, the best and bravest portion of the Phocæan republic arrived with safety at the island of Corsica; where, their subsequent adventures not being immediately connected with our present subject, will merit attention in another part of this history [11].

Part of them return.

The Phocæans were not the only people of Asiatic Greece who deserted their country, rather than abandon their liberty. The Teians, who inhabited the southern shore of the Ionic peninsula, had not yet been softened into cowardice by the effeminate muse of Anacreon. They followed the generous example which the inhabitants of Phocæa had set; forsook a city in which they could no longer remain free, and sought refuge in Abdera, an ancient colony of Clazomené, on the coast

The Teians settle in Abdera. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

[10] Herodot. l. i. c. clxv.

[11] Idem, ibid.

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coaſt of Thrace, and near the mouth of the river Neſſus[12]. The city of Clazomené, now mentioned, was built on the continent; but on the preſent occaſion, the inhabitants, to avoid ſlavery, ſettled in eight ſmall iſlands, at a little diſtance from the ſhore, on which they founded a new city, the model of that of Venice. The advantage which the Clazomenians enjoyed by nature, the Cnidians endeavoured to procure by art. They occupied the extremity of the Carian peninſula; and their city being joined to the continent by an iſthmus of only half a mile broad, they attempted, by means of a ditch, to detach themſelves entirely from the main land. If this could be effected, they might deſpiſe the power of their enemies, who not having as yet ſubdued the Phœnicians, poſſeſſed not any naval force ſufficient to conquer the Grecian iſles. But the approach of the Perſians, and ſtill more their own ſuperſtitious fears, interrupted this uſeful undertaking; and the city of Cnidus, as well as all others on the Aſiatic coaſt, Miletus alone excepted, were reduced to unconditional ſubmiſſion under the Perſian yoke.

Meaſures of the Clazomenians.

Of the Cnidians.

Cyrus beſieges Babylon. Olymp. lx. 2. A. C. 539.

While the arms of Harpagus were thus ſucceſsful on the weſtern ſhore, thoſe of Cyrus acquired ſtill greater glory in the central parts of Aſia[13]. With amazing rapidity his victorious troops overran the rich countries between the Mediterranean and the Tigris. Every thing gave way before their valour and their fortune. The city of Babylon

[12] Herodot. l. i. c. lxviii. & c. clxviii.

[13] Xenophon's Cyropædia, and Herodotus, contain the materials for the reign of Cyrus, as far as it is connected with the hiſtory of Greece. It is foreign to the ſubject of the preſent work, to examine the differences between theſe authors.

bylon alone, the ancient and proud capital of the Aſſyrian empire, oppoſed its lofty and impenetrable walls to the ambition of the conqueror. When all the countries round were reduced into obedience, it might ſeem abſurd in the inhabitants of one place, to think of reſiſting the Perſian arms. But when we conſider the ſingular reſources of this place, we ſhall perceive, that a deſign which would have been obſtinate folly in any other citizens, was no more than proper firmneſs in the Babylonians. Their capital, which was celebrated for its magnificence, wealth, and magnitude, when nothing deſerving the name of capital exiſted elſewhere in the world, was ſituate in a ſpacious plain, ſurrounded on all ſides by broad and rapid rivers. The outward wall was of a firm quadrangular form, three hundred feet high, ſeventy-five broad, extending ſixty miles in circumference, and ſurrounded by a deep ditch, continually ſupplied with water. Behind this extraordinary bulwark, of whoſe exiſtence the wall of China and the pyramids of Egypt can alone ſerve to convince modern incredulity, was another of almoſt equal dimenſions; and beſides both theſe general fortifications, each diviſion of the city had its appropriated mounds and defences. It is unneceſſary to deſcribe the towers, temples, and gardens, which by their ſingular greatneſs evidently announced the ſeat of a mighty empire. Theſe magnificent monuments, tended, indeed, to adorn, but others, leſs ſplendid, ſerved to defend Babylon [14]. Theſe were magazines of corn and proviſions, capable of maintaining the inhabitants for twenty years; and arſenals, which ſupplied with arms ſuch a number of fighting men, as ſeemed equal to the conqueſt or defence of a powerful

[14] Herodot. l. i. c. clxxix. & ſeq.

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powerful monarchy. It was to be expected that Babylon would exert its utmoſt ſtrength, being then governed by Labynetus, or Belthazar, whoſe deſpotiſm, injuſtice, and impiety, exceeded even the crimes of his father Nebuchadnezzar, and left him no room to expect forgiveneſs from the clemency of Cyrus.

Takes the city by ſtratagem. Olymp. lx. 3. A.C. 538.

During two years, Cyrus blocked up the city, without attaining any nearer proſpect of ſucceſs, than when he firſt approached its walls. The events of this memorable ſiege are not related by ancient writers. We only know, that the efforts of the Perſians proved fruitleſs, until ſtrength was directed by ſtratagem. The river Euphrates entered, by a deep channel, the northern walls of Babylon, and iſſuing forth from the oppoſite ſide, almoſt equally biſected the city. Of this circumſtance Cyrus availed himſelf to become maſter of the place. He employed his numerous army in digging a profound cavern adjacent to the lofty mound which confined the courſe of the river. This work being completed, he patiently waited an opportunity for cutting the mound, and thus turning the waters of the Euphrates into the prepared cavern; ſince if this could be done without being perceived by the enemy, his troops, ſtationed at the two paſſages of the Euphrates, in and out of the city, might enter Babylon by the channel which the river had abandoned. This deſign was happily executed, when the Babylonians, who had long deſpiſed the impotent efforts of the beſiegers, were employed in celebrating a feſtival with every circumſtance of the moſt licentious ſecurity. The mound of the Euphrates being divided, the higheſt waters deſerted their channel, the river became fordable, and the troops of Cyrus, who, had not the Babylonians been ſunk

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in riot and debauchery, might have been confined between the walls, and overwhelmed by darts from the battlements, made their entrance, unperceived, into the place; cut to pieces the unarmed inhabitants; and having punished an impious king and his voluptuous courtiers, took possession of the greatest and richest city of the ancient world [13].

Conquests of his successor Cambyses. Olymp. lxii. 4. A.C. 529.

This memorable event rendered Cyrus sole master of those valuable countries around the Tigris and Euphrates, which, from time immemorial, had been the seat of despotism and luxury, wealth and wickedness. The active ambition of this great prince was adopted by the emulation of his immediate successors. His son Cambyses received the submission of Tyre and Cyprus, and effected the important conquest of Egypt, in the consequences of which the Greek colonies in that country, and on the adjoining coast of Africa, were involved.

Olymp. lxiv. 1. A.C. 524.

Psammetichus raised to the throne of Egypt by Greek pirates,

In the eighth century before the Christian æra, the adventurous colonies in Ionia and Caria, had, amidst other commercial, or rather piratical expeditions, undertaken a voyage to Egypt. Their brazen armour [14], their courage, and their activity, were beheld with amazement and terror by the Egyptians, then divided by faction, and torn by sedition. Psammetichus, one of the many pretenders to the throne, engaged the Greeks in his service. Through their valour and discipline, he became master of Egypt. His rewards and promises prevailed on them to settle in that country. They upheld the throne of his successors, until Apries, the fourth in descent from Psammetichus,

who settle in that country:

[13] Herodot. l. i. c. clxxviii—c. cxcii.
[14] Herodot. l. ii. c. clii. & seq.

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tichus, having undertaken an unfortunate expedition againſt the Greek colony of Cyrene, was dethroned by Amaſis, the contemporary and ally of Crœſus [15].

Are employed as the body guard of his ſucceſſor Amaſis.

Amaſis rivalled the Lydian prince, in his partiality for the language and manners of the Greeks. He raiſed a Cyrenian woman to the honours of his bed. The Greeks who had ſerved his predeceſſors, and who, in conſequence of the Egyptian law, obliging the ſon to follow the profeſſion of his father, now amounted to near thirty thouſand, he removed to Memphis, his capital, and employed them as his body guard. He encouraged the correſpondence of this colony with the mother country; invited new inhabitants from Greece into Egypt; promoted the commercial intercourſe between the two nations; and aſſigned to the Greek merchants for their reſidence, the town and diſtrict of Naucratis, on the Nile, where they enjoyed the free exerciſe of their religious proceſſions and ſolemnities, and where the induſtry of the little iſland of Ægina in Europe, and the opulence of ſeveral Greek cities in Aſia, erected temples after the faſhion of their reſpective countries [16].

Cambyſes conquers Egypt. Olymp. lxiii. 4. A. C. 525.

This able prince was ſucceeded by his ſon Pſammenitus, ſoon after Cambyſes mounted the throne of Perſia. While Cambyſes made preparations for invading Egypt, Pſammenitus imprudently excited the reſentment of Phanes [17], a Halicarnaſſean by birth, and an officer of much authority in the Grecian guards. Phanes having dexterouſly effected his eſcape from Egypt, offered

[15] Herodot. l. ii. c. clxii. & ſeq. & Diod. Sicul. l. i. c. xlvi.
[16] Herodot. ibid.
[17] Herodot. l. iii. c. iv. &c.

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ed his ſervices to Cambyſes, who by this time had collected the Grecian and Phœnician fleets. This armament, however, ſeemed unequal to the conqueſt of Egypt; and to conduct an army thither by land, was an undertaking of extreme difficulty. The main obſtacle was overcome by the experience of Phanes. He adviſed Cambyſes to purchaſe the friendſhip of an Arabian chief, who agreed to tranſport on camels a ſufficient quantity of water for the uſe of the Perſians in their paſſage through the deſert. With the punctuality peculiar[18] to his nation, the Arabian fulfilled his engagement. The Perſian army joined the fleet before Peluſium; that place, regarded as the key of Egypt, ſurrendered after a ſhort ſiege; Pſammenitus was defeated in a great battle; and the whole kingdom ſubmitted to a haughty conqueror[19], whom proſperity rendered incapable of pity or remorſe.

The African Greeks pay tribute to Cambyſes.

His cruel, outrageous, and almoſt frantic behaviour in Egypt, alarmed the neighbouring Africans, who ſought to avert the tempeſt from themſelves, by ſpeedy offers of ſubmiſſion and tribute. This prudent meaſure was adopted even by the Greek inhabitants of Cyrenaica, who had braved the united power of Egypt and Libya. The African Greeks were a colony of Thera, the moſt ſouthern iſland of the Ægean, and itſelf a colony of the Lacedæmonians[20]. During the heroic ages, but it is uncertain at what preciſe æra, the adventurous iſlanders ſettled in that part of the Sinus Syrticus, which derived its name from the principal city, Cyrene, and which is now loſt in the deſert of Barca. Deſcended from Lacedæmon, the Cyrenians naturally preſerved the regal

Their hiſtory.

[18] Herodot. ibid.
[19] Idem, ibid.
[20] Herodot. l. iv. c. clx. & ſeq.

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form of government. Under Battus, the third prince of that name, their territory was well cultivated, and their cities populous and flouriſhing. Six centuries before the Chriſtian æra, they received a conſiderable acceſſion of inhabitants from the mother country. Emboldened by this reinforcement, they attacked the neighbouring Libyans[21], and ſeized on their poſſeſſions. The injured craved aſſiſtance from Apries king of Egypt[22]. A confederacy was thus formed, in order to repreſs the incurſions, and to chaſtiſe the audacity of the European invaders. But the valour and diſcipline of Greece, though they yet feared to encounter the power of Cambyſes, and the renown of Perſia, always triumphed over the numbers and the ferocity of Africa[23]: nor did Cyrene become tributary to Egypt, till Egypt itſelf had been ſubdued by a Grecian king, and the ſceptre of the Pharaohs and of Seſoſtris had paſſed into the hands of the Ptolemies[24].

Darius Hyſtaſpes mounts the throne of Perſia. Olymp. lxiv. 4. A. C. 521.

Cambyſes is ſaid to have died by an accidental wound from his own ſword. Darius Hyſtaſpes, the third in ſucceſſion to the empire (for the ſhort reign of the prieſt Smerdis deſerves only to be mentioned in the hiſtory of the palace), poſſeſſed the political abilities, but reached not the magnanimity of Cyrus. His ambition was unbounded, and his avarice ſtill greater than his ambition. To diſcriminate the characters of the three firſt and moſt illuſtrious of their monarchs, the Perſians, in the expreſſive language of the Eaſt, ſtyled Cyrus the father, Cambyſes the maſter, or tyrant, and Darius the broker, of the empire The laſt-mentioned

[21] Herodot. l. iv. c. clix.
[22] Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. lxvi.
[23] Herodot. ibid. & l. iii. c. clxi.
[24] Strabo, l. ii. & l. xvii. p. 836. Pauſan. l. i.

mentioned prince added the wealthy, but unwarlike, nations of India to his dominions. This important acquiſition, which cloſed the long ſeries of Perſian conqueſts in Aſia, was formed into the twentieth ſatrapy, or great diviſion, of the empire. The other military enterpriſes of this prince (as we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to relate) were leſs ſucceſsful. But his reign is chiefly remarkable as the ſuppoſed æra at which the religious and civil polity of the Perſians received that form which they afterwards invariably retained.

The ſuppoſed age of Zoroaſter.

Yet it muſt be acknowledged, that the greateſt learning and ingenuity have failed in the arduous taſk of aſcertaining the age, and ſtill more of explaining the doctrines of Zoroaſter. At whatever period he lived, he certainly did for the Perſians, what Homer and Heſiod are ſaid to have done for the Greeks[24]. His theogony[25], as the Greeks would have called it, conſiſted in the extravagant doctrines of the two principles, in ſome moral precepts, and innumerable abſurd ceremonies. The magi, or prieſts, who probably derived ſome ſhare of their influence from practiſing thoſe occult ſciences afterwards diſtinguiſhed by their name, were ſtrongly protected by the authority of the prophet. "Though your good works," ſays the Sadder, "exceed the ſands on the ſea ſhore, or the ſtars of heaven, they will all be unprofitable, unleſs accepted by the prieſt; to whom you muſt pay tithes of all you poſſeſs, of your goods, of your lands, and of your money. The prieſts are the teachers of religion, they know all things, and deliver all men." Next to the prieſts, the royal family, and particularly the reigning prince, was the peculiar care of Zoroaſter. In their prayers

Religion of the Perſians.

[24] See above, p. 221.

[25] Herodot. l. i. c. cxxxii.

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ers and ſacrifices, the Perſians were not allowed to ſolicit individually for themſelves the protection of heaven, but only for the great king, and for the nation at large. In celebrating their religious worſhip, they employed neither altars, nor images, nor temples; they even derided the folly of ſuch practices in others, probably (ſays Herodotus) not believing, like the Greeks, the nature of the gods to reſemble that of men. On the ſummits of the higheſt mountains they ſacrificed to the divinity; and the whole circle of the heavens they called God. They ſacrificed, beſides, to the elements, particularly fire, which they conſidered as the pureſt ſymbol, and moſt powerful agent, of the Divine Nature. They borrowed, however, the worſhip of ſome other divinities from the Aſſyrians and Arabians; for of all ancient nations, the Perſians, according to Herodotus, were the moſt diſpoſed to adopt the cuſtoms of their neighbours. They ſoon preferred the dreſs, and as an eſſential part of dreſs, the arms, of the Medes, to their own. When they became acquainted with the Greeks, they learned the worſt and moſt unnatural of their vices. There was ſcarcely any abſurdity, or any wickedneſs, which they might not imbibe, from the licentious caprice, the univerſal corruption, and the exceſſive depravity of Babylon. The hardy and intrepid warriors, who had conquered Aſia, were themſelves ſubdued by the vices of that luxurious city. In the ſpace of fifty-two years, which intervened between the taking of Babylon, and the diſgraceful defeat at Marathon, the ſentiments, as well as the manners of the Perſians, underwent a total change; and, notwithſtanding the boaſted ſimplicity of their religious worſhip, we ſhall find them thenceforth oppreſſed by the double yoke of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, whoſe combined influence extinguiſhed

Their manners,

guiſhed every generous feeling, and checked every manly impulſe of the ſoul [26]. CHAP. VIII.

The tendency towards this internal decay was not perceived during the reign of Cyrus, whoſe extraordinary abilities enabled him to ſoften the rigours of deſpotiſm, without endangering his authority. He committed not the whole weight of government to the inſolence of ſatraps, thoſe proud ſubſtitutes of deſpotiſm, who were ever ready to betray their truſt, and abuſe their power. The inferior governors of towns and diſtricts were appointed and removed by himſelf, to whom only they were accountable. By an inſtitution ſomewhat reſembling the modern poſt, he provided for exact and ready information concerning the public occurrences in every part of his dominions. The vigilant ſhepherd of his people, he was always ready to hear their petitions, to redreſs their grievances, and to reward their merit. Nor did the love of eaſe or pleaſure ever interfere with the diſcharge of his duty, in which he placed the greateſt glory and happineſs of his reign [27]. under Cyrus.

His ſucceſſors were univerſally diſtinguiſhed by an exhorbitant ambition, nouriſhed by the immenſe reſources of their empire, which under Darius amounted to fourteen thouſand five hundred and ſixty Euboeic talents, a ſum equal to three millions ſix hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds ſterling. Of this vaſt revenue, which, conſidering the value of money in ancient times, exceeded thirty millions at preſent, the Greek cities on the coaſt, together with the Carians, Lycians, and ſeveral other nations of Aſia Minor, paid only the thirty-ſixth part, a little more than an Under Darius. Olymp. lxv. 4. A.C. 517. Reſources and grandeur of that monarch.

[26] Xenoph. de Inſt. Cyri, l. iii. p. 238.—243.
[27] Xenoph. ibid. p. 230.

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an hundred thouſand pounds. Beſides this ſtated income, Darius might on every neceſſary occaſion demand the money and ſervices of his ſubjects. His predeceſſors were contented with voluntary contributions, and a militia. This prince eſtabliſhed taxes, and a ſtanding army. The number of his troops equalled the reſources of his treaſury; and both correſponded to the extent of his dominions, which comprehended the greateſt and moſt populous nations of the earth. The barbarity of the northern Scythians, and the pertinacious ſpirit of the European Greeks, the only enemies whom it remained for him to conquer, ſeemed feeble barriers againſt the progreſs of univerſal monarchy. In the extenſive regions of Aſia, every head bowed to the tiara of the great king, who in an annual progreſs through the central parts of his empire, ſpent the winter in the warm plains of Babylon; enjoyed the happy temperature of ſpring in the city of Suſa, which adorned the flowery banks of the Eulæus; and avoided the ſummer heats in his ſpacious palace at Ecbatan, fanned by the refreſhing breezes of the Median mountains [28].

His expedition into Scythia. Olymp. lxiv. 4. A.C. 513

But Darius could not enjoy the ſplendour of his preſent greatneſs, while a ſingle nation had merited his reſentment, without feeling the weight of his revenge. The wandering hordes of Scythia have been, in all ages, formidable to the civilized kingdoms of the eaſt. Thrice before the reign of Darius the inhabitants of that frozen region had over-run the fineſt provinces in Aſia. Fighting againſt theſe barbarians, the founder of the Perſian empire had loſt his army and his life. It belonged to his warlike ſucceſſor to puniſh the ferocity

[28] Xenoph. ibid. & Herodot. l. iii. c. lxxix. & ſeq.

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ferocity of that rude and uncultivated, but bold and high-minded people. With an army, it is ſaid, of ſeven hundred thouſand men, Darius traverſed Aſia Minor, croſſed the Thracian Boſphorus, ravaged Thrace, and arrived on the banks of the Danube. Meanwhile a fleet of ſix hundred ſail left the Aſiatic coaſt, and paſſing the narrow ſeas which join the Ægean to the Euxine, coaſted ~~in~~ a northern direction the ſhores of the latter, entered the mouth of the Danube, and ſailed along that river, until they joined the army. The Danube was paſſed by the uſual expedient, of a bridge of boats, which was built by the aſſiſtance of the fleet, compoſed chiefly of Gricans, who were left to guard the work of their hands, againſt the dangers of the elements, and the deſtructive rage of the barbarians[26].

Loſes great part of his army.

This formidable army, collected from ſo many diſtant provinces, boldly entered the vaſt uncultivated wilds of Scythia, in which they continued for five months, continually expoſed to hunger and thirſt, and the darts of the flying enemy. When they prepared to return from an expedition in which they had already loſt the beſt part of their ſtrength, their good fortune, rather than their prudence, ſaved them from immediate deſtruction. It had been agitated among the Greeks, whether they ought not to demoliſh the bridge; a meaſure ſtrongly recommended to them by the Scythian tribes, who having ravaged all the adjacent country, expected to revenge the invaſion of the Perſians, by confining them, without reſource, in an inhoſpitable deſert. Miltiades, an Athenian, deſcended from the heroic Ajax, eagerly embraced this propoſal. He was king,

Miltiades approves the advice of

[26] Herodot. l. iv. c. i. & ſeq.

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the Scythians, for cutting off his retreat.

king, or tyrant, of the city of Cardia, ſituate near the neck of the Thracian Cherſoneſus. There his uncle, of the ſame name, planted a Grecian colony, which, uniting with the barbarous natives, formed a ſmall community, the government of which deſcended to the ſon of his brother Cimon, who increaſed the population of the riſing ſtate, by new inhabitants from Athens. The generous ſon of Cimon, though, like all the princes of thoſe parts, he held his authority under the protection of Darius, preferred the recovery of national independence to the preſervation of perſonal dignity. The other chiefs of the Grecian cities liſtened with apparent pleaſure to his arguments for deſtroying the bridge, and thus delivering themſelves for ever from the yoke of Perſia. Hiſtiæus, tyrant of Miletus, was alone averſe to this bold reſolution. He obſerved to the little tyrants of the Aſiatic Greeks, "That their own intereſt was intimately connected with the ſafety of Darius and his Perſians. Under the auſpicious influence of that powerful people, they each of them enjoyed royalty in their reſpective commonwealths: but ſhould the empire of the Perſians fall (and what leſs could be expected from the deſtruction of Darius and his army), the Greeks would immediately diſcover their partiality for republican government, baniſh their kings, and reaſſume liberty." The opinion of Hiſtiæus prevailed; the Perſians repaſſed the Danube: but Miltiades, dreading their reſentment, had previouſly retired to Athens, where, twenty-three years after the Scythian expedition, he enjoyed a more favourable opportunity of diſplaying his attachment to the cauſe of liberty, in the ever memorable battle of Marathon[27].

Hiſtiæus, tyrant of Miletus, oppoſes this meaſure.

His opinion prevails. Olymp. lxvi. 4. A.C. 513.

If

[27] Herodot. l. iv. c. i. & ſeq.

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If the public-ſpirited Athenian excited the hatred and revenge, the ſelfiſh tyrant of Miletus deſerved the gratitude and the rewards, of Darius. To continue the ſovereign of his native city ſeemed a ſtation below his merit; he was taken into the confidence of Darius, and accompanying him to Sardis, and afterwards to Suſa, became the friend, counſellor, and favourite, of the great king. While Hiſtiæus acted ſuch a diſtinguiſhed part at the Perſian court, his nephew Ariſtagoras, to whom he had committed the government of Miletus, incurred the diſpleaſure of Artaphernes[28], the brother of Darius, and governor of Sardis. The repreſentations of that miniſter, he well knew, would be ſufficient to ruin him, both with his uncle and with Darius, by whom he might be deprived not only of his authority but of his life. Governed by theſe conſiderations, Ariſtagoras meditated a revolt[29], when a meſſenger unexpectedly arrived from Hiſtiæus, exhorting him to that meaſure. The crafty Mileſian, who diſliked the reſtraint of a court, and the uncouth manners of the Perſians, languiſhed for an honourable pretence to return to his native country; and he ſaw not any means more proper for affording ſuch an opportunity, than the tumults of the Greeks, which, as lieutenant of Darius, he would probably be ſent to quell. His meſſage confirmed the reſolution of Ariſtagoras, who, as the firſt act of rebellion againſt the Perſians, formally renounced all power over his fellow-

He accompanies Darius to Upper Aſia.

His intrigues with Ariſtagoras; Olymp. lxix. 3. A. C. 502.

[28] Ariſtagoras had quarrelled with Megabates, the kinſman of Artaphernes (ſince both were of the blood royal), during a fruitleſs expedition, in which they ſeem to have enjoyed a joint command, againſt the iſland of Naxos, one of the Cyclades. Herodot. l. ii. c. xxviii. & ſeq.

[29] Herodot. l. v. c. xxxvi. xxxvii.

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who excites the Ionians to revolt from the Perſian government.

fellow-citizens [30]. After giving this ſeemingly diſintereſted proof of his regard for the public, he erected the ſtandard of freedom, which was ſoon ſurrounded by the flower of the Ionian youth; by whoſe aſſiſtance, traverſing the whole coaſt, he aboliſhed in every city the authority of kings, and proclaimed to all worthy to acquire it, the double bleſſing of civil liberty and national independence [31].

Sails to Greece to crave aſſiſtance.

The revolt thus happily effected, could not however be maintained without more powerful reſources than the ſtrength, the bravery, and the enthuſiaſm, of the Aſiatic Greeks. In order to reſiſt the force of the Perſian empire, which, it was eaſy to foreſee, would ſoon be exerted in cruſhing their rebellion, it was neceſſary for the Ionians to obtain the protection and cooperation of their brethren in Europe. This important object was committed to the prudence and activity of Ariſtagoras, who having ſettled the affairs of the Eaſt, undertook, for the public ſervice, an embaſſy into Greece.

His proceedings at Sparta.

Lacedæmon ſtill continued, rather in name, however, than in reality, the moſt powerful ſtate in that country. Though their government was, in ſtrict language, of the republican kind, yet the Spartans ſometimes beſtowed an extraordinary authority on their kings. This degree of preeminence, more honourable than any that birth or fortune can beſtow, the public eſteem had conferred on Cleomenes. To him therefore Ariſtagoras, after arriving at Sparta, found it neceſſary to apply [32]; and in order to effect the object of his commiſſion, he deſcribed to the Spartan king the

[30] Herodot. ibid. [31] Herodot. l. v. c. xxxviii.
[32] Herodot. l. v. c. xlix. & ſeq.

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the immenſe wealth of the Perſians, which they had neither virtue to enjoy, nor valour to defend. He painted in the warmeſt colours, the love of liberty which animated the Ionians, and their firm expectation that the Spartans would enable them to maintain that political independence, which their own laws taught them to conſider as the moſt valuable of all human poſſeſſions. Their intereſt and their glory, he obſerved, were on this occaſion moſt fortunately united: for how much greater glory might be acquired by conquering Aſia, than by ravaging Greece? and how much eaſier would it be to defeat the Perſian archers, than to ſubdue the Arcadians or Argives, who knew, as well as the Spartans themſelves, the uſe of the ſpear and buckler? Their journey to Suſa, the rich capital of the Perſian dominions, would be not only ſafe but delightful. To prove this, he ſhewed the Spartan a brazen table, on which were engraved all the countries, ſeas, and rivers, of the ancient world. Pointing to the coaſt of Aſia Minor, and the cities of the Ionians, with which Cleomenes was already acquainted, he ſhewed him adjoining to theſe, the beautiful and rich country of Lydia. Next to the celebrated kingdom of Crœſus (he obſerved) extend the fertile fields of Phrygia, equally adapted to agriculture and paſturage. Beyond Phrygia lie the territories of the Cappadocians, whom the Greeks call Syrians. Farther towards the eaſt dwell the wealthy Cilicians, who pay an annual tribute of five hundred talents to the king; next to them live the Armenians, abounding in cattle; and laſt of all the Matienians, bordering on the province of Ciſſia, and the flowery banks of the Choaſpes[33], containing the ſuperb city of Suſa, and the invaluable

[33] Otherwiſe called the Eulæus, as above, p. 312.

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invaluable treaſury of Darius. This immenſe ſpace is filled up by well-inhabited countries, interſected by excellent roads, and ſupplied, at proper diſtances, with convenient places of refreſhment and accommodation, even for a great army. Cleomenes having patiently liſtened to the verboſe deſcription of the Mileſian, anſwered him with Laconic brevity, "In three days I will decide concerning the propriety of your demand[34]." At the expiration of that time, Ariſtagoras failed not to repair to the place appointed, where he was ſoon met by the Spartan king, who aſked him, In how many days they might march to Suſa? Here the uſual prudence of Ariſtagoras forſook him; for he ought not to have told the true diſtance, ſays Herodotus, if he had wiſhed to engage the Spartans to accompany him. But he replied unguardedly, That travelling at the rate of about eighteen miles a day, they might reach Suſa in three months. Upon this Cleomenes exclaimed with indignation, "Mileſian ſtranger, you muſt be gone from Sparta before the ſetting of the ſun; for you have made a very inauſpicious and a very dangerous propoſal, in adviſing the Spartans to undertake a journey of three months from the Grecian ſea." With this ſevere reprimand he left Ariſtagoras, and immediately returned home. The artful Mileſian, however, was not to be diſconcerted by a firſt refuſal. According to the cuſtom of ancient times, when men endeavoured to paint to the eye the feelings of the heart, he clothed himſelf in the garment of a ſuppliant, and ſought protection in the houſe of Cleomenes. Having obtained the favour of a third audience, he attempted to effect by money what he could not accompliſh by argument. But he

His overtures rejected there.

[34] Herodot. ibid.

he found it as difficult to bribe, as it had been to perſuade, the Spartan; and although he tempted him with the offer of about five thouſand pounds (an immenſe ſum in Greece in thoſe days), it was impoſſible to render Cleomenes propitious to his deſigns[35].

He applies to Athens.

Ariſtagoras, thus ungenerouſly diſmiſſed from Sparta, had recourſe to the Athenians, from whom he had reaſon to expect a more favourable reception. Athens was the mother country of the Ionians, who formed the greateſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed portion of the Aſiatic Greeks. The Athenians, as a maritime ſtate, had always maintained a cloſer connection than the Spartans, with their diſtant colonies; and as they poſſeſſed, for that early age, a very conſiderable naval ſtrength, they were not averſe to a diſtant expedition. Beſides theſe reaſons, which at all times muſt have had no ſmall influence on their councils, the preſent ſituation of their republic was peculiarly favourable to the cauſe of Ariſtagoras. The free form of government, gradually introduced by the progreſſive ſpirit of liberty, had been defined by the laws of Solon, and confirmed by the unanimous approbation of the whole people. The public aſſembly, conſiſting of all citizens who had attained the age of manhood, was inveſted with the executive, as well as the legiſlative powers of government. The nine archons, were rather the miniſters, than, as their name denotes, the governors of the republic. The ſenate, conſiſting firſt of four, and afterwards of five hundred members, was conſtituted by lot, the moſt popular mode of appointment. The court of the Areopagus, originally entruſted with the criminal juriſdiction,

Conſtitution of that republic, as regulated by Solon. Olymp. xlvi. 3. A. C. 594.

[35] Herodot, l. v. c. li.

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diction, aſſumed an extenſive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens. It conſiſted only of ſuch magiſtrates as had diſcharged with approbation the duties of their reſpective offices. The members were named for life; and as, from the nature of the inſtitution, they were generally perſons of a mature age, of an extenſive experience, and who having already attained the aim, had ſeen the vanity, of ambition, they were well qualified to reſtrain the impetuous paſſions of the multitude, and to ſtem the torrent of popular frenzy. Such was the government[36] enjoyed by the Athenians, which they fondly regarded as the moſt perfect of all human inſtitutions, and which was peculiarly endeared to them at preſent, by the recent recovery of freedom, after a long, though, in general, not a cruel tyranny.

Uſurpation of Piſiſtratus. Olymp. l. 3. A. C. 578.

The danger of tyranny is an evil neceſſarily attending every democratical republic, in which, as there is not a proper ſeparation between the legiſlative and executive powers, the aſſembly muſtintruſt to one man thoſe functions of government, which the collective body of the people are ſometimes unable, and always ill qualified to exerciſe; and in which, therefore, the ſplendour of wealth may dazzle, the charms of eloquence may ſeduce, and the combined power of policy and proweſs may intimidate

[36] I forbear treating fully of the Athenian government and laws, until the eſtabliſhment of what was called the Athenian empire. During more than ſixty years, that republic maintained dominion over many hundred cities and colonies. The fate of all theſe, as well as the meaſures of independent and hoſtile ſtates, depended on the proceedings of the Athenians. Then, and not till then, a thorough acquaintance with the internal conſtitution and ſtate of Athens will become neceſſary for explaining the hiſtorical tranſactions which we ſhall have occaſion to record.

timidate and ſubdue the unſteady minds of the ignorant vulgar. The fame of his Olympic victories could not procure for Cylon [37] the ſovereignty of Athens; and it is probable that many other unſucceſsful candidates had aſpired at this high object of ambition, before the arts and eloquence of Piſiſtratus, who, though born an Athenian citizen, was deſcended of the blood of ancient kings, obtained poſſeſſion of the dangerous prize, which proved ſo fatal to his family.

Expulſion of Hippias. Olymp. lxvii. 3. A.C. 510.

What his enterprizing ability had acquired, his firmneſs, his wiſdom, and his moderation [38] enabled him long to maintain. So completely was his authority eſtabliſhed, that on his death the government deſcended, as a private inheritance, to his ſon. Reſentment of a perſonal injury [39] delivered the Athenians from the mild tyranny [40] of Hipparchus; though his murderers, Harmodius and Ariſtogeiton, were afterwards celebrated by the Athenians, not as the avengers of a private quarrel, but as the reſtorers of public freedom [41]. His brother Hippias ſucceeding to the throne, treated his countrymen with a degree of ſeverity A.C. 513.

[37] Thucyd. l. i. c. cxxvi. Plut. in Solon.

[38] Plato in Hipparch. Herodot. Thucydid. i. 20. Ariſtot. Polit. l. v. c. xii.

[39] In this circumſtance, Plato agrees with Thucydides, whoſe account of the tranſaction differs widely from that of moſt other ancient writers. Thucydid. l. vi.

[40] Plato, p. 234. The orators Andocides and Iſocrates agree with the philoſopher. Meurſius has made a careful collection of all the paſſages relating to the Piſiſtratidæ, in his Piſiſtratus.

[41] Αιει σφων κλεος ισσεται κατ' αιαν
Φιλτατε Αρμοδιε και Αριστογειτων
Οτι τον τυραννον κτανετον
Ισονομους τ' Αθηνας εποιησατον. ALCÆUS.

"Your glory ſhall laſt for ever, moſt beloved Harmodias and Ariſtogeiton, becauſe you ſlew the tyrant, and procured equal laws for Athens."

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A. C. 578. —510.

which they had not hitherto experienced; his perſon and his government became alike odious; he was expelled, by the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, and the general indignation of an injured people, after his family had, with various interruptions, governed Athens ſixty-eight years.

Rapid ſucceſs of the Athenians after the re-eſtabliſhment of democracy. A. C. 509 —504.

The power of Athens was great in ancient times; but it became incomparably greater after the re-eſtabliſhment of democracy [42]. So advantageous to the powers of the human mind is the enjoyment of liberty, even in its leaſt perfect form, that in a few years after the expulſion of Hippias, the Athenians acquired an aſcendant in Greece, which was fatal to their enemies, painful to their rivals, and even dangerous to themſelves. They chaſtiſed the inſolence of the iſlanders of Eubœa and Ægina, who contended with them in naval power; and humbled the pride of Thebes, which rivalled them in military glory. Favoured, as they fondly believed, by the protection of their tutelary Minerva, and animated, as they ſtrongly felt, by the poſſeſſion of an equal freedom, they adorned their capital with the richeſt ſpoils of their vanquiſhed enemies. Their influence ſoon extended over the northern parts of Greece; and the fame of their power, ſtill greater than their power itſelf, alarmed the fears and jealouſy of the Peloponneſians. The Spartans, in particular, who had aſſiſted them in reſtoring the democracy, now perceived the error of which they had been guilty, in promoting the greatneſs of an ambitious rival.

Jealouſy of the Peloponneſians.

In

[42] This obſervation, which is literally tranſlated, has weight, from ſuch an old and honeſt hiſtorian as Herodotus. His words are ſtill ſtronger in another paſſage: Δουλοι δε ουκετι εισι μουνον αλλα πανταχη ἡ ισηγορια ως εστι χρημα σπουδαιον, ει και Αθηναιοι τυραννευομενοι μεν, ουδαμων των σφεας περιοικεοντων εσαν αμεινους, απαλλαχθεντες δε τυραννων, μαχεω πρωτοι ησαν. Herodot. l. v. c. lxxviii.

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In order to prevent [43] the dangerous conſequences of their folly, they ſummoned to a congreſs all their allies in Peloponneſus, that their united wiſdom might concert proper meaſures for reſiſting, ere it was too late, the encroachments of the Athenians, which threatened the liberties of all Greece. Their A. C. 504. allies readily obeyed the welcome ſummons, and the deputies of the ſeveral ſtates having aſſembled in the Spartan forum, eagerly liſtened to the ſpeakers appointed to explain the intentions of that republic. The Lacedæmonian orators acknowledged the miſtaken policy of their country, in expelling from Athens the family of Piſiſtratus, and delivering

[43] Beſides this principal reaſon, the Spartans, and particularly their king Cleomenes, had private grounds of quarrel with the Athenians. The Alcmæonidæ, a powerful family, and rivals of the Piſiſtratidæ, had been baniſhed Athens during the uſurpation of the latter. Having repeatedly tried, without ſucceſs, to return by force, they at length had recourſe to ſtratagem. The temple of Delphi having been deſtroyed by fire, they contracted with the Amphictyons for rebuilding it; and inſtead of employing Porine ſtone, agreeably to their contract, they built the whole front of Parian marble. This generoſity gained them the good-will of the Amphictyons; bribery procured them the favour of the Pythia, or rather of the directors of the oracle; and the Lacedæmonians were commanded by Apollo to deliver Athens from tyrants. This was effected by Cleomenes, who, upon diſcovering the fraud, was moved with great reſentment againſt Cliſthenes, the principal of the Alcmæonidæ, by whom he and his country had been ſo ſhamefully deceived. He therefore united with Iſagoras, the rival of Cliſthenes. The latter, together with his partiſans, were again baniſhed from Athens. But the Athenians perceiving it to be the intention of the prevailing faction to eſtabliſh an oligarchy, flew to arms. Cleomenes and Iſagoras took refuge in the citadel. On the third day they ſurrendered on capitulation. The Lacedæmonians were allowed to retire in ſafety. Iſagoras was baniſhed; many of his partiſans executed; and the Alcmæonidæ, headed by Cliſthenes, again returned in triumph. From this time, democracy, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, continued, with ſhort interruptions, to prevail in Athens. Herodot. l. v. c. lxv. & ſeq. Thucyd. l. vi. c. lviii.

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livering the government of that city into the hands of a moſt ungrateful populace, who had ſince treated them with much indignity. "But why (they proceeded) ſhould we relate private injuries? Have they not inſulted all their neighbours? Does not their pride daily increaſe with their power? and is there not reaſon to dread, that their growing ambition may endanger, and at length deſtroy, the public ſafety? In order to prevent this evil, we have recalled Hippias from baniſhment. And let us therefore, by our united efforts, reinſtate the ſon of Piſiſtratus in that power and authority, of which we moſt injudiciouſly deprived him."

Their deſign of reſtoring Hippias proves abortive.

The ſpeech of the Lacedæmonians produced not the intended effect. The Peloponneſians, however jealous of the Athenian greatneſs, were ſtill more jealous of the power of tyrants; and many of them, who had experienced the haughtineſs of Sparta, were not diſſatisfied with beholding a rival to that republic in the northern diviſion of Greece. The other deputies expreſſed their diſſent by ſilent diſapprobation; but Soſicles, the Corinthian, declared his ſentiments at great length, in a ſpeech which alike marks the manly character of the age, and the youthful vigour of Grecian eloquence. "Then ſurely, Lacedæmonians, will the heavens ſink below the earth, and the earth riſe ſublime in the air; men will inhabit the depths of the ſea, and fiſhes will take poſſeſſion of the land, when you, formerly the bulwarks of liberty, ſhall demoliſh the popular governments of Greece, and eſtabliſh tyrannies in their room, than which nothing can be more abſurd, more unjuſt, or more pernicious." After this pompous exordium, the Corinthian proceeded to deſcribe and exaggerate the calamities which his own countrymen

trymen had ſuffered, from the uſurpation of Cypſelus, and his ſon Periander. Having related, at great length, the proud, cruel, and deſpotic actions of thoſe princes, "Such," added he, "are the genuine fruits of abſolute power; but I adjure you by the Grecian Gods! attempt not to re-eſtabliſh it in Athens. The Corinthians were ſeized with aſtoniſhment when they heard that you had ſent for Hippias; I myſelf was amazed at beholding him in this aſſembly; yet we never ſuſpected that you purpoſed to reſtore him, in triumph, to his much injured city. If you ſtill perſiſt in this fatal reſolution, know that the Corinthians diſavow all part in a deſign, equally unjuſt and impious[44]." The other deputies liſtened with pleaſure to the boldneſs of Soſicles, who expreſſed the ſentiments which they themſelves felt, but which their reſpect for the Lacedæmonians obliged them to conceal. Hippias alone oppoſed the general voice of the aſſembly, atteſting the ſame gods which his opponent had invoked, and propheſying, that at ſome future time the Corinthians would repent their preſent conduct, and regret their cruel injuſtice to the ſon of Piſiſtratus, when their own citizens, as well as the reſt of Greece, ſhould fatally experience the dangerous ambition of Athens. This remonſtrance, which was ſo fully juſtified in the ſequel, produced no immediate effect in the aſſembly; the Lacedæmonians finally yielded to the general requeſt of their confederates, and abſtained from their intended innovation in the government of a Grecian city.

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A.C. 504.

The dethroned prince, finding his cauſe univerſally abandoned by the Greeks, ſought the protection

[44] Herodot. l. v. c. xcii.

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Artaphernes commands the Athenians to reinſtate Hippias. Olymp. lxix. 4. A.C. 501.

tection of Artaphernes, the Perſian governor of Sardis. Having acquired the confidence of this magiſtrate, he repreſented to him the inſolence, ingratitude, and perfidy of his countrymen, and the ſevereſt reproaches with which he loaded their character, gained ready belief with the Perſian. The Athenians, who were informed of theſe intrigues, ſent ambaſſadors to Sardis, in order to counteract them: but the reſolution of Artaphernes was already taken; and he told the ambaſſadors, that if they conſulted their ſafety, and would avoid the reſentment of Perſia, they muſt reinſtate Hippias in the throne of his father. His anſwer had been reported to the Athenians, and the aſſembly had finally reſolved to oppoſe the power of the greateſt empire upon earth, rather than admit, within their walls, the declared enemy of their liberties[45].

Ariſtagoras arrives in Athens. Olymp. lxx. 1. A.C. 500.

Preciſely at this juncture Ariſtagoras arrived at Athens, explained the revolt of the Aſiatic Greeks from the government of Artaphernes, and ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Athenians, in defending their own colonies againſt the oppreſſive violence of the common foe. Many arguments were not neceſſary to make the people of Athens adopt a meaſure which gratified their own paſſions. The eloquent Mileſian, however, deſcribed the wealth and extent of Perſia, the grandeur and populouſneſs of its cities, and, above all, the ſlothful effeminacy and puſillanimous weakneſs of their inhabitants, who, unable to ſupport the ponderous ſhield, or to poiſe the manly lance, invited, as an eaſy prey, the victorious arms of a more warlike invader. The ſpeech of Ariſtagoras was well fitted to excite the ambition and avarice of Athens. The aſſembly

[45] Herodot. l. v. c. xcvi.

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bly immediately decreed that aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent to Ionia. Twenty ſhips were fitted out with all convenient ſpeed, which, reinforced by five more belonging to Eretria, a town of Eubœa, rendezvouſed in the harbour of Miletus[46].

The Athenians ſend ſhips to aſſiſt their colonies.

Ariſtagoras ſpent not long time in his embaſſy to the other ſtates of Greece, and ſoon met his Athenian allies at the place appointed. It was here determined, that while the commander in chief regulated the civil affairs of the Ionians, his brother Charopinus ſhould conduct a military expedition againſt the wealthy capital of Lydia. The Athenians, deſirous of teſtifying their reſentment againſt the common enemy, and ſtill more deſirous of plunder, eagerly engaged in this undertaking. The united fleets left the harbour of Miletus, and ſailed to Epheſus, where the troops were diſembarked; and, in three days, accompliſhing a journey of ſeventy miles, appeared before the walls of Sardis. The Perſian governor little expected ſuch a viſit; his ſoldiers were not prepared to take the field; and the extenſive walls of the city could not be defended, on all ſides, againſt the beſiegers. Artaphernes, therefore, contented himſelf with defending the citadel; while the Greeks, without oppoſition, entered Sardis, in order to plunder the accumulated wealth of that ancient capital. But an accident prevented them from reaping the fruits of their ſucceſs. The reſentment of a rapacious ſoldier, diſappointed of his prey, ſet fire to the houſe of a Lydian, ſituate on the ſkirts of the town, which conſiſted, for the moſt part, of very combuſtible materials, the houſes being all roofed, and

Meaſures of the confederates. Olymp. lxx. 1. A.C. 500.

They take and burn Sardis.

[46] Herodot. l. v. c. xcvii.

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and many of them walled with cane; a mode of building doubly dangerous in that aduſt climate. The flames readily communicated from one houſe to another; and, in a ſhort time, the whole circumference of the place was ſurrounded with a wall of fire. Sardis was built in the Grecian, not in the eaſtern faſhion [47], having, on the banks of the Pactolus, which interſected the town, a ſpacious ſquare, which commonly ſerved for the market place [48]. Thither the Perſians, driven from the extremities, betook themſelves for refuge againſt the fury of the flames.

Are defeated in their retreat.

Arms formed part of the dreſs of a barbarian; and the Perſians, who had aſſembled in the ſquare without any intention of making defence, diſcovered their own ſtrength to be more than ſufficient to reſiſt the enemy. Meanwhile the flames of Sardis brought the inhabitants from all parts of Lydia to their aſſiſtance. The Greeks were attacked repelled, obliged to abandon their booty; and it was not without much difficulty that they effected their eſcape. Their retreat from Sardis was ſtill more rapid than their march thither. It then appeared that the taking and burning of the Lydian capital was no more than a ſtroke of military addreſs, which ſucceeded becauſe unforeſeen, and of which the Greeks had not ſufficient ſtrength to avail themſelves. The enemy collecting their whole force, purſued them to Epheſus, and defeated them with great ſlaughter, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance of the Athenians. The Eubœan auxiliaries alſo behaved with uncommon ſpirit, headed by their countryman Eualcides, whoſe Olympic victories had been highly extolled in

[47] We have already obſerved, that the Perſians had not any Forum, or place of public reſort.

[48] Herodot. l. v. c. ci. & ſeq.

in the verſes of Simonides, and whoſe death on this occaſion was long and deeply regretted. CHAP. VIII.

Subſequent conduct of the confederates.

Bad fortune is commonly attended with diſſentions in a confederate army. The allies threw the blame on each other, and the Athenians returned home in diſguſt, determined no longer to endanger [49] themſelves for the ſake of men who employed ſo little wiſdom or valour in their own defence. The Ionians, though deſerted by their allies, and defeated by the enemy at land, carried on the war vigorouſly by ſea. Sailing northwards, they reduced Byzantium, and all the neighbouring cities on the Helleſpont, or Propontis. Their fleet then directed its courſe to Caria, and having become maſter of the moſt conſiderable portion of that coaſt, defeated the Phœnicians off the iſle of Cyprus.

Vigorous meaſures of the Perſians for cruſhing the rebellion.

The military ſucceſs of the Perſians, engaged them, on the other hand, to proſecute the war by land; and their ſubſequent operations diſcovered ſuch a degree of prudence and courage, as they ſeem never to have exerted on any future occaſion. In order the more ſpeedily to quaſh the hopes of the inſurgents, they formed their numerous army into three diviſions, allotting to each its particular department. After theſe ſeparate brigades had reduced the ſmaller cities of the Eolians, Dorians, and Ionians, the three great branches of the Hellenic race, it was concerted that they ſhould re-aſſemble in one body, to attack Miletus, which was regarded as the center of rebellion; and which, though properly an Ionic city, was conſidered, on account of its great ſtrength and importance, rather as the metropolis of the whole country, than as the capital of a particular province. This plan, ſo judiciouſly concerted, was carried into execution by

[49] Herodot. ibid.

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by three ſons-in-law of Darius, Hymees, Dauriſes, and Otanes; the firſt of whom reduced the Eolian cities; the ſecond conquered the Dorians, as well as the other inhabitants of Caria [50], while Otanes, aſſiſted by the counſels and bravery of Artaphernes, over-ran the Ionic coaſt, burning and deſtroying all before him. The miſerable natives were put to the ſword, or dragged into captivity; the more fortunate eſcaped theſe calamities, by flying to their ſhips, or taking refuge within the lofty walls of Miletus [51].

They beſiege Miletus. Olymp. lxxi. 3. A.C. 494.

The time now approached for attacking that place, which, as its harbour commanded the coaſt, it was neceſſary to inveſt by ſea and land. We might, on this occaſion, expect to find Ariſtagoras, the prime mover of the rebellion, diſplaying the fertile reſources of his genius; but before Miletus was beſieged, Ariſtagoras was no more. The perfidious Ionian, who had perſuaded, not only his own countrymen but all the Aſiatic, and many of the European Greeks, that the public ſafety was the ſole object of his concern, had never, probably, any other end in view but the ſucceſs of his own ſelfiſh deſigns. When Cymé and Clazomené, two neighbouring towns of Ionia, had ſurrendered to the Perſians, he thought it time to provide, by a ſpeedy retreat, for his perſonal ſafety; and abandoning, in its greateſt need, a country which he had involved in all the calamities of war, he fled, with his numerous partizans, to an obſcure corner of Thrace, ſituated beyond the reach, both of the Perſians, from whom

Ariſtagoras flies to Thrace;

[50] After the conqueſt ſeemed complete, Dauriſes was ſurpriſed and ſlain by Heraclides, a general of the Carians. But this diſaſter had no effect on the general fortune of the war. Herodot. l. v. c. cvi.

[51] Herodot. l. v. c. cvi. cvii. & ſeq.

whom he had revolted, and of the Grecians, whom he had betrayed. But while he endeavoured to ſecure his eſtabliſhment there, he provoked, by his cruelty, the deſpair of the natives, and, together with the companions of his perfidy, periſhed miſerably by the hands of thoſe fierce barbarians, who thus revenged what happened to be, for once, the common cauſe of Greece and Perſia[52]. CHAP. VIII. is ſlain there.

About this time Hiſtiæus, the Mileſian, the kinſman and friend of Ariſtagoras, arrived from Suſa, commiſſioned by Darius to direct, by his experienced wiſdom and perfect knowledge of the country, the valour and activity of the Perſian generals. The birth, the education, the manners of this ſinglular man, together with the ſtrong partiality of every Greek in favour of his native land, might have afforded good reaſon to the Perſian king to ſuſpect his fidelity: he indeed ſuſpected it; but the artful addreſs, the warm profeſſions, the ſubtle inſinuation of Hiſtiæus, eaſily overcame every prejudice which his ſituation and character made it natural to conceive againſt him. He was ſent to aſſiſt the army of Darius, his benefactor, in cruſhing the Grecian rebellion; but his real intention was to take upon himſelf the conduct of that rebellion, and to raiſe his own greatneſs on the ruins of the Perſian power. As he paſſed to the coaſt of Aſia Minor, his intrigues produced a conſpiracy at Sardis, which, being diſcovered by the vigilance of Artaphernes, ended in the deſtruction of his accomplices. Hiſtiæus made a ſeaſonable retreat to the Ionian ſhore[53], where he hoped to be received with open arms by his ancient friends. But the Mileſians, remembering his former tyranny, and the The intrigues of Hiſtiæus.

[52] Herodot. l. v. c. cxxiv. cxxv. cxxvi.
[53] Herodot. l. vi. c. ii. & ſeq.

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the recent baſeneſs of his nephew Ariſtagoras, ſhut their gates againſt him. He ſought admiſſion into Chios with no better ſucceſs. The Leſbians, with much difficulty, lent him eight veſſels, which he employed againſt the enemy in the Euxine; but he was taken by the Perſians, and crucified at Sardis, having performed nothing capable to change the fortune of a war, which had been undertaken by his advice, and fomented by his ambition [54].

His death.

The ſiege of Miletus continued.

Meanwhile the Perſian fleet and army ſurrounded the walls of Miletus. We are not informed of the exact number of their land forces, which, conſiſting of all the united garriſons in thoſe parts, muſt have greatly exceeded any ſtrength which the much-exhauſted Greeks could bring into the field. Their fleet, compoſed of Phenicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, amounted to ſix hundred ſail; beſides a conſiderable naval force belonging to the iſle of Cyprus, which, having co-operated during one year with the Ionian inſurgents, had recently ſubmitted to Darius. In order to deliberate concerning the means of oppoſing this mighty armament, the Grecians aſſembled in the Panionian council, where it was unanimouſly reſolved, that no attempt ſhould be made to reſiſt the Perſians by land: the citizens of Miletus alone were exhorted to defend their walls to the laſt extremity, under the conduct of Pythagoras, a perſon of great rank and eminence in that republic. While every effort ſhould be exerted for maintaining this ſtrong hold of Ionia, it was determined that the Grecian fleet, the laſt and only hope of the nation, ſhould aſſemble at the ſmall iſland of Ladé, lying off the harbour of Miletus, and offer battle to that of the Perſians [55]. When all their forces were collected

The Grecians determine to defend it to the laſt extremity;

and to oppoſe the enemy by ſea.

[54] Herodot. ibid.

[55] Herodot. l. vi. c. vi. & ſeq.

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collected at the appointed rendezvous, they amounted to three hundred and fifty-three ſhips, which, containing each at a medium, a complement of above two hundred men, made the whole amount to a number ſufficiently reſpectable, and which, had they all remained firm and unanimous in the common cauſe, might, perhaps, have ſtill rendered them victorious. Such, at leaſt was the opinion of the Perſian commanders, who, when informed of the ſtrength of the Grecian fleet, deſpaired of conquering it by open force, and endeavoured to effect by policy, what they could not accompliſh by valour. Calling together the Ionian tyrants, who, after being expelled their dominions by Ariſtagoras, had taken refuge with the Medes, and actually followed the ſtandard of Darius, they repreſented to thoſe baniſhed princes, that now was the time to ſhew their attachment to the ſervice of the great king. For this purpoſe they were inſtructed, each of them, to perſuade, by meſſage or a perſonal interview, the ſubjects whom he had formerly commanded, to deſert the Grecian confederacy; to acquaint them, that if they complied with this propoſal, their houſes and temples ſhould be ſpared, while thoſe of their more obſtinate allies would be deſtroyed by the flames; that their republics ſhould be treated with great lenity, and even received into favour, while their countrymen who reſiſted, would inevitably be reduced into ſervitude; their youth diſgraced by caſtration; their virgins tranſported to Bactria, to ſatisfy the luſt of Barbarians; and their country, which contained every thing once dear to them, their temples, their ſtatues, their oracles, and the tombs of their anceſtors, beſtowed on ſome more deſerving and leſs rebellious people.

The Perſians attempt to diſunite them,

Theſe inſidious repreſentations, however, produced not any immediate effect. Each community,

without immediate effect.

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nity, who thought that they, alone, were ſolicited to abandon the common cauſe, ſcorned, on account of their private advantage, to deſert the general intereſt of the confederacy; and, next day, they called a council of war, to conſider of the means proper, not for appeaſing the wrath, but for reſiſting the arms, of the Perſians.

The advice of Dionyſius the Phocæan.

In this council, where no diſtinction of perſons prevailed, every individual had full liberty to propoſe his opinion. That of Dionyſius, a Phocæan, met with the approbation of the aſſembly: "Our fortunes, ſaid he, O Ionians! ſtand on a "needle's point. We muſt either vindicate our "liberty, or ſuffer the ignominious puniſhment "of fugitive ſlaves. If we refuſe preſent labour "and danger, we ſhall be expoſed to eternal "diſgrace; but the toils of a few days will be "compenſated by a life of freedom, of glory, "and of happineſs. Submit, therefore, to my di-"rection; and I will pledge my life, that if the "gods declare not againſt us, the enemy will "either decline the engagement, or, engaging "be ſhamefully defeated." The Greeks, conſenting to ſubmit to the diſcipline of Dionyſius, he, every day, arranged the fleet in three diviſions: towards the eaſt extended the right wing, conſiſting of eight ſhips of the Mileſians, twelve belonging to Prienè, and three, which formed the whole ſtrength of the ſmall republic of Myus. The centre conſiſted of an hundred prime ſailors, furniſhed by the Chians, ſeventy from Leſbos, and a few ſhips, ſent by the little cities of Erythræa, Phocæa, and Teios. The Semians alone, with ſixty ſail, formed the left wing to the weſtward.

In ancient times the ſucceſs of a naval engagement principally depended on the activity of the rowers,

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rowers, and the ſkill of the pilots, whoſe object it always was to dart, with great violence, the ſharp beak or brow, of their own ſhips, againſt the ſides of the enemy. Sometimes, at one ſtroke, more frequently by repeated aſſaults, while they themſelves, with wonderful dexterity, eluded ſuch a ſhock, they ſhattered or ſunk the veſſel of their opponents. By their continual exerciſe in navigation, the Greeks had acquired ſuch proficiency in managing their gallies, that their movement depending, not on the external impulſe of the wind, but on the active principle within, reſembled the rapid motion of a fiſh in its native element. Conſtant practice, however, was neceſſary to maintain this ſuperiority, and ſtill more to preſerve their bodies in a capacity for labour, which, on account of the ſoftneſs of the climate, and the heat of the ſeaſon, were ready to melt away in ſloth and debility. The prudent Phocæan, therefore, commanded them often to change their ſtations, habituating the ſailors to the labour of the oar, and the reſtraints of diſcipline, which he aſſured them would, by habit, become eaſy and agreeable. For ſeven days they cheerfully obeyed his commands: but, at length, the warmth of the ſeaſon rendered their exertions too great for their ſtrength. Diſtempers broke out in the fleet. The Greeks, always averſe to every ſhadow of abſolute authority, complained at firſt, in ſecret murmurs, and afterwards in licentious clamours, of the intolerable hardſhips to which they were expoſed by the ſeverity of an inſolent Phocæan, who, though he brought only three ſhips to the common defence, had aſſumed an arbitrary direction in all their affairs. Governed by theſe ſentiments, they refuſed any longer to obey his commands, landed on the ſhore of Ladé, formed a camp in the iſland, and, ſitting

His regulations obſerved for a while;

but diſcontinued.

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ting under the ſhade of their tents, diſdained the uſeful labours to which they had hitherto ſubmitted.

The Greeks defeated in a ſea-fight.

The Samians, who ſaw and dreaded the conſequences of this general diſorder, privately accepted the propoſal which had been made them by the Perſians. Their perfidy brought deſtruction on the common cauſe; for in the engagement, which followed ſoon after, they hoiſted ſail and deſerted the line. The Leſbians followed their example. Among thoſe, however, who obtained ſignal honour, by adhering to the cauſe of Greece, were eleven captains of Samian veſſels, who deteſted the treachery of their companions, and deſpiſed the ſigns of their admirals; on which account, they were rewarded, at their return, by the community of Samos, with a pillar and inſcription, tranſmitting their names, with immortal renown, to poſterity. But of all the Greeks, the Chians acquired greateſt glory on that memorable day: notwithſtanding their inferior ſtrength they defended themſelves to the laſt extremity, and rendered the victory late and dear to the Perſians.

Miletus taken. Olymp. lxxi. 3. A.C. 494.

The naval defeat was ſoon followed by the taking of Miletus, which ſurrendered in the ſixth year from the commencement of the revolt. The Perſians made good the threats which they had denounced againſt the obſtinacy of their enemies. Samos, alone, at the price of its perfidy, obtained the ſafety of its houſes and temples. Thoſe of all the other communities were burnt to the ground. The women and children were dragged into captivity. Such of the Mileſian citizens as eſcaped not by flight, were either put to the ſword, or carried into the heart of Aſia, and finally ſettled in the territory of Ampé, near the mouth of the Tygris. In other places,

Diſperſion of the Greeks, and deſolation of their country.

men

men of a timid or melancholy complexion continued to brood over the ruins of their ancient ſeats. The more enterpriſing ſailed to Greece, to the coaſt of Italy and Sicily, and to the Greek colonies in Africa. Probably not a few betook themſelves to piracy, among whom was Dionyſius the Phocæan, who plundered the Tuſcan and Carthaginian veſſels, always ſparing the Grecian. The Perſian fleet wintered at Miletus, and next ſpring ſubdued the iſlands of Chios, Leſbos, and Tenedos[56]. Thus were the Aſiatic Greeks conquered for the third time, once by the Lydians, and twice by the Perſians.

Ionia begins to flouriſh under the Perſian government.

But notwithſtanding theſe repeated ſhocks, which ſubjected the inhabitants of Ionia to ſuch dreadful calamities, that delightful country ſoon recovered its ancient populouſneſs and ſplendour. The Perſian government having ſufficiently puniſhed the rebellion, began gradually to relent. The Ionians became an object of care and protection to Darius. Uſeful regulations were made for maintaining the public peace, as well as for ſecuring the lives and properties of individuals. The face of the country began once more to ſmile; the cities, being built of ſlight materials, were eaſily repaired; while the exuberant fertility of the ſoil, the attractive beauties of the proſpect, the charms of the climate, and the convenience of the harbours (an advantage of which the Perſians knew not to avail themſelves), ſpeedily collected the Greeks into their ancient habitations. Even thoſe places which had been deſerted or deſtroyed, emerged from the gloom

[56] Herodot. l. vi. c. xxxi. & ſeq.

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of deſolation, and aſſumed the chearful appearance of induſtrious activity. And ſuch was the attachment of the Greeks to their native land, and ſuch their ambition to adorn it, that the labour of a few years repaired the deſtructive ravages of the Barbarians.

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Reſentment of Darius againſt Greece.—Maritime Expedition of Mardonius.—Invaſion of Greece by Datis and Artaphernes.—Battle of Marathon.—Tranſactions in the Interval between that Battle and Xerxes's Invaſion.—The Invaſion of Xerxes.—Battle of Thermopylæ.

CHAP. IX. Introduction to the hiſtory of the Perſian invaſion.

IN attempting to give the reader a general, but tolerably complete, view of the ancient hiſtory of Greece, it was often neceſſary to have recourſe to very obſcure materials; to arrange and combine the mutilated fragments of poets and mythologiſts; and to trace, by the eſtabliſhed principles of critical conjecture, and the certain, becauſe uniform, current of human paſſions, thoſe events and tranſactions which ſeem moſt curious and important. In this ſubſequent part of my work, the difficulty conſiſts, not in diſcovering, but in ſelecting, the materials; for the magnificent preparations, the ſplendid commencement, and the unexpected iſſue, of the Perſian war, have been related with the accuracy of deſcription, and adorned by the charms of eloquence. The Grecian poets, hiſtorians, and orators, dwell with complacence on a theme, not leſs important than extenſive, and equally adapted to diſplay their own abilities, and to flatter the pride of their country. The variety of their inimitable performances, generally known and ſtudied in every country converſant with literature, renders the ſubject familiar to the reader, and difficult to the writer. Yet

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does the merit of thoſe performances, however juſtly and univerſally admired, fall ſhort of the extraordinary exploits which they deſcribe; exploits which, though ancient, ſtill preſerve a freſh and unfading luſtre, and will remain, to the lateſt ages, precious monuments of that generous magnanimity, which cheriſhes the ſeeds of virtue, inſpires the love of liberty, and animates the fire of patriotiſm.

Subject divided into three acts.

The memorable tragedy (to adopt on this occaſion an apt alluſion of Plutarch), which ended in the eternal diſgrace of the Perſian name, may be divided, with propriety, into three principal acts. The firſt contains the invaſion of Greece by Darius's generals, Datis and Artaphernes, who were defeated in the battle of Marathon. The ſecond conſiſts in the expedition undertaken ten years afterwards by Xerxes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Darius, who fled precipitately from Greece, after the ruin of his fleet near the iſle of Salamis. The third, and concluding act, is the deſtruction of the Perſian armies in the bloody fields of Mycalé and Platea; events which happened on the ſame day, nearly two years after Xerxes's triumphal entry into Greece.

Olymp. lxxii. 3 A.C. 490.

Olymp. lxxv. 1. A.C. 480.

Olymp. lxxv. 2. A.C. 479.

Darius's reſentment againſt the Athenians.

The complete reduction of the inſurgents on the Aſiatic coaſt, prompted Darius to take vengeance on ſuch Greeks as had encouraged and aſſiſted the unſucceſsful rebellion of his ſubjects. The proud monarch of the eaſt, when informed that the citizens of Athens had co-operated with the Ionians in the taking and burning of Sardis, diſcovered evident marks of the moſt furious reſentment; ſhooting an arrow into the air, he prayed that heaven might aſſiſt him in puniſhing the audacious inſolence of that republic; and every time

time he ſat down to table, an attendant reminded him of the Athenians, leſt the delights of eaſtern luxury ſhould ſeduce him from his fell purpoſe of revenge [a].

Unfortunate expedition of Mardonius; Olymp. lxxi. 4. A.C. 493.

The execution of his deſign was entruſted to Mardonius, a Perſian nobleman of the firſt rank, whoſe perſonal, as well as hereditary advantages, had entitled him to the marriage of Artazoſtra, daughter of Darius; and whoſe youth and inexperience were compenſated, in the opinion of his maſter, by his ſuperior genius for war, and innate love of glory. In the ſecond ſpring after the cruel puniſhment of the Ionians, Mardonius approached the European coaſts with an armament ſufficient to inſpire terror into Greece. The rich iſland of Thaſus, whoſe golden mines yielded a revenue of near three hundred talents, ſubmitted to his fleet; while his land forces added the barbarous province of Macedon to the Perſian empire. But having ſteered ſouthward from Thaſus, the whole armament was overtaken, and almoſt deſtroyed, by a violent ſtorm, while endeavouring to double the promontory of Mount Athos, which is connected with the Macedonian ſhore by a low and narrow neck of land, but forms a long and lofty ridge in the ſea. Three hundred veſſels were daſhed againſt the rocks; twenty thouſand men periſhed in the waves. This diſaſter totally defeated the deſign of the expedition; and Mardonius having recovered the ſhattered remains of the fleet and army, returned to the court of Perſia, where, by flattering the pride, he averted the reſentment of Darius; while he repreſented, that the Perſian forces, invincible by the power of man, had yielded to the fury of the elements; and

who loſes the greateſt part of his fleet.

[a] Herodot. l. v. c. cv. & ſeq.

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and while he deſcribed and exaggerated, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of his countrymen, the exceſſive cold, the violent tempeſts, the monſtrous marine animals, which diſtinguiſh and render formidable, thoſe diſtant and unknown ſeas [2].

Succeeded by Datis and Artaphernes. Olymp. lxxii. 3. A.C. 490.

The addreſs of Mardonius reſcued him from puniſhment; but his misfortunes removed him from the command of Lower Aſia. Two generals were appointed in his room, of whom Datis, a Mede, was the more diſtinguiſhed by his age and experience, while Artaphernes, a Perſian, was the more conſpicuous for his rank and nobility, being deſcended of the royal blood, and ſon to Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, whoſe name has frequently occurred in the preſent hiſtory. That his lieutenants might appear with a degree of ſplendour ſuitable to the majeſty of Perſia, Darius aſſembled an army of five hundred thouſand men [3], conſiſting of the flower of the provincial troops of his extenſive empire. The preparation of an adequate number of tranſports and ſhips of war, occaſioned but a ſhort delay. The maritime provinces of the empire, Egypt, Phœnicia, and the coaſts of the Euxine and Egean ſeas, were commanded to fit out, with all poſſible expedition, their whole naval ſtrength; the old veſſels were repaired, many new ones were built, and in the courſe of the ſame year in which the preparations commenced, a fleet of ſix hundred ſail was ready to put to ſea. This immenſe armament the Perſian generals were ordered to employ, in extending

Their armament and views.

[2] Herodot. l. vi. c. xliii. & ſeq.

[3] Beſides Herodotus, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus, this expedition is related by Lycias, Orat. Funeb. Iſocrat. Panegyr. Plato, Menex. Pauſan. l. x. c. xx. Juſtin. l. ii. c. ix. Corn. Nepos, in Milt.

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tending their conquests on the side of Europe, in subduing the republics of Greece, and more particularly in chastising the insolence of the Eretrians and Athenians, the only nations which had conspired with the revolt of the Ionians, and assisted that rebellious people in the destruction of Sardis. With respect to the other nations which might be reduced by his arms, the orders of Darius were general, and the particular treatment of the vanquished was left to the discretion of his lieutenants; but concerning the Athenians and Eretrians, he gave the most positive commands, that their territories should be laid waste, their houses and temples burned or demolished, and their persons carried in captivity to the eastern extremities of his empire. Secure of effecting their purpose, his generals were furnished with a great number of chains for confining the Grecian prisoners; a haughty presumption (to use the language of antiquity) in the superiority of man over the power of fortune, which on this, as on other occasions, was punished by the just vengeance of heaven.

They reduce the Cyclades,

The Persian fleet enjoyed a prosperous voyage to the isle of Samos, from whence they were ready to proceed to the Athenian coast. The late disaster which befell the armament commanded by Mardonius, deterred them from pursuing a direct course along the shores of Thrace and Macedonia: they determined to steer in an oblique line through the Cyclades, a cluster of seventeen small islands, lying opposite to the territories of Argos and Attica. The approach of such an innumerable host, whose transports darkened the broad surface of the Ægean, struck terror into the unwarlike inhabitants of those delightful islands. The Naxians took refuge in their inaccessible mountains;

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tains; the natives of Delos, the favourite reſidence of Latona and her divine children, abandoned the awful majeſty of their temple, which was overſhadowed by the rough and lofty mount Cynthus. Paros[4], famous for its marble; Andros[5] celebrated for its vines; Ceos, the birth-place of the plaintive Simonides; Syrus, the native country of the ingenious and philoſophic Pherecydes; Ios, the tomb of Homer[6]; the induſtrious Amorgos[7]; as well as all the other[8] iſlands which ſurrounded the once ſacred ſhores of Delos, either ſpontaneouſly offered the uſual acknowledgment of earth and water, as a teſtimony of their friendſhip, or ſubmitted, after a feeble reſiſtance, to the Perſian arms[9].

The

[4] The marble of Paros was ſuperior in whiteneſs, and the fineneſs of its grain, to the hard ſparkling veins of mount Pentelicus in Attica; which, from the ſize and brilliancy of its component particles, ſomewhat reſembling ſalt, is called by the Italians *Marmo ſalino*. Theſe two kinds of marble were always the moſt valued by the Greeks; but the marble of Paros, was preferred by artiſts, as yielding more eaſily to the graving tool, and on account of the homogeneouſneſs of its parts, leſs apt to ſparkle, and give falſe lights to the ſtatue. The works of Parian marble, in the Farneſina palace at Rome, are mentioned by Winklemann. Geſchichte der kunſt des Alterthums, l. i. c. 2.

[5] The wines of Andros and Naxos were compared to nectar. See Athenæus, l. i.

[6] Strabo, l. x. & Plin. l. iv. Pauſanias (in Phocic.) ſays, that Climenes, the mother of Homer, was a native of the iſle of Ios; and Aulus Gellius, l. iii. aſſerts, on the authority of Ariſtotle, that this iſland was the birth-place of Homer himſelf.

[7] Amorgos was long famous for the robes made there, and diſtinguiſhed by its name. Suid. ad voc. They were dyed red, with a ſpecies of lichen, which abounds in that iſland, and which was formerly uſed by the Engliſh and French in dying ſcarlet.

[8] Herodot. l. vi. c. 94.

[9] Herodot. l. vi. c. 101. & ſeq.

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The invaders next proceeded weſtward to the iſle of Eubœa, where, after almoſt a continued engagement of ſix days, their ſtrength and numbers, aſſiſted by the perfidy of two traitors, finally prevailed over the valour and obſtinacy of the Eretrians [10].

and Eubœa;

Hitherto every thing was proſperous; and had their expedition ended with the events already related, it would have afforded juſt matter of triumph. But a more difficult taſk remained, in the execution of which the Perſians (happily for Europe) experienced a fatal reverſe of fortune. After the reduction of Eubœa, the Athenian coaſts, ſeparated from that iſland only by the narrow ſtrait of Euripus, ſeemed to invite the generals of Darius to an eaſy conqueſt. They readily accepted the invitation, as the puniſhment of Athens being the main object which their maſter had in view when he fitted out his ſeemingly invincible armament. The meaſures which they adopted for accompliſhing this deſign appear abundantly judicious; the greater part of the army was left to guard the iſlands which they had ſubdued; the uſeleſs multitude of attendants were tranſported to the coaſt of Aſia; with an hundred thouſand choſen infantry, and a due proportion of horſe, the Perſian generals ſet ſail from Eubœa, and ſafely arrived on the *Marathonian ſhore*, a diſtrict of Attica about thirty miles from the capital, conſiſting chiefly of level ground, and therefore admitting the operations of cavalry, which formed the

invade Attica.

[10] The preſent deplorable ſtate of theſe once fortunate iſlands may be ſeen in Tournefort, the moſt learned of travellers. Deſpotiſm, a double ſuperſtition (the Grecian and Mahommedan), pirates, banditti, and peſtilence, have not yet depopulated the Cyclades, which reſpectively contain three, five, ten, and the largeſt, twenty thouſand inhabitants.

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the main ſtrength of the Barbarian army, and in which the Greeks were very poorly provided. Here the Perſians pitched their camp, by the advice of Hippias, the baniſhed king of Athens [11], whoſe perfect knowledge of the country, and intimate acquaintance with the affairs of Greece, rendered his opinion on all occaſions of great value and importance.

The Athenians take meaſures for their defence.

Meanwhile the Athenians had raiſed an army, and appointed ten generals, with equal power, choſen as uſual from the ten tribes, into which the citizens were divided. Their obſtinate and almoſt continual hoſtilities with the Phocians, the Thebans, and their other northern neighbours, prevented them from entertaining any hopes of aſſiſtance from that quarter: but, on the firſt appearance of the Perſian fleet, they ſent a meſſenger to Sparta, to acquaint the ſenate of that republic, with the immediate danger which threatened them, and to explain how much it concerned the intereſt, as well as the honour of the Spartans, who had acquired juſt pre-eminence among the Grecian ſtates, not to permit the deſtruction of the moſt ancient and the moſt ſplendid of the Grecian cities. The ſenate and aſſembly approved the juſtice of this demand, they collected their troops, and ſeemed ready to afford their rivals, whoſe danger now converted them into allies, a ſpeedy and effectual relief. But it was only the ninth day of the month; and an ancient, unaccountable, and therefore the more reſpected, ſuperſtition prevented the Spartans from taking the field, before the full of the moon [12]. When that period ſhould arrive, they promiſed to march, with the utmoſt expedition, to the plains of Marathon.

Demand aſſiſtance from Sparta.

Meanwhile

[11] Thucyd. l. vi. c. lix. Herodot. ubi ſupra.
[12] Strabo, l. ix. p. 611; and Herodot. ibid.

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Reinforced by the Platæans.

Meanwhile the Athenians had been reinforced by a thouſand choſen warriors from Platæa, a ſmall city of Bœotia, diſtant only nine miles from Thebes. The independent ſpirit of the Platæans rendered them as deſirous of preſerving their freedom, as they were unable to defend it againſt the Theban power. But that invaluable poſſeſſion, which their own weakneſs would have made it neceſſary for them to ſurrender, the protection of Athens enabled them to maintain, and, in return for this ineſtimable favour, they diſcovered towards their benefactors, on the preſent as well as on every future occaſion, the ſincereſt proofs of gratitude and reſpect. The Athenian army, now ready to take the field, conſiſted of about ten thouſand freemen, and of probably a ſtill greater number of armed ſlaves. The generals might certainly have collected a larger body of troops; but they ſeem to have been averſe to commit the ſafety of the ſtate to the fortune of a ſingle engagement; neither would it have been prudent to leave the walls of Athens, and the other fortreſſes of Attica altogether naked and defenceleſs. It had been a matter of deliberation in the aſſembly, whether they ought not to ſtand a ſiege, rather than venture a battle. The Athenian fortifications, indeed, had not attained that ſtrength which they afterwards acquired, yet they might have long reſiſted the artleſs aſſaults of the Perſians; or had the latter got poſſeſſion of the walls, the long, narrow, and winding ſtreets [13] of Athens, would have enabled a ſmall number of men to make an obſtinate, and perhaps a ſucceſsful defence, againſt a ſuperior but leſs determined enemy. But all hopes from this mode of reſiſtance, were

[13] Ariſtotle informs us, that this was the ancient mode of building in all the cities of Greece. ARIST. Polit.

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were damped by the conſideration, that the immenſe hoſt of the Perſians might ſurround their city on every ſide, intercept their ſupplies, and, inſtead of conquering them by aſſault, reduce them by famine. At the ſame time Miltiades, one of the ten generals, whoſe patriotiſm and love of liberty we have already had occaſion to applaud, animated his countrymen with the deſire of victory and glory. This experienced commander knew the Perſians, he knew his fellow citizens, and his diſcerning ſagacity had formed a proper eſtimate of both.

The Athenians encouraged by Miltiades to riſk a battle.

His motives explained in the military character of the Athenians,

The Athenians were few in number, but choſen men; their daily practice in the gymnaſtic had given them agility of limbs, dexterity of hand, and an unuſual degree of vigour both of mind and body. Their conſtant exerciſe in war had inured them to hardſhip and fatigue, accuſtomed them to the uſeful reſtraints of diſcipline, and familiariſed them to thoſe ſkilful evolutions which commonly decide the fortune of the field. Their defenſive as well as offenſive armour was remarkably complete; and an acknowledged pre eminence among their neighbours, had inſpired them with a military enthuſiaſm, which on this occaſion was doubly animated, in defence of their freedom and of their country. In their pertinacious ſtruggles with each other, for whatever men hold moſt precious, the Greeks, and the Athenians, in particular, had adopted a mode of military arrangement which cannot be too highly extolled. Drawn up in a cloſe and firm phalanx, commonly ſixteen deep, the impetuous vigour of the moſt robuſt youth held the firſt ranks; the laſt were cloſed by the ſteady courage of experienced veterans, whoſe reſentment againſt cowardice ſeemed more terrible to their companions than the arms of an enemy.

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As the ſafety of the laſt ranks depended on the activity of the firſt, their united aſſaults were rendered alike furious and perſevering, and hardly to be reſiſted by any ſuperiority of numbers[14].

and of the Perſians.

The Perſians (for under the name of Perſians are comprehended the various nations which followed the ſtandard of Datis, and Artaphernes) were not deficient in martial appearance, nor perhaps

[14] The attention given by the Greeks to the relative diſpoſition of the ranks, according to the reſpective qualities of the men who compoſed them, introduced certain rules in ancient tactics which would be unneceſſary in the modern. To convert the rear into the front, a modern army has only to face about, becauſe it is not very material in what order the ranks are placed. But we learn from the tactics of Arian, that the Greeks had contrived three other ways of performing this evolution, in all of which the ſame front was uniformly preſented to the enemy.—The firſt was called the Macedonian. In this evolution the file-leader faced to the right-about, without ſtirring from his place; the other men in the file paſſed behind him, and, after a certain number of paces, alſo faced about, and found themſelves in their reſpective places.—The ſecond was called the Cretan. In this the file-leader not only faced about, but paced over the depth of the phalanx. The reſt followed him, and the whole found themſelves in the ſame place as before, the ranks only reverſed.—The third was called the Lacedæmonian, which was preciſely the reverſe of the firſt. In the Lacedæmonian evolution the bringer-up, or laſt man in each file, whom the Greeks called ἀγαγὼν, faced about, then halted. The file-leader faced about, and paced over twice the depth of the phalanx, the reſt following him; the whole thus found themſelves with the ſame front towards the enemy, the ranks only reverſed. The difference between theſe three evolutions conſiſted in this, that the Macedonian, where the file-leader ſtood ſtill, and the reſt went behind him, had the appearance of a retreat; ſince the whole line receded by the depth of the phalanx from the enemy: in the Cretan, the men preſerved the ſame ground which they had originally occupied; but the Lacedæmonian carried the whole line, by the depth of the phalanx, forward on the enemy. Among the firſt military changes introduced by Philip of Macedon, hiſtorians mention his having adopted the Lacedæmonian evolution, for changing the front, in preference to that formerly uſed by his own countrymen.

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haps entirely deſtitute of valour, being ſelected with care from the flower of the Aſiatic provinces. But, compared with the regularity of the Greek battalions, they may be regarded as a promiſcuous crowd, armed in each diviſion with the peculiar weapons of their reſpective countries, incapable of being harmonized by general movements, or united into any uniform ſyſtem of military arrangement. Darts and arrows were their uſual inſtruments of attack; and even the moſt completely armed truſted to ſome ſpecies of miſſile weapon. They carried in their left hands light targets of reed or oſier, and their bodies were ſometimes covered with thin plates of ſcaly metal; but they had not any defenſive armour worthy of being compared with the firm corſelets, the brazen greaves, the maſſy bucklers of their Athenian opponents. The braveſt of the Barbarians fought on horſeback; but in all ages the long Grecian ſpear has proved the ſureſt defence againſt the attack of cavalry, inſomuch that even the Romans, in fighting againſt the Numidian horſemen, preferred the ſtrength of the phalanx to the activity of the legion. The inferiority of their armour and of their diſcipline, was not the only defect of the Perſians; they wanted that ardour and emulation which, in the cloſe and deſperate engagements of ancient times, were neceſſary to animate the courage of a ſoldier. Their ſpirits were broken under the yoke of a double ſervitude, impoſed by the blind ſuperſtition of the Magi, and the capricious tyranny of Darius; with them their native country was an empty name; and their minds, degraded by the mean vices of wealth and luxury, were inſenſible to the native charms, as well as to the immortal reward of manly virtue.

Miltiades

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Miltiades allowed not, however, his contempt of the enemy, or his confidence in his own troops, to ſeduce him into a fatal ſecurity. Nothing on his part was neglected; and the only obſtacle to ſucceſs was fortunately removed by the diſintereſted moderation of his colleagues. The continual dread of tyrants had taught the jealous republicans of Greece to blend, on every occaſion, their civil, with their military inſtitutions. Governed by this principle, the Athenians, as we already had occaſion to obſerve, elected ten generals, who were inveſted, each in his turn, with the ſupreme command. This regulation was extremely unfavourable to that unity of deſign which ought to pervade all the ſucceſſive operations of an army; an inconvenience which ſtruck the diſcerning mind of Ariſtides, who on this occaſion diſplayed the firſt openings of his illuſtrious character. The day approaching when it belonged to him to aſſume the ſucceſſive command, he generouſly yielded his authority [15] to the approved valour and experience of Miltiades. The other generals followed the illuſtrious example, ſacrificing the dictates of private ambition to the intereſt and glory of their country; and the commander in chief thus enjoyed an opportunity of exerting, uncontrouled, the utmoſt vigour of his genius.

Prudent conduct of Miltiades.

Generous patriotiſm of Ariſtides.

Left he ſhould be ſurrounded by a ſuperior force, he choſe for his camp the declivity of a hill, diſtant about a mile from the encampment of the enemy. The intermediate ſpace he cauſed to be ſtrewed in the night with the branches and trunks of trees, in order to interrupt the motion, and break the order, of the Perſian cavalry, which ſeem

Diſpoſition of both armies.

[15] Plutarch. in Ariſtid. tom. ii. p. 489.

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ſeem not to have acted in the engagement. In the morning his troops were drawn up in battle array, in a long and full line; the braveſt of the Athenians on the right, on the left the warriors of Platæa, and in the middle the ſlaves[16], who had been admitted on this occaſion to the honour of bearing arms. By weakening his centre, the leaſt valuable part, he extended his front equal to that of the enemy: his rear was defended by the hill above-mentioned, which, verging round to meet the ſea, likewiſe covered his right; his left was flanked by a lake or marſh. Datis, although he perceived the ſkilful diſpoſition of the Greeks, was yet too confident in the vaſt ſuperiority of his numbers to decline the engagement, eſpecially as he now enjoyed an opportunity of deciding the conteſt before the expected auxiliaries could arrive from Peloponneſus. When the Athenians ſaw the enemy in motion they ran down the hill, with unuſual ardour, to encounter them; a circumſtance which proceeded, perhaps, from their eagerneſs to engage, but which muſt have been attended with the good conſequence of ſhortening the time of their expoſure to the ſlings and darts of the Barbarians.

Defeat of the Perſians in the battle of Marathon; Olymp. lxxii. 3. A. C. 490.

The two armies cloſed; the battle was rather fierce than long. The Perſian ſword and Scythian hatchet penetrated, or cut down, the centre of the Athenians; but the two wings, which compoſed the main ſtrength of the Grecian army, broke, routed, and put to flight the correſponding diviſions

[16] There is not any hiſtorian, indeed, who makes mention of this arrangement, although, by comparing the accounts of the havoc made in the centre, with the ſmall number of Athenian citizens who were ſlain, it is evident that the ſlaves muſt have been the greateſt ſufferers in the action, and therefore poſted, as is ſaid in the text.

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ons of the enemy. Inſtead of purſuing the vanquiſhed, they cloſed their extremities, and attacked the Barbarians who had penetrated their centre. The Grecian ſpear overcame all oppoſition: the braveſt of the Perſians periſhed in the field; the remainder were purſued with great ſlaughter; and ſuch was their terror and ſurpriſe, that they ſought for refuge, not in their camp, but in their ſhips. The baniſhed tyrant of Athens fell in the engagement: two Athenian generals, and about two hundred citizens, were found among the ſlain: the Perſians left ſix thouſand of their beſt troops in the ſcene of action. Probably, a ſtill greater number were killed in the purſuit. The Greeks followed them to the ſhore; but the lightneſs of the Barbarian armour favoured their eſcape. Seven ſhips were taken; the reſt ſailed with a favourable gale, doubled the cape of Sunium; and, after a fruitleſs attempt to ſurpriſe the harbour of Athens, returned to the coaſt of Aſia [17].

who ſail to Aſia.

The loſs and diſgrace of the Perſians on this memorable occaſion, was compenſated by only one conſolation. They had been defeated in the engagement, compelled to abandon their camp, and driven ignominiouſly to their ſhips; but they carried with them to Aſia the Eretrian priſoners, who, in obedience to the orders of Darius, were ſafely conducted to Suſa. Theſe unhappy men had every reaſon to dread being treated as victims of royal reſentment; but when they were conducted in chains to the preſence of the great king, their reception was very different from what their fears naturally led them to expect. Whether reflection ſuggeſted to Darius the pleaſure which he might derive in peace, and the aſſiſtance

Unexpected treatment of the Eretrians.

[17] Herodot. l. vi. c. cxi. & ſeq.

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which he might receive in war, from the arts and arms of the Eretrians, or that a ray of magnanimity for once enlightened the ſoul of a deſpot, he ordered the Greeks to be immediately releaſed from captivity, and ſoon afterwards aſſigned them for their habitation the fertile diſtrict of Anderica, lying in the province of Ciſſia, in Suſiana, at the diſtance of only forty miles from the capital. There the colony remained in the time of Herodotus, preſerving their Grecian language and inſtitutions; and after a revolution of ſix centuries, their deſcendants were viſited by Apollonius Tyaneus [13], the celebrated Pythagorean philoſopher, and were ſtill diſtinguiſhed from the ſurrounding nations by the indubitable marks of European extraction.

Obſtacles to the ſecond invaſion of Greece.

When any diſaſter befel the Perſian arms, the great, and once independent, powers of the empire were ever ready to revolt. The neceſſity of watching the firſt ſymptoms of thoſe formidable rebellions, gradually drew the troops of Darius from the coaſt of Leſſer Aſia; whoſe inhabitants, delivered from the oppreſſion of foreign mercenaries, reſumed their wonted ſpirit and activity; and except in paying, conjunctly with ſeveral neighbouring provinces, an annual contribution of about an hundred thouſand pounds, the Aſiatic Greeks were ſcarcely ſubjected to any proof of dependence. Diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion to the univerſal empire of the Eaſt, the revolt of Egypt, and the death of Darius, retarded for ten years the reſolution formed by that prince, and adopted by his ſon and ſucceſſor Xerxes, of reſtoring the luſtre of the Perſian arms, not only by taking vengeance on the pertinacious obſtinacy of the

[13] Philoſtrat. in Vit. Apollon.

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the Athenians, but by effecting the complete conqueſt of Europe [19]. We ſhall have occaſion fully to deſcribe the immenſe preparations which were made for this purpoſe; but it is neceſſary firſt to examine the tranſactions of the Greeks, during the important intervalbetween the battle of Marathon and the expedition of Xerxes; and to explain the principal circumſtances which enabled a country, neither wealthy nor populous, to reſiſt the moſt formidable invaſion recorded in hiſtory.

The ſentiments and behaviour of the Athenians in conſequence of their victory.

The joy excited among the Athenians by a victory, which not only delivered them from the dread of their enemies, but raiſed them to diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence among their rivals and allies, is evident from a remarkable incident which happened immediately after the battle. As ſoon as fortune had viſibly declared in their favour, a ſoldier was diſpatched from the army to convey the welcome news to the capital. He ran with incredible velocity, and appeared, covered with duſt and blood, in the preſence of the ſenators. Exceſs of fatigue, conſpired with the tranſports of enthuſiaſm to exhauſt the vigour of his frame. He had only time to exclaim, in two words, *Rejoice with the victors* [20], and immediately expired.

It is probable that the ſame ſpirit which animated this nameleſs patriot, was ſpeedily diffuſed through the whole community; and the Athenian inſtitutions were well calculated to keep alive the generous ardour which ſucceſs had inſpired. Part of the ſpoil was gratefully dedicated to the gods; the remainder was appropriated as the juſt reward of merit. The obſequies of the dead were celebrated with ſolemn pomp; and according to an ancient and ſacred cuſtom, their fame was com-

 memorated

[19] Herodot. l. vii. c. i. & ii.

[20] Χαιρετε χαιρομεν

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memorated by annual returns of feſtive magnificence[21]. The honours beſtowed on thoſe who had fallen in the field, reflected additional luſtre on their companions who ſurvived the victory. In extenſive kingdoms, the praiſe of ſucceſsful valour is weakened by diffuſion; and ſuch too is the inequality between the dignity of the general, and the meanneſs of the ſoldier, that the latter can ſeldom hope to attain, however well he may deſerve, his juſt proportion of military fame[22]. But the Grecian republics were ſmall; a perpetual rivalſhip ſubſiſted among them; and when any particular ſtate eclipſed the glory of its neighbours, the ſuperiority was ſenſibly felt by every member of the commonwealth.

Honours beſtowed on Miltiades;

That pre-eminence, which by the battle of Marathon Athens acquired in Greece, Miltiades, by his peculiar merit in that battle, attained in Athens. His valour and conduct were celebrated by the artleſs praiſes of the vulgar, as well as by the more elaborate encomiums of the learned. Before the æra of this celebrated engagement, tragedy, the unrivalled diſtinction of Athenian literature, had been invented and cultivated by the ſucceſsful labours of Theſpis, Phrynicus, and Æſchylus. The laſt, who is juſtly regarded as the great improver of the Grecian drama, diſplayed in the battle of Marathon, the ſame martial ardour which ſtill breathes in his poetry. We may reaſonably imagine, that he would employ the higheſt flights of his fancy in extolling the glory of exploits, in which he had himſelf borne ſo

[21] Diodor. Sic. l. xi. Herodot. ubi ſupra.

[22] Plutarch. in Cimon. p. 187. & Æſchin. adverſ. Cteſiphont. p. 301. furniſh us with examples of the jealouſy of the Greeks, leſt the fame due to their troops in general, ſhould be engroſſed by the commanders.

ſo diſtinguiſhed a part; and particularly, that he would exert all the powers of his lofty genius in celebrating the hero and patriot, whoſe enthuſiaſm had animated the battle, and whoſe ſuperior talents had inſured the victory. The name of the conqueror at Marathon, re-echoed through the ſpacious theatres of Athens, which, though they had not yet acquired that ſolid and durable compoſition ſtill diſcernible in the ruins of ancient grandeur, were already built in a form ſufficiently capacious to contain the largeſt proportion of the citizens. The magnificent encomiums beſtowed on Miltiades, in the preſence of his aſſembled countrymen, by whoſe conſenting voice they were repeated and approved, fired with emulation the young candidates for fame, while they enabled the general to obtain that mark of public confidence and eſteem which was the utmoſt ambition of all the Grecian leaders.

who is appointed to command the fleet;

Theſe leaders, while they remained within the territories of their reſpective ſtates, were entruſted (as we already had occaſion to obſerve) with only that moderate authority which ſuited the equal condition of freedom. But when they were appointed to the command of the fleet in foreign parts, they obtained almoſt unlimited power, and might acquire immenſe riches. To this exalted ſtation Miltiades was advanced by the general ſuffrage of his country; and having ſailed with a fleet of ſeventy gallies, the whole naval ſtrength of the republic, he determined to expel the Perſian garriſons from the iſles of the Ægean; to reduce the ſmaller communities to the obedience of Athens, and to ſubject the more wealthy and powerful to heavy contributions.

Beſieges Paros unſucceſsfully.

The firſt operations of the Athenian armament were crowned with ſucceſs; ſeveral iſlands were ſubdued,

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ſubdued, conſiderable ſums of money were collected. But the fleet arriving before Paros, every thing proved adverſe to the Athenians. Miltiades, who had received a perſonal injury from Tiſagoras, a man of great authority in that iſland, yielded to the dictates of private reſentment, and confounding the innocent with the guilty, demanded from the Parians the ſum of an hundred talents (near twenty thouſand pounds ſterling). If the money were not immediately paid, he threatened to lay waſte their territory, to burn their city, and to teach them by cruel experience the ſtern rights of a conqueror. The exorbitancy of the demand rendered compliance with it impoſſible; the Parians prepared for their defence, guided however by the motives of a generous deſpair, rather than by any well-grounded hope of reſiſting the invaders. For twenty-ſix days they maintained poſſeſſion of the capital of the iſland, which the Athenians, after ravaging all the adjacent country, beſieged by ſea and land. The time now approached, when Paros muſt have ſurrendered to a ſuperior force; but it was the good fortune of the iſlanders, that an extenſive grove, which happened to be ſet on fire on the oppoſite coaſt of Aſia, was believed by the beſiegers to indicate the approach of a Perſian fleet. The ſame opinion gained ground among the Parians, who determined, by their utmoſt efforts, to preſerve the place, until they ſhould be relieved by the aſſiſtance of their protectors. Miltiades had received a dangerous wound during the ſiege; and the weakneſs of his body impairing the faculties of his mind, and rendering him too ſenſible to the impreſſions of fear, he gave orders to draw off his victorious troops, and returned with the whole fleet to Athens.

His

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His conduct in the preſent expedition ill correſponded to his former fame; and he ſoon experienced the inſtability of popular favour. The Athenians citizens, and particularly the more eminent and illuſtrious, had univerſally their rivals and enemies. The competitions for civil offices, or military command, occaſioned eternal animoſities among thoſe jealous republicans. Xantippus, a perſon of great diſtinction, and father of the celebrated Pericles, who in the ſucceeding age obtained the firſt rank in the Athenian government, eagerly ſeiſed an opportunity of depreſſing the character of a man which had ſo long overtopped that of every competitor. Miltiades was accuſed of being corrupted by a Perſian bribe to raiſe the ſiege of Paros; the precipitancy with which he abandoned the place, ſo unlike to the general firmneſs of his manly behaviour, gave a probable colour to the accuſation; and the continual terror which, ever ſince the uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, the Athenians entertained of arbitrary power, diſpoſed them to condemn, upon very ſlight evidence, a man whoſe abilities and renown ſeemed to endanger the ſafety of the commonwealth. The crime laid to his charge inferred death, a puniſhment which his accuſer inſiſted ought to be immediately inflicted on him. But his judges were contented with fining him the ſum of fifty talents (near ten thouſand pounds ſterling), which being unable to pay, he was thrown into priſon, where he ſoon after died of his wounds.

Accuſed by his enemies.

His death.

But the glory of Miltiades ſurvived him; and the Athenians, however unjuſt to his perſon, were not unmindful of his fame. At the diſtance of half a century, when the battle of Marathon was painted by order of the ſtate, they directed the figure

Honours beſtowed on his memory.

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figure of Miltiades to be placed in the fore-ground, animating the troops to victory: a reward which, during the virtuous ſimplicity of the ancient commonwealth, conferred more real honour, than all that magnificent profuſion of crowns and ſtatues[23], which in the later times of the republic were rather extorted by general fear, than beſtowed by public admiration.

His ſucceſſors in command.

The jealouſies, reſentments, dangers, and calamities, which often attend power and pre-eminence, have never yet proved ſufficient to deter an ambitious mind from the purſuit of greatneſs. The rivals of Miltiades were animated by the glory of his elevation, not depreſſed by the example of his fall. His accuſer, Xantippus, though he had acted the principal part in removing this favourite of the people, was not deemed worthy to ſucceed him. Two candidates appeared for the public confidence and eſteem, who alternately outſtripped each other in the race of ambition, and whoſe characters deſerve attention even in general hiſtory, as they had a powerful influence on the fortune, not of Athens only, but of all Greece.

Compariſon of Ariſtides and Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides and Themiſtocles were nearly of the ſame age, and equally noble, being born in the firſt rank of citizens, though not of royal deſcent, like Solon and Piſiſtratus, Iſagoras, and Cliſthenes, Xantippus and Miltiades, who had hitherto ſucceſſively aſſumed the chief adminiſtration of the Athenian republic. Both had been named among the generals who commanded in the battle of Marathon. The diſintereſted behaviour of Ariſtides on this memorable occaſion has been already mentioned. It afforded a promiſe of his future fame. But

[23] Æſchin. p. 301. & Polybius paſſim.

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But his dawning glories were ſtill eclipſed by the meridian luſtre of Miltiades. After the death of this great man, Ariſtides ought naturally to have ſucceeded to his influence, as he was eminently diſtinguiſhed by valour and moderation, the two great virtues of a republican. Formed in ſuch ſchools of moral and political knowledge as then flouriſhed in Athens, he had learned to prefer glory to pleaſure; the intereſt of his country to his own perſonal glory; and the dictates of juſtice and humanity, even to the intereſts of his country. His ambition was rather to deſerve, than to acquire, the admiration of his fellow-citizens; and while he enjoyed the inward ſatisfaction, he was little anxious about the external rewards, of virtue. The character of Themiſtocles was of a more doubtful kind. The trophy, which Miltiades had raiſed at Marathon, diſturbed his reſt. He was inflamed with a deſire to emulate the glory of this exploit; and while he enabled Athens to maintain a ſuperiority in Greece, he was ambitious to acquire for himſelf a ſuperiority in Athens. His talents were well adapted to accompliſh both theſe purpoſes; eloquent, active, enterpriſing, he had ſtrengthened his natural endowments by all the force of education and habit. Laws, government, revenue, and arms, every branch of political and military knowledge, were the great objects of his ſtudy. In the courts of juſtice he ſucceſsfully diſplayed his abilities in defence of his private friends, or in accuſing the enemies of the ſtate. He was forward to give his opinion upon every matter of public deliberation; and his advice, founded in wiſdom, and ſupported by eloquence, commonly prevailed in the aſſembly. Yet with all theſe great qualities, his mind was leſs ſmit with the native charms of virtue, than captivated with her ſplendid ornaments. Glory was the idol which he adored.

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adored. He could injure, without remorſe, the general cauſe of the confederacy, in order to promote the grandeur of Athens [24]; and hiſtory ſtill leaves it as doubtful, as did his own conduct, whether, had an opportunity offered, he would not have ſacrificed the happineſs of his country, to his private intereſt and ambition.

Their rivalſhip.

The diſcernment of Ariſtides perceived the danger of allowing a man of ſuch equivocal merit to be entruſted with the ſole government of the republic; and on this account, rather than from any motives of perſonal animoſity, he oppoſed every meaſure that might contribute to his elevation. In this patriotic view, he frequently ſolicited the ſame honours which were ambitiouſly courted by Themiſtocles, eſpecially when no other candidate appeared capable of balancing the credit of the latter. A rivalſhip thus began, and long continued between them [25]; and the whole people of Athens could alone decide the much conteſted pre-eminence. The intereſt of Themiſtocles ſo far prevailed over the authority of his opponent, that he procured his own nomination to the command of the fleet; with which he effected the conqueſt of the ſmall iſlands in the Ægean, and thus completed the deſign undertaken by Miltiades. While *he* acquired fame and fortune abroad, Ariſtides increaſed his popularity at home. The oppoſition to his power, ariſing from the ſplendid eloquence and popular manners of his rival, was now fortunately removed, and he became the chief leader of the people. His opinion gave law to the courts of juſtice, or rather ſuch was the effect of his equity and diſcernment, he alone became ſovereign umpire in Athens. In all

[24] Plutarch. in Themiſtocle & Ariſtide.
[25] Plutarch. ibid. Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxix.

all important differences, he was choſen arbitrator, and the ordinary judges were deprived of the dignity and advantages formerly reſulting from their office. This conſequence of his authority, offending the pride of the Athenian magiſtrates, was ſufficient to excite their reſentment, which, of itſelf, might have effected the ruin of any individual.

Ariſtides baniſhed. Olymp. lxxiii. 3. A.C. 486.

But their views on this occaſion were powerfully promoted by the triumphant return of Themiſtocles from his naval expedition. The admiral had acquired conſiderable riches; but wealth he deſpiſed, except as an inſtrument of ambition. The ſpoils of the conquered iſlanders were profuſely laviſhed in ſhows, feſtivals, dances, and theatrical entertainments, exhibited for the public amuſement. His generous manners and flowing affability were contraſted with the ſtern dignity of his rival; and the reſult of the compariſon added great force to his inſinuation, that, ſince his own neceſſary abſence in the ſervice of the republic, Ariſtides had acquired a degree of influence inconſiſtent with the conſtitution, and, by arrogating to himſelf an univerſal and unexampled juriſdiction in the ſtate, had eſtabliſhed a ſilent tyranny, without pomp or guards, over the minds of his fellow-citizens. Ariſtides, truſting to the innocence and integrity of his own heart, diſdained to employ any unworthy means, either for gaining the favour, or for averting the reſentment, of the multitude. The conteſt, therefore, ended in his baniſhment for ten years, by a law entitled the Oſtraciſm (from the name of the materials[26] on which the votes were marked), by which the majority of the Athenian aſſembly might expel any citizen,

[26] Οστρακον, a ſhell.

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citizen, however inoffenſive or meritorious had been his paſt conduct, who, by his preſent power and greatneſs, ſeemed capable of diſturbing the equality of republican government. This ſingular inſtitution, which had been eſtabliſhed ſoon after the Athenians had delivered themſelves from the tyranny of Hippias, the ſon of Piſiſtratus, was evidently intended to prevent any perſon in future from attaining the ſame unlawful authority. At Athens, even virtue was proſcribed, when it ſeemed to endanger the public freedom; and only four years after the battle of Marathon, in which he had diſplayed equal valour and wiſdom, Ariſtides, the juſteſt and moſt reſpectable of the Greeks, became the victim of popular jealouſy[27]; an example of cruel rigour, which will for ever brand the ſpirit of democratical policy.

The great aſcendant acquired by Themiſtocles;

The baniſhment of Ariſtides expoſed the Athenians ſtill more than formerly to the danger which they hoped to avoid by this ſevere meaſure. The removal of ſuch a formidable opponent enabled Themiſtocles to govern without controul. Army, navy, and revenue, all were ſubmitted to his inſpection. It happened, indeed, moſt fortunately for the fame of this great man, as well as for the liberty of Athens, that his active ambition was called to the glorious taſk of ſubduing the enemies of his country. The ſmaller iſlands in the Ægean were already reduced to obedience, but the poſſeſſion of them was uncertain, while the fleet of Ægina covered the ſea, and bid defiance to that of the Athenians. This ſmall iſland, or rather this rock, inhabited time immemorial by merchants and pirates, and ſituate in the Saronic Gulph, which divides the territories of Attica from the northern ſhores of Peloponneſus, was a formidable

[27] Plutarch. & Herodot. ibid.

dable enemy to the republic; the jealouſy of commerce and naval power embittered their mutual hoſtility; and as the inhabitants of Ægina, who were governed by a few leading men, had entered into an alliance with the Perſians, there was every circumſtance united which could provoke, to the utmoſt, the hatred and reſentment of the Athenians.

who perſuades the Athenians to augment their navy.

A motive leſs powerful than the exceſs of republican antipathy could not probably have prevailed on them to embrace the meaſure which they now adopted by the advice of Themiſtocles. There was a conſiderable revenue ariſing from the ſilver mines of Mount Laurium, which had been hitherto employed in relieving the private wants of the citizens, or diſſipated in their public amuſements. This annual income Themiſtocles perſuaded them to deſtine to the uſeful purpoſe of building ſhips of war, by which they might ſeize or deſtroy the fleet of Ægina. The propoſal was approved; an hundred gallies were equipped; the naval ſtrength of Ægina was broken, and ſucceſs animated the Athenians to aſpire at obtaining the unrivalled empire of the ſea. Corcyra formed the only remaining obſtacle to their ambition. This iſland, which, under the name of Phœacia, is celebrated by Homer for its amazing riches and fertility, had been ſtill further improved by a colony of Corinthians. It extends an hundred miles along the weſtern ſhores of Epirus; and the natural abundance of its productions, the convenience of its harbours, and the adventurous ſpirit of its new inhabitants, gave them an undiſputed advantage over their neighbours, in navigation and commerce. They became ſucceſſively the rivals, the enemies, and the ſuperiors of Corinth, their mother-country; and their ſucceſsful cruiſers infeſted the

They defeat the fleets of Ægina and Corcyra.

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the coaſts, and diſturbed the communication of the iſlands and continent of Greece. It belonged to Athens, who had ſo lately puniſhed the perfidy of Ægina, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of the Corcyreans. The naval depredations of theſe iſlanders made them be regarded as common enemies; and Themiſtocles [28], when by ſeizing part of their fleet, he broke the ſinews of their power, not only gratified the ambition of his republic, but performed a ſignal ſervice to the whole Grecian confederacy.

Strength and ſpirit of Athens.

Victorious by ſea and land againſt Greeks and Barbarians, Athens might now ſeem entitled to enjoy the fruits of a glorious ſecurity. It was generally believed in Greece, that the late diſaſter of the Perſians would deter them from invading, a ſecond time, the coaſts of Europe. But Themiſtocles, who, in the words of a moſt accompliſhed hiſtorian [29], was no leſs ſagacious in foreſeeing the future, than ſkilful in managing the preſent, regarded the battle of Marathon, not as the end of the war, but as the prelude to new and more glorious combats. He continually exhorted his fellow-citizens to keep themſelves in readineſs for action; above all, to encreaſe, with unremitting aſſiduity, the ſtrength of their fleet; and, in conſequence of this judicious advice, the Athenians were enabled to oppoſe the immenſe armaments of Xerxes, of which the moſt formidable tidings ſoon arrived from every quarter, with two hundred gallies, of a ſuperior ſize and conſtruction to any hitherto known in Greece [30].

This

[28] Plutarch. in Themiſt. Thucydid. lib. i. Corn. Nepos, in Themiſt.

[29] Thucydides, ibid.

[30] Plato, l. iii. de Leg.

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State of the other republics immediately preceding the invaſion of Xerxes.

This fleet proved the ſafety of Greece, and prevented a country, from which the knowledge of laws, learning and civility was deſtined to flow over Europe, from becoming a province of the Perſian empire, and being confounded with the maſs of barbarous nations. While the Athenians were led, by the circumſtances which we have endeavoured to explain, to prepare this uſeful engine of defence, the other Grecian ſtates afford, in their unimportant tranſactions, few materials for hiſtory [31]. The Spartans had long preſerved an unrivalled aſcendant in Peloponneſus; and their pre-eminence was ſtill farther confirmed by the unequal and unfortunate oppoſition of the Argives. Many bloody and deſperate engagements had been fought between theſe warlike and high-ſpirited rivals; but, before the Perſian invaſion, the ſtrength of Argos was much exhauſted by repeated defeats, particularly by the deſtructive battle of Thyræa, in which ſhe loſt ſix thouſand of her braveſt citizens. The Spartans alſo carried on occaſional hoſtilities againſt the Corinthians and Achæans, the inhabitants of Elis and Arcadia; and theſe ſeveral republics frequently decided their pretenſions in the field; but neither their conteſts with each other, nor their wars with Sparta, were attended with any conſiderable or permanent effects. Their perpetual hoſtilities with foreign ſtates ought to have given internal quiet to the Spartans; yet the jealouſy of power, or the oppoſition of character, occaſioned incurable diſſention between the two firſt magiſtrates of the republic, Cleomenes and Demaratus. By the intrigues of the former, his rival was unjuſtly depoſed from the royal dignity. Leotychides, his kinſman and ſucceſſor in the throne, inſulted his misfortunes;

[31] Herodot. l. vii. Diodor. l. xi.

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misfortunes; and Demaratus, unable to endure contempt in a country where he had enjoyed a crown, ſought for that protection which was denied him in Greece, from the power and reſentment of Perſia. Cleomenes ſoon afterwards died by his own hand, after vainly ſtruggling againſt the ſtings of remorſe, which perſecuted him for his ungenerous treatment of a worthy colleague[32]. He was ſucceeded by the heroic Leonidas, whoſe death (as ſhall be related) at Thermopylæ, was ſtill more illuſtrious and happy than that of Cleomenes was wretched and infamous. During the domeſtic diſturbances of Sparta, the other ſtates of Peloponneſus enjoyed a relaxation from the toils of war. The Arcadians and Argives tended their flocks, and cultivated their ſoil. Elis was contented with the ſuperintendence of the Olympic games, the Corinthians increaſed and abuſed the wealth which they had already acquired by their fortunate ſituation between two ſeas, and by long continuing the centre of the internal commerce of Greece. Of the republics beyond the iſthmus, the Phocians wiſhed to enjoy, in tranquillity, the ſplendour and riches which their whole territory derived from the celebrated temple of Delphi. They were frequently diſturbed, however, by invaſions from Theſſaly; the inhabitants of which, though numerous and warlike, yet being ſituated at the extremity of Greece, ſtill continued like the Etolians, barbarous and uncultivated[33]. The Thebans maintained and extended their uſurpations over the ſmaller cities of Bœotia, and rejoiced that the ambition of the Athenians, directed to the command of the ſea and the conqueſt of diſtant iſlands, prevented that aſpiring people from giving the ſame minute attention as uſual to the affairs

[32] Herodot. v. 75.

[33] Thucydid. l. i.

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affairs of the continent. The other republics were inconſiderable, and commonly followed the fortunes of their more powerful neighbours. The Aſiatic colonies were reduced under the Perſian yoke; the Greek eſtabliſhments in Thrace and Macedon paid tribute to Xerxes; but the African Greeks bravely maintained their independence; and the flouriſhing ſettlements in Italy and Sicily were now acting a part which will be explained hereafter, and which rivalled, perhaps ſurpaſſed, the glory of Athens and Sparta in the Perſian war [34].

Of the colonies.

Meanwhile the reduction of revolted provinces had given employment and luſtre to the Perſian arms. Nine years after the battle of Marathon, and in the fourth year of his reign, Xerxes found himſelf uncontrouled maſter of the Eaſt, and in poſſeſſion of ſuch a fleet and army, as flattered him with the hopes of univerſal empire. The three laſt years of Darius were ſpent in preparing for the Grecian expedition. Xerxes, who ſucceeded to his ſceptre and to his revenge, dedicated four years more to the ſame hoſtile purpoſe. Amidſt his various wars and pleaſures, he took care that the Artiſans of Egypt and Phœnicia, as well as of all the maritime provinces of Lower Aſia, ſhould labour, with unremitting diligence, in fitting out an armament adequate to the extent of his ambition. Twelve hundred ſhips of war, and three thouſand ſhips of burthen, were at length ready to receive his commands. The former were of a larger ſize and firmer conſtruction than any hitherto ſeen in the ancient world: they carried on board, at a medium, two hundred ſeamen, and thirty Perſians who ſerved as marines.

The preparations of Xerxes for invading Greece. Olymp. lxxiv. 4. A. C. 481.

[34] Diodor. l. xi. c. xvi. & xvii.

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The ſhips of burthen, contained, in general, eighty men, fewer being found incapable of rowing them. The whole amounted to four thouſand two hundred ſhips, and about five hundred thouſand men, who were ordered to rendezvous in the moſt ſecure roads and harbours of Ionia. We are not exactly informed of the number of the land forces, which were aſſembled at Suſa. It is certain, however, that they were extremely numerous, and it is probable that they would continually increaſe on the march from Suſa to Sardis, by the confluence of many tributary nations, to the imperial ſtandard of Xerxes.

Their magnitude.

When the army had attained its perfect complement, we are told that it conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand infantry, and four hundred thouſand cavalry; which, joined to the fleet above-mentioned, made the whole forces amount to near two millions of fighting men. An immenſe crowd of women and eunuchs followed the camp of an effeminate people. Theſe inſtruments of pleaſure and luxury, together with the ſlaves neceſſary in tranſporting the baggage and proviſions, equalled, perhaps exceeded, the number of the ſoldiers, ſo that, according to the univerſal teſtimony of ancient hiſtorians, the army of Xerxes appears the greateſt that was ever collected [35].

But

[35] Herodot. l. vii. c. lxxxix. & ſeq. enters into a circumſtantial detail of the Perſian forces. His account is confirmed, with leſs difference than uſual in ſuch caſes, by Lyſias Orat. Funeb. Iſocrat. Panegyr. Diodor. l. xi. p. 244. He repeatedly expreſſes his aſtoniſhment at the immenſity of the Barbarian hoſts. He appears fully ſenſible of the difficulties with which they had to ſtruggle, in order to procure proviſions. His account of the Grecian fleet and army is acknowledged to be faithful and exact in the higheſt degree; circumſtances which all ſtrongly confirm the credibility of his evidence.

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But many circumſtances ſerve to prove, that its ſtrength, by no means, correſponded to its magnitude. The various nations which compoſed it, were not divided into regular bodies, properly diſciplined and officered. Their muſter-roll was taken in a manner that is remarkable for its ſimplicity. Ten thouſand men were ſeparated from the reſt, formed into a compact body, and ſurrounded by a palliſade. The whole army paſſed ſucceſſively into this incloſure, and were thus numbered, like cattle, without the formality of placing them in ranks, or of calling their names.

Xerxes paſſes the Helleſpont. Olymp. lxxv. 1. A. C. 480.

Xerxes, having wintered at Sardis, ſent ambaſſadors early in the ſpring to demand earth and water, as a mark of ſubmiſſion, from the ſeveral Grecian republics. With regard to Athens and Sparta, he thought it unneceſſary to obſerve this ceremony, as they had treated, with the moſt inhuman cruelty, and in direct contradiction to their own laws of war, the meſſengers intruſted with a ſimilar commiſſion by his father Darius. The ſlow march of his immenſe army, and, ſtill more, its tedious tranſportation acroſs the ſeas which ſeparate Europe from Aſia, ill ſuited the rapid violence of his revenge. Xerxes, therefore, ordered a bridge of boats to be raiſed on the Helleſpont, which, in the narroweſt part, is only ſeven ſtadia, or ſeven-eighths of a mile in breadth. Here the bridge was formed with great labour; but whether owing to the awkwardneſs of its conſtruction, or to the violence of a ſucceeding tempeſt, it was no ſooner built than deſtroyed. The great king ordered the directors of the work to be beheaded; and, proud of his tyrannic power over feeble man, diſplayed an impotent rage againſt the elements. In all the madneſs of deſpotiſm, he commanded

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the Helleſpont to be puniſhed with three hundred ſtripes, and a pair of fetters to be dropped into the ſea, adding theſe frantic and ridiculous expreſſions: "It is thus, thou ſalt and bitter water, that thy maſter puniſhes thy unprovoked injury, and he is determined to paſs thy treacherous ſtreams notwithſtanding all the inſolence of thy malice[35]." After this abſurd ceremony, a new bridge was made of a double range of veſſels, fixed by ſtrong anchors on both ſides, and joined together by cables of hemp and reed, faſtened to immenſe beams driven into the oppoſite ſhores. The decks of the veſſels, which exceeded ſix hundred in number, were ſtrewed with trunks of trees and earth, and their ſurface was ſtill further ſmothered by a covering of planks. The ſides were then railed with wicker work, to prevent the fear and impatience of the horſes; and upon this ſingular edifice the main ſtrength of the army paſſed in ſeven days and nights, from the Aſiatic city of Abydos to that of Seſtus in Europe[36].

Cuts a canal through the iſthmus of Sana.

But before this general tranſportation, a conſiderable part of the forces had been already ſent to the coaſt of Macedonia, in order to dig acroſs the iſthmus which joins to that coaſt the high promontory of Athos. The diſaſter which befel the fleet commanded by Mardonius, in doubling the cape of this celebrated peninſula, was ſtill preſent to the mind of Xerxes. The neck of land, only a mile and a half in breadth, was adorned by the Grecian city of Sana; and the promontory being rich and fertile, was well inhabited by both Greeks and Barbarians. The cutting of this narrow iſthmus, by a canal of ſufficient width to allow two gallies to ſail abreaſt, was a matter not beyond the power of

[35] Herodot. vii. 35.

[36] Herodot. l. vii. c. lvi.

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of a potentate who commanded the labour of ſo many myriads[37]; but it is obſerved by Herodotus, to have been a work of more oſtentation than utility, as the veſſels might, according to the cuſtom of the age, have been conveyed over land with greater expedition, and with leſs trouble and expence. The eaſtern workmen were in general ſo extremely unacquainted with operations of this kind, that they made the opening at the ſurface of the ground, of the ſame breadth with that neceſſary at the bottom of the channel. In order to excite their diligence by national emulation, a particular portion of the ground was aſſigned to each diſtinction of people engaged in this undertaking. The Phœnicians alone, by giving a proper width at the top, avoided the inconvenience of ſubmitting to a double labour. In performing this, and every other taſk, the ſoldiers of Xerxes were kept to their work by ſtripes and blows; a circumſtance which gives us as mean an opinion of their ſpirit and

[37] Herodot. l. vii. c. xxi. & ſeqq. & Diodor. l. xi. c. ii. It is difficult to ſay, whether we ought moſt to condemn the ſwelling exaggeration with which Lyſias, Iſocrates, and other writers, ſpeak of theſe operations of Xerxes, which they call, "navigating the land, and walking the ſea," or the impudent incredulity of Juvenal:

—— creditur olim
Velificatus Athos, & quicquid Græcia mendax,
Audet in hiſtoria; conſtratum claſſibus iiſdem
Suppoſitumque rotis ſolidum mare.——

Nothing is better fitted to perpetuate error, than the ſmart ſentence of a ſatiriſt. A line of the ſame Juvenal has branded Cicero as a bad poet, though that univerſal literary genius left admirable verſes behind him, which have been tranſmitted to modern times. The digging of the canal of Athos is ſupported by the uniform teſtimony of all antiquity, and might be credited on the ſingle evidence of Thucydides (l. iv. c. cix.) the moſt faithful, accurate, and impartial of all hiſtorians, ancient or modern; and who himſelf lived long in the neighbourhood of Athos, where he had an eſtate, and was director of the Athenian mines in Thrace: as will appear hereafter.

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and activity, as all that has been already related, gives us of their ſkill and diſcipline.

Xerxes reviews his forces near Doriſcus.

The Perſian forces were now ſafely conducted into Europe; and the chief obſtacle to the eaſy navigation of their fleet along the coaſts of Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, to the center of the Grecian ſtates, was removed by the dividing of mount Athos. Through the fertile plains of Leſſer Aſia the whole army had kept in a body; but the difficulty of ſupplies obliged them to ſeparate into three diviſions, in their march through the leſs cultivated countries of Europe. Before this ſeparation took place, the whole fleet and army were reviewed by Xerxes, near Doriſcus, a city of Thrace, at the mouth of the river Hebrus. Such an immenſe collection of men aſſembled in arms, and attended with every circumſtance of martial magnificence, gave an opportunity for ſeeing, or at leaſt for ſuppoſing, many affecting ſcenes. The ambition of the great king had torn him from his palace of Suſa, but it could not tear him from the objects of his affection, and the miniſters of his pleaſure. He was followed by his women, and by his flatterers[38], and all the effeminate pride of a court, was blended with the pomp of war. While the great body of the army lay every night in the open air, Xerxes and his attendants were provided with magnificent tents. The ſplendour of his chariots, the mettle of his horſes, which far excelled the ſwifteſt racers of Theſſaly, the unexampled number of his troops, and above all, the bravery of the immortal band, a body of ten thouſand Perſian cavalry, ſo named becauſe their number was conſtantly maintained from the flower of the whole army, ſeemed ſufficient, to the admiring

His ſplendour.

[38] Plato de Legibus, l. iii. p. 536.

miring crowd, to raiſe the glory of their ſovereign above the condition of humanity; eſpecially ſince, among ſo many thouſands of men as paſſed in review, none could be compared to Xerxes in ſtrength, in beauty, or in ſtature [39]. CHAP. IX.

and misery

But amidſt this ſplendour of external greatneſs, Xerxes felt himſelf unhappy. Having aſcended an eminence to view his camp and fleet, his pride was humbled with the reflection, that no one of all the innumerable hoſt could ſurvive an hundred years. The haughty monarch of Aſia was melted into tears. The converſation of his kinſman and counſellor, Artabanus, was ill calculated to conſole his melancholy. That reſpectable old man, whoſe wiſdom had often moderated the youthful ardour of Xerxes, and who had been as aſſiduous to prevent, as Mardonius had been to promote, the Grecian war, took notice that the miſery of human life was an object far more lamentable than its ſhortneſs. "In the narrow ſpace allotted them, has not every one of theſe in our preſence, and indeed the whole human race, often wiſhed rather to die than to live. The tumult of paſſions diſturbs the beſt of our days; diſeaſes and weakneſs accompany old age; and death, ſo vainly dreaded, is the ſure and hoſpitable refuge of wretched mortals."

He converſes with Demaratus, the baniſhed king of Sparta.

Xerxes was not of a diſpoſition ſteadily to contemplate the dictates of experience, and the maxims of philoſophy. He endeavoured to divert thoſe gloomy reflections which he could not remove, by amuſing his fancy with horſe-races, mock-battles, and other favourite entertainments. In the intervals of theſe diverſions, he ſometimes converſed with Demaratus, the baniſhed king of Sparta,

[39] Herodot. l. vii. c. clxxxiv.

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Sparta, who, as we have already mentioned, had ſought refuge in the Perſian court, from the perſecution of his countrymen. A memorable interview between them is deſcribed by Herodotus. The Perſian, diſplaying oſtentatiouſly the magnitude of his power, aſked the royal fugitive, Whether he ſuſpected the Greeks would yet venture to take the field, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of his arms? Demaratus replied, that if he might ſpeak without giving offence, he was of opinion that the Perſians would meet with a very vigorous reſiſtance. "Greece had been trained in the ſevere, but uſeful, ſchool of neceſſity; poverty was her nurſe, and her mother; ſhe had acquired patience and valour by the early application of diſcipline; and ſhe was habituated to the practice of virtue by the watchful attention of the law. All the Greeks were warlike, but the Spartans were peculiarly brave. It was unneceſſary to aſk their number, for if they exceeded not a thouſand men, they would defend their country and their freedom againſt the aſſembled myriads of Aſia [40]."

Receives the ſubmiſſion of many Grecian communities.

Xerxes was rather amuſed than inſtructed by this diſcourſe. His hopes of ſucceſs ſeemed built on too ſolid principles to be ſhaken by the opinion of a prejudiced Greek. Every day meſſengers arrived with the ſubmiſſion of new nations. The inhabitants of the rocky country of Doris, many tribes of Theſſaly, the mountaineers of Pindus, Oſſa, Pelion and Olympus, which like a lofty rampart ſurround that country, offered the uſual preſent of earth and water, as the ſymbol of ſurrendering their territories to a power which it ſeemed vain to reſiſt. Theſe diſtricts formed only the

[40] Herodot. l. vii. c. cii. & ſeqq.

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the northern frontier of Greece. But what gave peculiar pleaſure to Xerxes, the Thebans, who inhabited the central parts, and all the cities of Bœotia, except Theſpiæ and Platæa, privately ſent ambaſſadors to teſtify their good-will to his cauſe, and to requeſt the honour of his friendſhip.

Meaſures of the Athenians and their confederates.

Meanwhile thoſe Grecians, who, unmoved by the terrors of invaſion, obeyed the voice of liberty and their country, had ſent deputies to the iſthmus of Corinth, to deliberate about the common intereſt. They conſiſted of repreſentatives from the ſeveral ſtates of Peloponneſus, and from the moſt conſiderable republics beyond that peninſula. By common conſent, they ſuſpended their domeſtic animoſities, recalled their fugitives, conſulted their oracles, and diſpatched ambaſſadors, in the name of united Greece, to demand aſſiſtance from the iſlands of Crete, Cyprus, and Corcyra, as well as from the Grecian colonies on the coaſts of Italy and Sicily. All their meaſures were carried on with great appearance of unanimity and concord. Even the Thebans, careful to conceal their treachery, had ſent repreſentatives to the common council. The general danger ſeemed to unite and harmonize the moſt diſcordant members; and although the perpetual diſſentions between rival ſtates, frequently weakened the authority of the Amphictyonic confederacy, it appeared on the preſent, as on many other occaſions, that the Greeks acknowledged the obligation of a tacit alliance to defend each other againſt domeſtic tyrants and foreign barbarians.

The Theſſalians crave their aſſiſtance.

Before they had an opportunity of learning the will of the gods, or of diſcovering the intentions of their diſtant allies, ambaſſadors arrived from thoſe communities of Theſſaly which ſtill adhered

to

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to the intereſt of Greece, praying a ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance to guard the narrow paſſes which lead into their country. There is a valley near the coaſt of the Ægean, between the lofty mountains of Oſſa and Olympus, which afforded the moſt convenient paſſage from Macedon into Theſſaly. This ſingular ſpot, commonly called the valley of Tempé, is about five miles in length, and, where narroweſt, ſcarcely an hundred paces in breadth; but is adorned by the hand of Nature with every object that can gratify the ſenſes or delight the fancy. The gently-flowing Peneus [39] interſects the middle of the plain. Its waters are increaſed by perennial caſcades from the green mountains, and thus rendered of ſufficient depth for veſſels of conſiderable burden. The rocks are every where planted with vines and olives, and the banks of the river, and even the river itſelf, are overſhadowed with lofty foreſt trees, which defend thoſe who ſail upon it from the ſun's meridian ardour. The innumerable grottos and arbours careleſsly ſcattered over this delightful ſcene, and watered by fountains of peculiar freſhneſs and ſalubrity, invite the weary traveller to repoſe; while the muſical warbling of birds conſpires with the fragrant odour of plants to ſooth his ſenſes, and to heighthen the pleaſure which the eye and fancy derive from viewing the charming variety of this enchanting landſcape; from examining the happy intermixture of hill and dale, wood and water; and from contemplating the diverſified beauty and

The valley of Tempé,

[39] I know not why Ovid ſays,

Peneus ab imo
Effuſus Pindo *ſpumoſis* volvitur *undis*.

Metam. l. i. ver. 570

Ælian (from whom the deſcription in the text is taken) ſays, that the Peneus flows

Διυγρ ολαιω, ſmooth as oil.

and majeſtic grandeur of Nature, under her moſt blooming and beneficial aſpects. CHAP. IX.

This delicious valley, which an ancient writer, by a bold figure of ſpeech, calls "a feſtival for the eyes," and which the bounty of the gods had formed for happy ſcenes of love, innocence, and tranquillity, the deſtructive ambition of man was ready to convert into a field of bloodſhed and horror. It was natural for the Theſſalians to expect that the troops of Xerxes would paſs by this inlet into their territories; and hither their ambaſſadors entreated the allied Greeks to ſend an army. The propoſal ſeemed juſt and uſeful; ſhips were prepared at the iſthmus; and a body of ten thouſand men were embarked under the command of Themiſtocles, with orders to ſail through the narrow Euripus, to land in the harbours of Tempé, and to remain there in order to guard that important paſs. is occupied by the Greeks;

They had not continued in thoſe parts many days, when a meſſenger arrived from Alexander, ſon of Amyntas, tributary prince of Macedonia, adviſing them to depart from that poſt, unleſs they meant to be trodden under foot by the Perſian cavalry. It is not probable, however, that this menace could have changed their reſolution. But they had already learned that there was another paſſage into Theſſaly, through the territory of the Peræbians, near the city Gonnus in Upper Macedonia. Their army was inſufficient to guard both, and the defending of one only could not be of eſſential advantage to themſelves, to the Theſſalians, or to the common cauſe. but ſoon abandoned.

Meantime, the dangers which thickened over their reſpective republics, rendered it neceſſary to return ſouthward. Their diſtant colonies, particularly The dangers which threaten

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cularly thoſe of Sicily, which were the moſt numerous and powerful, could not afford them any aſſiſtance, being themſelves threatened with a formidable invaſion from the Carthaginians, the cauſe and conſequences of which we ſhall have occaſion fully to explain. The oracles were doubtful or terrifying. To the Spartans they announced, as the only means of ſafety, the voluntary death of a king of the race of Hercules. The Athenians were commanded to ſeek refuge within their wooden walls. The reſponſes given to the other ſtates are not particularly recorded; but it appears in general, that all were dark, ambiguous, or frightful. The Grecian army returned therefore to their ſhips, repaſſed the Euripus, and arrived in ſafety at Corinth; while the Theſſalians, thus abandoned by their allies, reluctantly ſubmitted to the common enemy.

Greece become more imminent and alarming.

The terror inſpired by the critical ſituation of affairs, rendered the preſence of the leaders neceſſary in their reſpective communities. Themiſtocles found the Athenians divided about the meaning of the oracle, the greater part aſſerting, that by wooden walls was underſtood the incloſure of the citadel, which had been formerly ſurrounded by a paliſade. Others gave the words a different conſtruction, and each according to his fears or his intereſt; but Themiſtocles aſſerted that all of them had miſtaken the advice of the God, who deſired them to truſt for ſafety to their fleet. This opinion, ſupported by all the force of his eloquence, and the weight of his authority, at length prevailed in the aſſembly, although Epicides, a demagogue of great influence among the lower ranks of people, oppoſed it with the utmoſt vehemence; and ſeizing this opportunity to traduce the character of Themiſtocles, inſiſted that he himſelf

The Grecian fleet ſails to Artemiſium.

himſelf ſhould be appointed general in his room. But the prudent Athenian knew the weakneſs of his adverſary; his great paſſion was avarice; and a reaſonable bribe immediately ſilenced his clamorous oppoſition. The Athenian gallies were fitted out with all convenient ſpeed, and being joined with thoſe of Eubœa, Ægina, Corinth, and the maritime allies of Peloponneſus, amounted to a fleet of three hundred ſail. They proceeded to the narrow ſea which divides the northern ſhore of Eubœa from the coaſt of Theſſaly, rendezvouſed at the promontory of Artemiſium, and patiently expected the arrival of the Barbarians. CHAP. IX.

The Greeks aſſemble an army.

Beſides the force neceſſary for manning this fleet, the confederates could raiſe an army of about ſixty thouſand freemen, beſides a ſtill greater proportion of armed ſlaves. As the paſſes leading from Theſſaly to the territories of Phocis and Locris were ſtill narrower and more difficult of acceſs, than thoſe from Macedon into Theſſaly, it ſeems unaccountable why they did not immediately direct their whole military ſtrength towards that quarter; but this neglect may be explained by their ſuperſtitious veneration for oracles, the neceſſity of celebrating their accuſtomed feſtivals, and the dangerous delays and inactivity inherent in the nature of a republican confederacy. As they were acquainted with only one paſs, by which the Perſians could arrive from Theſſaly, they thought that a body of eight thouſand pikemen might be equally capable with a larger proportion of troops, to defend it againſt every invader. This narrow defile was called the Straits of Thermopylæ, in illuſion to the warm ſprings in that neighbourhood, and was deemed the gate or entrance into Greece. It was bounded on the weſt by high and inacceſſible precipices, which join

Guard the Straits of Thermopylæ.

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join the lofty ridge of mount Oeta; and on the eaſt terminated by an impracticable moraſs, bordered by the ſea. Near the plain of the Theſſalian city Trachis, the paſſage was fifty foot broad; but at Alpené, there was not room for one chariot to paſs another. Even theſe paſſages were defended by walls, formerly built by the Phocians to protect them againſt the incurſions of their enemies in Sicily, and ſtrengthened, on this occaſion, with as much care as time would allow. The troops ſent to Thermopylæ, which was only fifteen miles diſtant from the ſtation of the Grecian fleet at Artemiſium, conſiſted chiefly of Peloponneſians, commanded by Leonidas, the Spartan king, who was prepared, in obedience to the oracle, to devote his life for the ſafety of his country.

The Perſian fleet arrives near Cape Sepias.

Before the Grecian confederates adopted theſe vigorous meaſures for their own defence, the Perſian army had marched, in three diviſions, from Thracian Doriſcus. They were accompanied by the fleet, which, coaſting about two hundred miles along the ſhores of Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, at length reached Cape Sepias, which is twenty miles north of Artemiſium. As they advanced ſouthward they laid under contribution Abdera [40], Thaſus, and Eion, the principal Grecian colonies in Thrace, as well as the cities of Torona, Olynthus, Potidæa, and other places of ſmaller note on the coaſt of Macedonia. The whole

[40] The places on the road prepared not only vaſt magazines of corn and other proviſions for the troops, but ſumptuous entertainments for Xerxes and his attendants. A ſaying of Megacreon of Abdera expreſſed the devouring rapacity of the invaders: "That the Abderites ought to thank the gods, that Xerxes feaſted but once a day; it would ruin Abdera to furniſh him with both a dinner and a ſupper."

whole fleet anchored, after performing the moſt tedious and dangerous part of the voyage, near the entrance of the rivers Axius and Lydius, which flow into the Thermaic gulph; and, after quitting theſe harbours, ſpent eleven days in ſailing eighty miles, along a ſmooth unbroken coaſt, from the northern extremity of this gulph to the general rendezvous near Cape Sepias.

Their army marches to the plains of Trachis.

The fleet was commanded by Achæmines and Areabignes, ſons of Darius. Xerxes, in perſon, headed his army, which made a conſiderable halt during the march at the Macedonian towns of Therma and Pella, and encamped in the Thracian plains on each ſide of the above-mentioned rivers Axius and Lydius. From hence they proceeded in three bodies; the diviſion neareſt the ſhore was commanded by Mardonius and Maſiſtes. Sergis, an experienced general, conducted the march through the higher parts of the country; and the great king, accompanied by Smerdones and Megabyzus, who occaſionally relieved him from the trouble of command, choſe the middle paſſage as the ſafeſt, the moſt convenient, and the moſt entertaining; for hitherto the Perſian expedition was rather a journey of pleaſure, than an undertaking of fatigue or danger. Xerxes examined at leiſure ſuch objects of nature or art as appeared moſt intereſting and curious. His fancy was amuſed, as he paſſed the various ſcenes of ſuperſtition, with the legendary tales carefully related by his conductors. He viewed, with pleaſure, the wide plains of Theſſaly, which bore indubitable marks of being once an extenſive lake; and contemplated with wonder, the lofty mountains which ſeparated that country from the reſt of Greece, and which evidently appear to be rent aſunder, and to have received their preſent form, from

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from the terrible operation of volcanos and earthquakes. After fully ſatisfying his curioſity, he joined, with the diviſion more immediately under his command, the remainder of the army, aſſembled and encamped on the wide plains of Trachis, about forty miles in circumference, ſtretching along the ſhore of Theſſaly, oppoſite to the ſtation of the Perſian fleet, and adjacent to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ [41].

Circumſtances that rendered the Spartans reſpectable to Xerxes.

For more than twelve months, Xerxes had never ſeen the face of an enemy. He had traverſed without reſiſtance the wide regions of Aſia, and the countries which in ancient times were deemed moſt warlike in Europe. All the territories beyond Trachis acknowledged his power; and the diſtricts of Greece, which ſtill preſented a ſcene of action to his invincible arms, were leſs extenſive than the meaneſt of his provinces. Yet it is probable that he heard, not without emotion, that an army of Greeks, headed by the Spartan king, had taken poſt at Thermopylæ, in order to diſpute his paſſage. What he had been told by Demaratus concerning the character and principles of that heroic people, he might now, when the danger drew near, be the more inclined to believe, from the ſuggeſtions of his own memory and experience. In the warmth of generous indignation, the Spartans, as we have already obſerved, had put to death the Perſian heralds ſent to demand their ſubmiſſion; but upon cool reflection, they were prompted, chiefly indeed by ſuperſtitious motives, to make atonement for a violation of the ſacred law of nations. When proclamation was made in the aſſembly, "Who would die for Sparta?" two citizens of great rank and eminence offered

[41] Herodot. Diodor. Plutarch. ibid.

offered themſelves as willing ſacrifices for the good of the community. Sperthies and Bulis (for theſe were their names) ſet out for Suſa on this ſingular errand. As they paſſed through Leſſer Aſia, they were entertained by Hydarnes, the governor of that province, who actually accompanied Xerxes, as commander of the immortal band, to which dignity he had been raiſed on account of his ſuperior merit. Hydarnes, among other diſcourſe with the Spartans, teſtified his ſurpriſe, that their republic ſhould be ſo averſe to the friendſhip of the king his maſter, who, he obſerved, as they might learn by his own example, well underſtood the value of brave men.—That if they complied with the deſires of Xerxes, he would appoint them governors over the other cities of Greece. The Spartans coolly replied, "That he talked of a matter of which he was not a competent judge.—With the condition and rewards of ſervitude he was indeed ſufficiently acquainted, but as to the enjoyments of liberty, he had never proved how ſweet they were; for if he had once made that experiment, he would adviſe them to defend their freedom not only with lances, but with hatchets [41]."

The ſame magnanimity diſtinguiſhed their behaviour at Suſa. The guards told them, that, when admitted into the preſence of Xerxes, they muſt obſerve the uſual ceremony of proſtrating themſelves on the ground. But the Spartans declared, "That no degree of violence could make them ſubmit to ſuch mean adulation: that they were not accuſtomed to adore a man, and came not thither for ſuch an impious purpoſe." They approached Xerxes, therefore, in an erect poſture,

[41] Herodot. l. vii. c. cxxxv.

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and told him with firmneſs, they were ſent to ſubmit to any puniſhment which he might think proper to inflict on them, as an atonement for the death of his heralds. Xerxes admiring their virtue, replied, "That he certainly ſhould not repeat the error of the Greeks, nor, by ſacrificing individuals, deliver the ſtate from the guilt of murder and impiety." The Spartans having received this anſwer, returned home, perſuaded that they had done their duty in offering private ſatisfaction; which, though not accepted, ought ſufficiently to atone for the public crime [42].

He ſends meſſengers to treat with them.

The example of theſe diſtinguiſhed patriots probably gave Xerxes a very favourable idea of the general character of their community. As he had not any particular quarrel with the Spartans, whoſe oppoſition, though it could not prevent, would certainly retard, his intended puniſhment of Athens, he ſent meſſengers to deſire them to lay down their arms; to which they replied, "Let him come, and take them." The meſſengers then offered them lands, on condition of their becoming allies to the great king; but they anſwered, "That it was the cuſtom of their republic to conquer lands by valour, not to acquire them by treachery." Except making theſe ſmart replies, they took not the ſmalleſt notice of the Perſians; but continued to employ themſelves as before their arrival, contending in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, entertaining themſelves with muſic and converſation, or adjuſting their long hair to appear more terrible to their enemies. The meſſengers of Xerxes, equally aſtoniſhed at what they ſaw and heard, returned to the Perſian camp, and deſcribed the unexpected event of their commiſſion, as well as the extraordinary

Magnanimity of the Spartans.

[42] Herodot. l. vii. c. cxxxiv. & ſeqq.

extraordinary behaviour of the Spartans; of which Xerxes desired an explanation from their countryman Demaratus [43]. The latter declared in general, that their whole carriage and demeanour announced a determined resolution to fight to the last extremity; but he found it difficult to make the Persian conceive the motives of men, who sought, at the certain price of their own lives, to purchase immortal renown for their country.—That a few individuals should be animated on some extraordinary occasions with this patriotic magnanimity, may easily be understood. Of this, history in all ages furnishes illustrious examples; but that a whole nation should be habitually impressed with the same generosity of character, cannot readily be believed, without reflecting on the institutions and manners of the Spartans. The laws of that celebrated people prohibiting, as it has been already observed [44], the introduction of wealth and luxury, and rigidly confining each individual to the rank in which he was born, had extinguished the great motives of private ambition, and left scarcely any other scope to the active principles of men, but the glory of promoting the interests of their republic. Their extraordinary military success, the natural fruit of their temperance and activity, had given them a permanent sense of their superiority in war, which it became their chief point of honour to maintain and to confirm, and as the law which commanded them to die, rather than break their ranks, or abandon their posts in battle, was, like all the ordinances of Lycurgus, conceived to be of divine authority, the influence of superstition happily conspired with the ardour of patriotism and the enthusiasm of valour,

[43] Herodot. l. vii. c. ccix. & seq.

[44] See above, c. iii. p. 119.

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lour, in preparing them to meet certain death in the ſervice of the public.

Xerxes waits four days, in hopes of changing their reſolution.

Xerxes could not be made to enter into theſe motives, or to believe, as Herodotus obſerves with inimitable ſimplicity, "that the Grecians were come to Thermopylæ, only as men deſirous to die, and to deſtroy as many of their enemies as they could, though nothing was more true." He therefore waited four days, continually expecting they would either retreat into their own country, or ſurrender their arms, agreeably to his meſſage. But as they ſtill continued to guard the paſſage, he aſcribed this conduct to obſtinacy or folly; and on the fifth day determined to chaſtiſe their inſolent oppoſition.

Gives orders to attack them and their confederates.

The Medes and Ciſſians, who, next to the Sacæ and Perſians, formed the braveſt part of his army, were commanded to attack theſe obſtinate Greeks, and to bring them alive into his preſence. The Barbarians marched with confidence to the engagement, but were repulſed with great ſlaughter. The places of thoſe who fell, were inceſſantly ſupplied with freſh troops, but they could not make the ſmalleſt impreſſion on the firm battalions of the Greeks; and the great loſs which they ſuſtained in the attempt, proved to all, and particularly to the king, that he had indeed many men, but few ſoldiers. The Sacæ, armed with their hatchets, next marched to the attack, but without better ſucceſs; and laſt of all, the choſen band of Perſians, headed by Hydarnes, deigned to diſplay their valour in what appeared to them a very unequal conteſt. But they ſoon changed their opinion when they came to cloſe with the enemy; for, ſays Herodotus, their numbers were uſeleſs, as they fought in a narrow paſs, and their ſhort pointed weapons were ill calculated to contend with

with the length of the Grecian ſpear. The Greeks had the advantage ſtill more in the ſuperiority of their diſcipline, than in the excellence of their armour. Tired with deſtroying, they retreated in cloſe order, and, when purſued unguardedly by the Barbarians, they faced about on a ſudden, and killed an incredible number of the Perſians, with ſcarcely any loſs to themſelves. Xerxes, who was ſeated on an eminence to behold the battle, frequently ſtarted in wild emotion from his throne; and fearing leſt he ſhould be deprived of the flower of his army, he ordered them to be drawn off from the attack. But as the Grecian numbers were ſo extremely inconſiderable, and as it ſeemed probable that the greateſt part of them muſt have ſuffered much injury in theſe repeated aſſaults, he determined next day to renew the engagement. Next day he fought without better ſucceſs than before; and after vainly endeavouring to force the paſs, both in ſeparate bodies, and with the collected vigour of their troops, the Perſians were compelled to abandon the enterpriſe, and diſgracefully to retire to their camp.

His troops are repelled.

It was a ſpectacle which the world had never ſeen before, and which it was never again to behold, the perſevering intrepidity of eight thouſand men, reſiſting the impetuous fury of an army compoſed of millions. The pertinacious valour of Leonidas, and of his little troop, oppoſed, and might have long retarded, the progreſs of the Barbarians. But it was the fate of Greece always to be conquered rather by the treachery of falſe friends, than by the force of open enemies. When Xerxes knew not what meaſures to purſue in order to effect his purpoſe, and felt the inconvenience of remaining long in the ſame quarters with ſuch an immenſe number of men, a perfidi-

The Greeks betrayed by Epialtes;

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ous Greek, induced by the hopes of reward, offered to remove his difficulties [45]. The name of the traitor was Epialtes, and he was a native of the obſcure diſtrict of Mœlis, which ſeparates the frontiers of Theſſaly and Phocis. His experience of the country made him acquainted with a paſſage through the mountains of Oeta, ſeveral miles to the weſt of that guarded by Leonidas. Over this unfrequented path he undertook to conduct a body of twenty thouſand Perſians, who might aſſault the enemy in rear, while the main body attacked them in front. By this means, whatever prodigies of valour the Greeks might perform, they muſt be finally compelled to ſurrender, as they would be incloſed on all ſides among barren rocks, and inhoſpitable deſerts.

who conducts a Perſian detachment over the mountains.

The plan ſo judiciouſly concerted, was carried into immediate execution. On the evening of the ſeventh day after Xerxes arrived at the Straits, twenty thouſand choſen men left the Perſian camp, commanded by Hydarnes, and conducted by Epialtes. All night they marched through the thick foreſts of oak which abound in thoſe parts; and by day-break they had advanced near to the top of the hill. But how much were they ſurpriſed to ſee the firſt rays of the morning reflected by the glittering ſurfaces of Grecian ſpears and helmets! Hydarnes was afraid that this guard, which ſeemed at no great diſtance, had been alſo compoſed of Lacedæmonians; but a nearer approach ſhewed that they conſiſted of a thouſand Phocians, whom the foreſight of Leonidas had ſent to defend this important but unknown paſs, which chance or treachery might diſcover to the Perſians. The thick ſhade of the trees long concealed the enemy

[45] Herodot. l. vii. c. ccxii. & ſeq.

enemy from the Greeks; at length the ruſtling of the leaves, and other noiſe occaſioned by the motion of twenty thouſand men, diſcovered the imminence of danger; the Phocians with great intrepidity flew to their arms, and prepared, if they ſhould not conquer, at leaſt to die gallantly. The compact firmneſs of their ranks, which might have reſiſted the regular onſet of the enemy, expoſed them to ſuffer much from the immenſe ſhower of darts which the Perſians poured upon them. To avoid this danger, they too raſhly abandoned the paſs which they had been ſent to guard, and retired to the higheſt part of the mountain, not doubting that the enemy, whoſe ſtrength ſo much exceeded their own, would follow them thither. But in this they were diſappointed; for the Perſians prudently omitting the purſuit of this inconſiderable party, whom to defeat they conſidered as a matter of little moment, immediately ſeized the paſſage, and marched down the mountain with the utmoſt expedition, in order to accompliſh the deſign ſuggeſted by Epialtes.

Alarm in the Grecian camp.

Meanwhile obſcure intimations from the gods had darkly announced ſome dreadful calamity impending on the Greeks at Thermopylæ. The appearance of the entrails, which were carefully inſpected by the Augur Magiſtias, threatened the Spartans with death; but when, or by what means, it did not clearly appear, until a Grecian deſerter, a native of the city Cymé in Ionia, named Tyraſtiades, arrived with information of the intended march of the Perſians acroſs the mountain. Animated by the love of his country, this generous fugitive had no ſooner diſcovered the treacherous deſign of Epialtes, than he determined, at the riſk of his life, and ſtill more at the

riſk

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risk of being subjected to the most excruciating tortures, to communicate his discovery to the Spartan king [46]. Zeal for the safety of Greece gave swiftness to his steps, and he appeared in the Grecian camp a few hours after the Persians, conducted by Epialtes, had left the plains of Trachis. Leonidas immediately called a council of war, to deliberate upon the measures necessary to be taken in consequence of this information, equally important and alarming. All the confederates of Peloponnesus, except the Spartans, declared their opinion, that it was necessary to abandon a post, which, after the double attack announced to them should take place, it would be impossible with any hopes of success to maintain. As their exertions could not be of any avail to the public cause, it was prudent to consult their private safety; and while time was yet allowed them, to retire to the isthmus of Corinth, where joining the rest of the auxiliaries, they might be ready to defend the Grecian peninsula against the fury of the barbarians. It belonged to Leonidas to explain the sentiments of the Spartans. The other inhabitants of Peloponnesus, he observed, might follow the dictates of expediency, and return to the Isthmus, in order to defend their respective territories; but glory was the only voice which the Spartans had learned to obey. Placed in the first rank by the general consent of their country, they would rather die than abandon that post of honour; and they were determined, therefore, at the price of their lives, to purchase immortal renown, to confirm the pre-eminence of Sparta, and to give an example of patriotism, worthy of being admired, if it should not be imitated, by posterity.

Magnanimity of Leonidas.

The

[46] Herodot. l. vii. c. ccxix & seq.

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The dread of unavoidable and immediate death deterred the other allies from concurring with this magnanimous reſolution. The Theſpians alone, amounting to ſeven hundred men, declared they would never forſake Leonidas. They were conducted by the aged wiſdom of Demophilus, and the youthful valour of Dithyrambus. Their republic was united in the ſtricteſt alliance with Sparta, by which they had often been defended againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of the Thebans. Theſe circumſtances added force to their natural generoſity of ſentiment, and determined them, on this occaſion, to adhere with ſtedfaſt intrepidity to the meaſures of their Spartan allies. As the Theſpians remained at Thermopylæ from inclination, and from principles of diſtinguiſhed bravery, the Thebans were detained by the particular deſire of Leonidas, who was not unacquainted with the intended treachery of their republic. The four hundred men whom that perfidious community had ſent to accompany his expedition, he regarded rather as hoſtages than auxiliaries; nor was he unwilling to employ their doubtful fidelity in a deſperate ſervice. He thought that they might be compelled by force, or ſtimulated by a ſenſe of ſhame, to encounter the ſame dangers to which the Spartans and Theſpians voluntarily ſubmitted; and without diſcovering his ſuſpicion of their treachery, he had a ſufficient pretence for retaining them, while he diſmiſſed his allies of Peloponneſus, becauſe the Theban territories, lying on the north ſide of the iſthmus of Corinth, would neceſſarily be expoſed to hoſtility and devaſtation, whenever the barbarians ſhould paſs the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Beſides the Theſpians [47] and Thebans, the troops who remained

Seven hundred Theſpians determine to remain with Leonidas;

who detains the perfidious Thebans.

[47] From the narrative of Herodotus, it would ſeem that the Theſpians alone voluntarily remained with Leonidas and the

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mained with Leonidas conſiſted of three hundred Spartans, all choſen men, and fathers of ſons. This valiant band, with unanimous conſent, ſolicited their general to dedicate to the glory of Greece, and their own, the important interval yet allowed them, before they were ſurrounded by the Perſians. The ardour of Leonidas happily conſpired with the ready zeal of the ſoldiers. He therefore commanded them to prepare the laſt meal of their lives, and to ſup like men who ſhould to-morrow dine in Elyſium. His own example confirmed the propriety of the command, for he took an abundant repaſt, in order to furniſh ſtrength and ſpirits for a long continuance of toil and danger.

The Greeks ſurpriſe the Perſian camp in the night.

It was now the dead of night, when the Spartans, headed by Leonidas, marched in a cloſe battalion towards the Perſian camp, with reſentment heightened by deſpair[43]. Their fury was terrible; and rendered ſtill more deſtructive through the defect of Barbarian diſcipline; for the Perſians having neither advanced guards, nor a watch word, nor confidence in each other, were incapable of adopting ſuch meaſures for defence, as

the Spartans. Yet the inſcription which he cites makes the whole number who fought at Thermopylæ amount to four thouſand.

Μυριασιν ποτε τηδε τριηκοσιαις εμαχοντο
Εκ Πελοποννησου χιλιαδες τετορες.

Iſocrates likewiſe (p. 164.) ſays, that ſome Peloponneſians remained to fight.

[43] Diodor. l. xi. p. 247. The nocturnal aſſault, omitted by Herodotus, is mentioned not only by Diodorus, but by Plutarch, Juſtin, and moſt other writers. The general panegyric of Plato (in Menex), or Lyſias (Orat. Funeb.) and of Iſocrates (Panegyr.) required not their deſcending into ſuch particulars. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances, I ſhould have omitted this incident, if it had appeared inconſiſtent with the honeſt narrative of Herodotus.

as the ſudden emergency required. Many fell by the Grecian ſpear, but much greater multitudes by the miſtaken rage of their own troops, by whom, in the midſt of this blind confuſion, they could not be diſtinguiſhed from enemies. The Greeks, wearied with ſlaughter, penetrated to the royal pavillion; but there the firſt alarm of noiſe had been readily perceived, amidſt the profound ſilence and tranquillity which uſually reigned in the tent of Xerxes; the great king had immediately eſcaped, with his favourite attendants, to the farther extremity of the encampment. Even there, all was tumult, and horror, and deſpair; the obſcurity of night increaſing the terror of the Perſians, who no longer doubted that the detachment conducted by Epialtes, had been betrayed by that perfidious Greek; and that the enemy, reinforced by new numbers, now co-operated with the traitor, and ſeized the opportunity of aſſailing their camp, after it had been deprived of the diviſion of Hydarnes, its principal ornament and defence.

Battle of Thermopylæ.

The approach of day diſcovered to the Perſians a dreadful ſcene of carnage; but it alſo diſcovered to them that their fears had multiplied the number of the enemy, who now retreated in cloſe order to the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. Xerxes, ſtimulated by the fury of revenge, gave orders to purſue them; and his terrified troops were rather driven than led to the attack, by the officers who marched behind the ſeveral diviſions, and compelled them to advance by menaces, ſtripes, and blows. The Grecians, animated by their late ſucceſs, and perſuaded that they could not poſſibly eſcape death on the arrival of thoſe who approached by way of the mountain, bravely halted in the wideſt part of the paſs, to receive the charge of the enemy. The

ſhock

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ſhock was dreadful, and the battle was maintained on the ſide of the Greeks with the moſt perſevering intrepidity, and the moſt deſperate valour. After their ſpears were blunted or broken, they attacked ſword in hand, and their ſhort, but maſſy and well-tempered weapons, made an incredible havock. Their progreſs was marked by a line of blood, when a Barbarian dart pierced the heart of Leonidas. The conteſt was no longer for victory and glory, but for the ſacred remains of their king. Four times they diſpelled the thickeſt globes of Perſians; but as their unexampled valour was carrying off the ineſtimable prize, the hoſtile battalions were ſeen deſcending the hill, under the conduct of Epialtes. It was now time to prepare for the laſt effort of generous deſpair. With cloſe order and reſolute minds, the Greeks, all collected in themſelves, retired to the narroweſt part of the ſtrait, and took poſt behind the Phocian wall, on a riſing ground, where a lion of ſtone was afterwards erected in honour of Leonidas. As they performed this movement, fortune, willing to afford every occaſion to diſplay their illuſtrious merit, obliged them to contend at once againſt open force and ſecret treachery. The Thebans, whom fear had hitherto reſtrained from defection, ſeized the preſent opportunity to revolt; and approaching the Perſians with out-ſtretched arms, declared that they had always been their friends; that their republic had ſent earth and water, as an acknowledgment of their ſubmiſſion to Xerxes; and that it was with the utmoſt reluctance, they had been compelled by neceſſity to reſiſt the progreſs of his arms. As they approached to ſurrender themſelves, many periſhed

periſhed by the darts of the Barbarians; the remainder ſaved a periſhing life, by ſubmitting to eternal infamy. Meanwhile the Lacedæmonians and Theſpians were aſſaulted on all ſides. The neareſt of the enemy beat down the wall, and entered by the breaches. Their temerity was puniſhed by inſtant death. In this laſt ſtruggle every Grecian ſhewed the moſt heroic courage; yet if we believe the unanimous report of ſome Theſſalians, and others who ſurvived the engagement, the Spartan Dioneces deſerved the prize of valour. When it was obſerved to him, that the Perſian arrows were ſo numerous, that they intercepted the light of the ſun, he ſaid it was a favourable circumſtance, becauſe the Greeks now fought in the ſhade. The brothers Alpheus and Maron are likewiſe particularized for their generous contempt of death, and for their diſtinguiſhed valour and activity in the ſervice of their country. What theſe, and other virtues could accompliſh, the Greeks, both as individuals, and in a body, had already performed; but it became impoſſible for them longer to reſiſt the impetuoſity and weight of the darts and arrows, and other miſſile weapons, which were continually poured upon them; and they were finally not deſtroyed or conquered, but buried under a trophy of Perſian arms. Two monuments were afterwards erected near the ſpot where they fell; the inſcription of the firſt announced the valour of an handful of Greeks [49], who had reſiſted

[49] Iſocrates, p. 164. makes the Spartans who fought at Thermopylæ amount to one thouſand. Diodorus, l. xi. p. 410. agrees with Herodotus, whoſe narrative is followed in the text. The Theſpians, therefore, were, according to the

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ſiſted three millions of Barbarians: the ſecond was peculiar to the Spartans, and contained theſe memorable words: "Go, ſtranger, and declare to the Lacedæmonians, that we died here in obedience to their divine laws [50]."

the moſt probable accounts, twice as numerous as the Spartans; although the latter have carried away all the glory of this ſingular exploit.

[50] Ω ξεινε αγγειλον Λακεδαιμονιοις ὁτι τηδε
Κειμεθα τοις κεινων ῥημασι πειθομενοι.
Herodot. c. cxxviii.

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CHAP. X.

Sea Fight off Artemiſium—Xerxes ravages Phocis.—Enters Attica.—Magnanimity of the Athenians.—Sea Fight off Salamis.—Xerxes leaves Greece.—His miſerable Retreat.—Campaign of Mardonius.—Battles of Platæa and Mycalé.—Iſſue of the Perſian Invaſion.

CHAP. X.

Diſaſter of the Perſian fleet on the coaſt of Theſſaly.

DURING the military operations at Thermopylæ, the Grecian fleet were ſtationed in the harbour of Artemiſium, the northern promontory of Euboœa. That of the Perſians, too numerous for any harbour to contain, had anchored in the road that extends between the city of Caſtanæa and the promontory of Sepias, on the coaſt of Theſſaly. Here this formidable armada ſuffered the calamities foretold by the wiſdom of Artabanus. In a converſation with Xerxes, that prudent old man had warned him againſt two enemies, the ſea and the land, from whom his own raſh inexperience ſeemed not to apprehend any danger. Yet both theſe enemies occaſioned dreadful misfortunes to the Perſians, whoſe numbers firſt expoſed them to be deſtroyed at ſea by a tempeſt, and afterwards to periſh on land by a famine. The firſt line of their fleet was ſheltered by the coaſt of Theſſaly; but the other lines, to the number of ſeven, rode at anchor, at ſmall intervals, with the prows of the veſſels turned to the ſea. When they adopted this arrangement, the waters were ſmooth, the ſky clear, the weather calm and ſerene; but on the morning of the ſecond day after their

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their arrival on the coaſt, the ſky began to lour, and the appearance of the heavens grew threatening and terrible. A dreadful ſtorm of rain and thunder ſucceeded; and, what was more alarming, the billows began to riſe to an amazing height, occaſioned by a violent Helleſpontin, or north-eaſt wind, which, when it once begins to blow in thoſe ſeas with any conſiderable force, ſeldom ceaſes for ſeveral days. The neareſt veſſels were ſaved by hauling under the ſhore: of the more remote many were driven from their anchors; ſome foundered at ſea, others ſplit on the promontory of Sepias, and ſeveral bulged on the ſhallows of Melibæa. Three days the tempeſt raged with unabating fury. Four hundred gallies were deſtroyed by its violence, beſides ſuch a number of ſtoreſhips and tranſports, that the Perſian commanders, ſuſpecting that this diſaſter might occaſion the revolt of the Theſſalians, fortified themſelves with a rampart of conſiderable height, entirely compoſed of the ſhattered fragments of the wreck [1].

The Perſians ſail to the Pegaſian bay.

This bulwark was ſufficient to protect them againſt the irruptions of the Greeks; but it could not defend them againſt the moſt dangerous fury of the waves. In a ſhort time, therefore, they quitted their inſecure ſtation at Sepias, and with eight hundred ſhips of war, beſides innumerable veſſels of burthen, ſailed into the Pegaſean bay, and anchored in the road of Apheté, which, at the diſtance of a few miles, lies directly oppoſite to the harbour of Artemiſium.

The Grecians had poſted centinels on the heights of Eubœa to obſerve the conſequences of the

[1] Herodot. l. vii. c. clxxxviii. & ſeq. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. c. xii.

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the ſtorm, and to watch the motions of the enemy. When informed of the dreadful diſaſter which had befallen them, they poured out a joyous libation, and ſacrificed, with pious gratitude, to "Neptune the Deliverer; but the near approach of ſuch a ſuperior force ſoon damped their tranſports of religious feſtivity. Neptune had favoured them in the ſtorm, yet he might aſſiſt their enemies in the engagement. In the council of war, called to deliberate on this important ſubject, it was the general opinion of the commanders, that they ought immediately to retire ſouthward. The Eubœans, whoſe coaſts muſt have thus been abandoned to the fury of invaders, were peculiarly intereſted in oppoſing this puſillanimous reſolution. The paſſage into the continent of Greece, they obſerved, was ſtill guarded by the magnanimity of Leonidas, and the bravery of the Spartans. Following this generous example, the Grecian fleet, however inferior in ſtrength, ought to reſiſt the Perſians, and to protect the eſtates and families of a rich and populous iſland [2]. This remonſtrance had not any effect on the determined purpoſe of Euribiades the Spartan, who, on account of the ancient pre-eminence of his republic, was entruſted with the command of the fleet; an honour rather due to the perſonal merit of Themiſtocles, and the naval ſuperiority of Athens.

The commanders of the Grecian fleet think of retiring ſouthward;

To the Athenian commander the Eubœans ſecretly applied, and, by a preſent of thirty talents, engaged him to uſe his influence to retain the Grecian armament for the defence of their coaſts. Themiſtocles was well pleaſed at being bribed into a meaſure which good ſenſe and diſcernment

but are prevailed on to remain at Artemiſium, by the addreſs of Themiſtocles.

[2] Herodot. l. viii. c. ii. & ſeq.

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cernment approved. By a proper diſtribution of only eight talents, he brought over the other captains to his opinion, and thus effectually promoted the intereſt, and ſecured the good-will, of the Euboeans, while he retained for himſelf an immenſe ſum of money, which might be uſefully employed, on many future occaſions, in fixing, by largeſſes and expenſive exhibitions, the fluctuating favour of his fellow-citizens.

Both ſides prepare for battle.

Meanwhile the Perſians, having recovered from the terrors of the ſtorm, prepared for the engagement. As they entertained not the ſmalleſt doubt of victory, they determined, not to begin the attack, until they had ſent two hundred of their beſt ſailing veſſels around the iſle of Euboea, to intercept the expected flight of the enemy through the narrow Euripus. In order to conceal this deſign they ordered the detached ſhips to ſtand out to ſea until they loſt ſight of the eaſtern coaſt of Euboea, ſailing behind the little iſland of Sciathus, and afterwards ſhaping their courſe by the promontories of Caphaneus and Gereſtus. The ſtratagem, concerted with more than uſual prudence, was, however diſcovered to the Greeks by Scyllias, a native of Scyoné, now ſerving in the Perſian fleet, but who had long languiſhed for an opportunity of deſerting to his countrymen. While the attention of the Barbarians was employed in the preparations neceſſary for their new arrangement, Scyllias availed himſelf of his dexterity in diving, to ſwim, unperceived, to a boat which had been prepared at a ſufficient diſtance, in which he fortunately eſcaped to Artemiſium. He immediately gained admittance to the Grecian council, where the boldneſs of his enterpriſe gave perſuaſion to his words. In conſequence of his ſeaſonable and important information, the Greeks determined

termined to continue till midnight in the harbour, and then weighing anchor, to ſail in queſt of the fleet which had been ſent out to prevent their eſcape. But this ſtratagem, by which they would have met the art of the enemy with ſimilar addreſs, was not carried into execution. The advice-boats, which had been immediately diſpatched to obſerve the progreſs of the Perſians, returned before evening, without having ſeen any ſhips approaching in that direction.

The firſt ſea-fight at Artemiſium.

This intelligence was welcome to the Greeks, who were unwilling, without evident neceſſity, to abandon their preſent ſituation. The enemy, who had lately ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the ſtorm, were now further weakened by a conſiderable diminution of their fleet. The ſtrength of the adverſe parties being thus reduced nearer to an equality, the weaker ſeized the opportunity to diſplay their courage in fight, and their ſuperior ſkill in naval action. About ſun-ſet they approached in a line, and offered battle to the Perſians. The latter did not decline the engagement, as their ſhips were ſtill ſufficiently numerous to ſurround thoſe of their opponents. At the firſt ſignal the Greeks formed into a circle, at the ſecond they began the fight. Though crowded into a narrow compaſs, and having the enemy on every ſide, they ſoon took thirty of their ſhips, and ſunk many more. Night came on, accompanied with an impetuous ſtorm of rain and thunder; the Greeks retired into the harbour of Artemiſium; the enemy were driven to the coaſt of Theſſaly. As the wind blew from the ſouth, the dead bodies and wrecks daſhed with violence againſt the ſides of their ſhips, and diſturbed the motion of their oars. The Barbarians were ſeiſed with conſternation and deſpair; for ſcarcely had they time to breath, after

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the former ſtorm and ſhipwreck near Mount Pelion, when they were compelled to a dangerous ſea-fight; after darkneſs put an end to the battle, they were again involved in the gloom and horrors of a nocturnal tempeſt. By good fortune, rather than by deſign, the greateſt part of the fleet eſcaped immediate deſtruction, and gained the Pegaſean Bay. *Their* calamities were great, and unexpected; but the ſhips ordered to ſail round Eubœa met with a ſtill more dreadful diſaſter. They were overtaken by the ſtorm, after they had adventured further from the ſhore than was uſual with the wary mariners of antiquity. Clouds ſoon intercepted the ſtars, by which alone they directed their courſe. They were driven they knew not whither, by the force of the winds, or impelled by the impetuoſity of currents. In addition to theſe misfortunes, they were terrified by the thunder, and overwhelmed by the deluge; and after continuing during the greateſt part of the night the ſport of the elements, they all periſhed [3] miſerably, amidſt the ſhoals and rocks of an unknown coaſt.

The morning aroſe with different proſpects and hopes to the Perſians and Greeks. To the former it diſcovered the extent of their misfortunes; to the latter it brought a reinforcement of fifty-three Athenian ſhips. Encouraged by this favourable circumſtance, they determined again to attack the enemy, at the ſame hour as on the preceding day, becauſe their knowledge of the coaſt, and their ſkill in fighting their ſhips, rendered the duſk peculiarly propitious to their deſigns. At the appointed time, they ſailed towards the road of Apheté, and having cut off the Cicilian ſquadron

[3] Herodot. l. viii. c. xiii. Diodor. l. xi. c. xiii.

dron from the reſt, totally deſtroyed it, and returned at night to Artemiſium. CHAP. X.

The Perſian commanders being deeply affected with their repeated diſaſters, but ſtill more alarmed at the much-dreaded reſentment of their king, they determined to make one vigorous effort, for reſtoring the glory of their arms. By art and ſtratagem, and under favour of the night, the Greeks had hitherto gained many important advantages. It now belonged to the Perſians to chooſe the time for action. On the third day, at noon, they ſailed forth in the form of a creſcent, which was ſtill ſufficiently extenſive to infold the Grecian line. The Greeks, animated by former ſucceſs, were averſe to decline any offer of battle; yet it is probable that their admirals, and particularly Themiſtocles, would much rather have delayed it to a more favourable opportunity. Rage, reſentment, and indignation, ſupplied the defect of the Barbarians in ſkill and courage. The battle was longer, and more doubtful, than on any former occaſion; many Grecian veſſels were deſtroyed, five were taken by the Egyptians, who particularly ſignalized themſelves on the ſide of the Barbarians, as the Athenians did on that of the Greeks. The perſevering valour of the latter at length prevailed, the enemy retiring, and acknowledging their ſuperiority, by leaving them in poſſeſſion of the dead and the wreck. But the victory coſt them dear; ſince their veſſels, particularly thoſe of the Athenians, were reduced to a very ſhattered condition; and their great inferiority in the number and ſize of their ſhips, made them feel more ſenſibly every diminution of ſtrength. The ſecond ſea-fight at Artemiſium.

This circumſtance was ſufficient to make them think of retiring (while they might yet retire in ſafety)

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The Greeks ſail to the Saronic Gulph.

ſafety) to the ſhores of the Corinthian Iſthmus. The inclination to this meaſure received additional force from conſidering, that the Perſians, however unfortunate by ſea, had ſtill an immenſe army; whereas the principal hope of Greece centered in its fleet. While the commanders were occupied with theſe reflections, Abronychus, an Athenian, who had been entruſted with a galley of thirty oars, to cruiſe in the Malian bay, and to watch the event of the battle of Thermopylæ, arrived with an account of the glorious death of Leonidas. The engagements by ſea and land had been fought on the ſame day. In both the Greeks defended a narrow paſs, againſt a ſuperior power; and in both the Perſians had, with very different ſucceſs, attempted, by ſurrounding, to conquer them. The intelligence brought by Abronychus confirmed their reſolution of ſailing ſouthward; for it ſeemed of very little importance to defend the ſhores, after the enemy had obtained poſſeſſion of the centre of the northern territories. Having paſſed the narrow Euripus, they coaſted along the ſhore of Attica, and anchored in the ſtrait of the Saronic Gulph, which ſeparates the iſland of Salamis from the harbours of Athens [4].

Themiſtocles's ſtratagem for making the Ionians deſert their allies.

Before they left Artemiſium, Themiſtocles, ever watchful to promote the intereſt of his country, endeavoured to alienate [5] from the great king the affections of his braveſt auxiliaries. Contrary to the advice of the prudent Artabanus, Xerxes had conducted the Aſiatic Greeks to an unnatural expedition againſt their mother country. His wiſe kinſman in vain perſuaded him to ſend them back, becauſe it appeared equally diſhonourable and

[4] Herodot. l. viii. c. xxi.

[5] Ibid. l. viii. c. xxii.

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and dangerous to depend on the ſervice of men, which could only be employed in his favour at the expence of every principle of duty, and of every ſentiment of virtue. By hope and fear, by threats and promiſes, and chiefly by honouring them with marks of diſtinguiſhed preference, Xerxes had hitherto preſerved their reluctant fidelity. In order at once to deſtroy a connection which of its own accord ſeemed ready to diſſolve, Themiſtocles engraved on the rocks near the watering-place of Artemiſium the following words: "Men of Ionia, your conduct is moſt unjuſt in fighting againſt your anceſtors, and in attempting to enſlave Greece; reſolve, therefore, while it is yet in your power, to repair the injury.—If you cannot immediately deſert from the Perſian fleet, yet it will be eaſy for you to accompliſh this deſign, when we come to an engagement. You ought to remember, that yourſelves gave occaſion to the quarrel between us and the Barbarians; and farther, that the ſame duties which children owe to their parents, colonies owe to their mother-country [6]."

Xerxes advances with his army towards Attica.

When news arrived that the Grecian fleet had abandoned Artemiſium, Xerxes regarded this retreat of the enemy as equal to a victory. He therefore iſſued orders, that his naval force, after ravaging the coaſts of Eubœa, ſhould proceed to take poſſeſſion of the harbours of Athens; while at the head of his irreſiſtible army, he intended to make a victorious proceſſion, rather than a march, into the Attic territory. The road thither from Thermopylæ paſſed through the countries of Phocis and Bœotia, the latter of which had already acknowledged

[6] This ſentiment is the dictate of nature, and occurs often in the Roman as well as the Greek writers. "Quæ liberi parentibus ea coloni antiquæ patriæ debent." T. Livius.

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acknowledged his authority. The Phocians adhered to the cauſe of Greece; and were ſtill farther confirmed in their allegiance, after the Theſſalians, their inveterate enemies, had embraced the party of Xerxes. Such were the violent animoſities, which divided theſe hoſtile ſtates, that, in the opinion of Herodotus, whichever ſide the Theſſalians had taken, the Phocians would ſtill have oppoſed them. He might, perhaps, have extended the obſervation to the other principal republics. The enthuſiaſm of Athens and Sparta in defending the cauſe of Greece, rendered the rival ſtates of Thebes and Argos zealous in the ſervice of Perſia; and it is to be remembered, to the immortal glory of the friends of liberty and their country, that they had to ſtruggle with domeſtic ſedition, while they oppoſed and defeated a foreign invaſion.

Ravages Phocis.

Having entered the territory of Phocis, the Perſian army ſeparated into two diviſions, with a view to obtain more plentiful ſupplies of the neceſſaries of life, and to deſtroy more completely the poſſeſſions of their enemies. The moſt numerous diviſion followed the courſe of the river Cephiſſus, which flows from the Theſſalian mountains, to the lake Copais in Bœotia. The fertile banks of the Cephiſſus were adorned by Charadra, Neon, Elatæa, and other populous cities, all of which were burned or demoliſhed by the fury of Xerxes, and the reſentment of the Theſſalians. Hiſtorians particularly regret the deſtruction of the ſacred walls of Abbé, a city held in peculiar reſpect on account of the temple of Apollo, famed for its unerring oracles, and enriched from the earlieſt times by the pious donations of ſuperſtition. The inhabitants had in general abandoned their towns, and taken refuge in the moſt inacceſſible retreats of

of Mount Parnaſſus. But the natives of Abbé, vainly confiding for ſafety in the ſanctity of the place, became a prey to an undiſtinguiſhing rage, which equally diſregarded things ſacred and profane. The men periſhed by the ſword, the women by the brutal luſt of the Barbarians.

Extraordinary adventure of a detachment that attacked Delphi.

After committing theſe dreadful ravages, the principal diviſion of the army marched into Bœotia, by the way of Orchomenus. The ſmaller part (if either portion of ſuch an immenſe hoſt can be called ſmall) ſtretched to the right, along the weſtern ſkirts of Mount Parnaſſus, and traced a line of devaſtation from the banks of the Cephiſſus to the temple of Delphi. Such was the fame of the immenſe riches collected in this ſacred edifice, that Xerxes is ſaid to have been as well acquainted with their amount as with that of his own treaſury; and, to believe the adulation of his followers, he alone was worthy to poſſeſs that invaluable depoſitory. The Delphians having learned by the unhappy fate of Abé, that their religious employment could not afford protection, either to their property or to their perſons, conſulted the oracle, "Whether they ſhould hide their treaſures under-ground, or tranſport them to ſome neighbouring country?" The Pythia replied, "That the arms of Apollo were ſufficient for the defence of his ſhrine." The Delphians, therefore, confined themſelves to taking proper meaſures for ſaving their lives. The women and children were tranſported by ſea to Achaia; the men climbed to the craggy tops of Mount Cirphis, or deſcended to the deep caverns of Parnaſſus. Only ſixty perſons, the immediate miniſters of Apollo, kept poſſeſſion of the ſacred city. But, could we credit the teſtimony of ancient hiſtorians, it ſoon appeared that the gods had not abandoned Delphi:

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Delphi: ſcarcely had the Perſians reached the temple of Minerva the Provident, ſituated at a little diſtance from the town, when the air thickened into an unuſual darkneſs. A violent ſtorm aroſe; the thunder and lightning were terrible. At length the tempeſt burſt on Mount Parnaſſus, and ſeparated from its ſides two immenſe rocks, which rolling down with increaſed violence, overwhelmed the neareſt ranks of the Perſians. The ſhattered fragments of the mountain, which long remained in the grove of Minerva, were regarded by the credulity of the Greeks as a ſtanding proof of the miracle. But without ſuppoſing any ſupernatural intervention, we may believe, that an extraordinary event, happening on an extraordinary occaſion, would produce great terror and conſternation in the Barbarian army, ſince many of the nations which compoſed it, acknowledged the divinity of Apollo, and muſt therefore have been ſenſible of their intended impiety, in deſpoiling his temple. The awful ſolemnity of the place, conſpired with the horrors of the tempeſt, and the guilty feelings of their own conſciences. Theſe united terrors were ſufficient to diſturb all the rational principles of their minds, and even to confound the cleareſt perceptions of their ſenſes. They imagined, that they heard many ſounds, which they did not hear; and that they ſaw many phantoms, which they did not ſee. An univerſal panic ſeized them; at firſt they remained motionleſs, in ſilent amazement; they afterwards fled with diſordered ſteps, and wild deſpair. The Delphians, who perceived their confuſion, and who believed that the gods, by the moſt manifeſt ſigns, defended their favourite abode, ruſhed impetuouſly from their faſtneſſes, and deſtroyed great numbers of the terrified and unreſiſting enemy.

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enemy[7]. The remainder took the road of Bœotia, in order to join the main body under Xerxes, which having already deſtroyed the hoſtile cities of Theſpiæ and Plataea, was marching with full expectation to inflict complete vengeance on the Athenians.

Xerxes invades Attica;

The united army arrived in the Attic territory three months after their paſſage over the Helleſpont. They laid waſte the country, burned the cities, and levelled the temples with the ground. At length they took poſſeſſion of the capital; but the inhabitants, by a retreat no leſs prudent than magnanimous, had withdrawn from the fury of their reſentment.

which the Athenians had evacuated,

It was impoſſible for the Athenians at once to oppoſe the Perſian army, which marched from Bœotia, and to defend the weſtern coaſts of Greece againſt the ravages of the fleet. The inhabitants of Peloponneſus, deſpairing of being able to reſiſt the enemy in the open field, had begun to build a wall acroſs the iſthmus of Corinth, as their only ſecurity on the ſide of the land againſt the Barbaric invaſion. In theſe circumſtances, the Athenians, by the advice of Themiſtocles, embraced a reſolution which eclipſed the glory of all their former exploits. They abandoned to the Perſian rage their villages, their territory, their walls, their city itſelf, with the revered tombs of their anceſtors; their wives and children, and aged parents, were tranſported to the iſles of Salamis and Ægina, and to the generous city of Træzoné, on the Argolic coaſt, which, notwithſtanding the defection of Argos, the capital of that province, ſtedfaſtly adhered to the maxims of patriotiſm, and

[7] Herodot. l. viii. c. xxxvii. & ſeqq. & Diodor. l. xi. p. 250.

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and the dictates of virtue. The embarkation was made with ſuch haſte, that the inhabitants were obliged to leave behind them their houſehold furniture, their ſtatues and pictures, and in general the moſt valuable part of their property. But they were willing to relinquiſh all for the ſake of their country, which, they well knew, conſiſted not in their houſes, lands, and effects[7], but in that equal conſtitution of government, which they had received from their anceſtors, and which it was their duty to tranſmit unimpaired to poſterity. This conſtitution it was impoſſible for them to defend, unleſs they were determined, at the riſk of their lives, and of every thing dear to them, to maintain the general independence of the Grecian confederacy; the intereſt of which became doubly precious, by being thus inſeparably connected with their own.

and embarked in the fleet at Salamis.

The Athenians capable of bearing arms, or of handling an oar, embarked on board the fleet, ſtationed at Salamis. The ſhips equipped and manned by them alone, exceeded in number thoſe of all their allies together, although the combined force was conſiderably augmented by the naval ſtrength of Epirus and Acarnania, which, formerly doubtful and irreſolute, had been determined to the ſide of Greece by the event of the engagements at Artemiſium. The whole Grecian armament, thus increaſed, amounted to three hundred and eighty veſſels. That of the Perſians, which now took poſſeſſion of the Athenian harbours,

[7] Ου λιθοι, ουδε ξυλα ουδε
Τειχη τεκτονων αι πολεις εισιν,
Αλλ' οπου ποτ αν ωσιν ΑΝΔΡΕΣ
Αυτως σωζειν ειδοτες
Συταυθα τειχη και πολεις.

ALCÆUS, apud Ariſtid.

bours, lying to the ſouth of the ſtrait occupied by the Greeks, had alſo received a powerful reinforcement. The Locrians, Bœotians, and in general every people who had ſubmitted to their arms, readily ſupplying them with ſhips; and ſeveral of the Ægean iſlands having at length prepared the quota which they had formerly been commanded to furniſh. We are not exactly informed of the number or ſtrength of the additional ſquadron; but it was ſuppoſed fully to compenſate the loſs occaſioned by ſtorms and ſea-fights, and to reſtore the Perſian fleet to its original complement of twelve hundred ſail [8].

Xerxes determines to fight again at ſea.

Truſting to the immenſe ſuperiority of his armament, Xerxes was ſtill deſirous to make a trial of his fortune by ſea, notwithſtanding his former diſaſters on that element. But before he came to a final reſolution, he ſummoned a council of war, in order to hear the opinion of his maritime ſubjects or allies. The tributary kings of Tyre and Sidon, the leaders of the Egyptians, Cyprians, and Cilicians, ever ready to flatter the paſſions of their ſovereign, offered many frivolous reaſons in favour of the alternative to which they perceived him inclined. But in the fleet of Xerxes there was a Grecian queen named Artemiſia, widow of the Prince of Halicarnaſſus, and who had aſſumed the government of that city and territory for the benefit of her infant ſon. Compelled by the order of Xerxes, or perhaps irritated againſt the Athenians for ſome reaſons which hiſtory does not record, ſhe not only fitted out five ſhips to attend the Perſian expedition, but took upon herſelf the command of her little ſquadron, and on every occaſion conducted it with equal

Is powerfully diſſuaded from that meaſure by Artemiſia.

[8] Herodot. Diodor. ubi ſupra. & Plut. in Themiſtocle.

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equal ſkill and bravery. Such vigour of mind, united with ſo delicate a form, deſerved to excite admiration in every part of the world; but the manly ſpirit of Artemiſia becomes ſtill more admirable, when we conſider the ſevere reſtraints which have been in all ages impoſed on the female ſex, by the manners and climate of Aſia. Her ſuperior genius recommended her to the peculiar favour of Xerxes, who was obliged to eſteem in a woman the virtues which he himſelf wanted ſpirit to practiſe. Truſting to his advantageous opinion of her courage and fidelity, Artemiſia diſſented from the general voice of the allies, and even oppoſed the inclination of the prince. "Her former exploits on the coaſt of Euboea afforded ſufficient proof that her preſent advice was not the child of timidity. She had been ever forward to expoſe her perſon and her fame in the ſervice of the great king; but it was impoſſible to diſſemble the manifeſt ſuperiority of the Greeks in naval affairs. Yet were the two armaments as much on a foot of equality in point of bravery and experience, as they were unequal in numbers, what motive could induce Xerxes to venture another engagement at ſea? Was he not already in poſſeſſion of Athens, the great object of the war? The Spartans who had oppoſed his progreſs at Thermopylæ had reaped the juſt fruits of their temerity: Thoſe aſſembled at the iſthmus of Corinth might eaſily be involved in a ſimilar fate. The Peloponneſus might then be laid waſte by fire and ſword, which would complete the deſtruction of Greece. Inſtead of proceeding immediately to that peninſula, ſhould Xerxes chooſe to continue only a few weeks in the Attic territory, four hundred Grecian ſhips could not long be ſupplied with proviſions from the barren rocks of Salamis. Neceſſity muſt compel them to ſurrender, or drive them to their reſpective

reſpective cities, where they would become an eaſy prey to the Perſian arms." Theſe judicious obſervations were heard without approbation; the worſt opinion prevailed, being the beſt adapted to flatter the vanity of Xerxes.

Deliberations of the Greeks.

When the Grecian commanders obſerved that the enemy prepared to venture another engagement at ſea, they likewiſe aſſembled, to deliberate whether they ſhould continue in the ſtrait between Salamis and Attica, or proceed further up the gulph, towards the Corinthian Iſthmus. The latter propoſal was generally approved by the confederates of Peloponneſus, who anxiouſly deſired, in the preſent emergency, to approach as near as poſſible to their reſpective cities. Some haſtened to their ſhips, and hoiſted ſail, in order to depart; and it ſeemed likely that their example would be ſoon followed by the whole fleet. On board the ſhip of Themiſtocles was Mneſiphilus, formerly mentioned as the inſtructor of his youth, and who now accompanied him as his counſellor and friend. The experienced wiſdom of Mneſiphilus, readily diſcerned, that if the Greeks ſhould ſail from Salamis, it would be impoſſible to prevent the general diſperſion of their armament. He therefore exhorted Themiſtocles to endeavour, by all means poſſible, to prevent this fatal meaſure; and particularly to perſuade the Spartan admiral, Euribiades, to alter his preſent intention.

Guided by the abilities of Themiſtocles,

Themiſtocles readily embraced the opinion of his friend. Having waited on Euribiades, he obtained his conſent to call a ſecond aſſembly of the confederates. After they were fully convened, the Athenian called their attention to the ſtate of their affairs, when his diſcourſe was inſolently interrupted by Adimantus, the commander of the Corinthians,

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Corinthians, who had conſtantly diſcovered a particular ſolicitude for returning to the Iſthmus. Themiſtocles, no leſs prudent than brave, anſwered his reproaches with calmneſs, and then addreſſing himſelf to Euribiades, "The fate of Greece," ſaid he, "depends on the deciſion of the preſent moment, and that deciſion on you; if you reſolve to ſail to the Iſthmus, we muſt abandon Salamis, Megara, and Ægina; we ſhall be compelled to fight in an open ſea, where the enemy may fully avail themſelves of their ſuperior numbers; and as the Perſian army will certainly attend the motions of their fleet, we ſhall draw the combined ſtrength towards the Grecian peninſula, our laſt and only retreat. But if you determine to retain the ſhips in their preſent ſtation, the Perſians will find it impoſſible, in a narrow channel, to attack us at once with their whole force: we ſhall preſerve Megara and Salamis, and we ſhall effectually defend Peloponneſus; for the Barbarians being, as I firmly truſt, defeated in a naval engagement, will not penetrate further than Attica, but return home with diſgrace." He had ſcarcely ended his words, when Adimantus broke forth into new invectives, affecting ſurpriſe that Euribiades ſhould liſten to a man who, ſince the taking of Athens, had not any city to defend: that the Athenians ought *then* to have a voice in the council, when they could ſay they had a home. Themiſtocles replied, "that the Athenians had indeed undervalued their private eſtates and poſſeſſions, in compariſon of their political independence, and the general ſafety of Greece, and glorioufly abandoned their city in defence of their country. But notwithſtanding this ſacrifice for the public good, they had ſtill an home far more valuable than Corinth, two hundred ſhips of war well armed and manned, which no nation of Greece

Greece could reſiſt. That ſhould the confederates perſiſt in their preſent dangerous reſolution, the Athenians would in theſe ſhips embark their wives and families; deſert a country, which had firſt forſaken itſelf; and repair to the coaſt of Italy, where it was foretold by ancient oracles, that Athens ſhould, in ſome future time, form a great and flouriſhing ſettlement. That the Greeks would then remember and regret the advice of Themiſtocles, when, abandoned by the moſt conſiderable part of their allies, they became an eaſy prey to the Barbarian invader." The firmneſs of this diſcourſe ſhook the reſolution of the confederates; and it was determined by the majority to continue at Salamis.

Between this important reſolve and the engagement, there intervened a moment of the moſt anxious ſolicitude. The minds of men, impreſſed with the awful idea of the events about to be tranſacted, were thrown off their ordinary bias; and as the operations of nature, and the agency of inviſible beings, are always fondly connected in the imagination with the momentous concerns of human life, the Greeks felt, or believed they felt, extraordinary convulſions of the elements; they ſaw, or fancied they ſaw, hideous ſpectres in the air; and heard, or imagined they heard, the moſt terrible and threatening voices[9]. But all theſe ſtrange and ſupernatural appearances, which would otherwiſe have been doubtful or alarming, were proved, by a clear and explicit oracle, to foretel the deſtruction of the Barbarians.

Notwithſtanding this favourable intimation of the divine will, which was carefully improved by the wiſdom and eloquence of Themiſtocles, the Peloponneſians

ready to change their opinion;

[9] Lyſias Fun. Orat. Herodot. ibid.

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Peloponneſians were ready to return to their firſt determination. A veſſel arriving from the Iſthmus, brought advice that the fortifications there were almoſt completed; if the fleet retired to the neighbouring ſhore, the ſailors might, even after a defeat at ſea, take refuge behind their walls; but if conquered near the coaſts of Salamis, they would be for ever ſeparated from their families and friends, and confined, without hope or reſource, within the narrow limits of a barren iſland. In important alternatives, when the arguments on each ſide are almoſt equally perſuaſive, the party which we have embraced often appears the worſt, merely becauſe we have embraced it. Any new circumſtance or conſideration, is always capable of changing the balance, and we haſtily approve what we rejected after much deliberation. Leſt this propenſity ſhould, as there was much reaſon to fear, again diſconcert his meaſures, Themiſtocles determined to prevent the Greeks from the poſſibility of gratifying it. There commonly lived in his family a man named Sicinus, who at preſent accompanied him. He was originally a ſlave, and employed in the education of his children, but by the generoſity of his patron, he acquired the rank of citizen, with conſiderable riches. The firmneſs and fidelity of this man rendered him a proper inſtrument for executing a ſtratagem, which concealed, under the maſk of treachery, the enthuſiaſm of public virtue. Having received his inſtructions from Themiſtocles, he privately ſailed to the Perſian fleet, and obtaining admiſſion into the preſence of Xerxes, declared, "That he had been ſent by the captain of the Athenians, who could no longer endure the inſolence of his countrymen, to acquaint the great king, that the Grecians, ſeized with conſternation at the near approach of danger, had determined to make their

prevented by a daring meaſure of Themiſtocles.

their eſcape under cover of the night: that now was the time for the Perſians to atchieve the moſt glorious of all their exploits, and, by intercepting the flight of their enemies, accompliſh their deſtruction at once [10]. The deceit was believed; all day, and the greateſt part of the ſucceeding night, the Perſians were employed in ſecuring the ſeveral paſſages between the iſlands and the adjacent coaſt; and that nothing might be neglected that could contribute to their ſucceſs, they filled the little iſle, or rather rock, of Pſyttalea, lying between Salamis and the continent, with the flower of the Perſian infantry, who might be prepared to receive the miſerable remnant of the Greeks, who, after the expected defeat, would fly thither for refuge.

His interview with Ariſtides.

The firſt intelligence of theſe operations was brought to the Grecian fleet by Ariſtides the Athenian, who ſeems not to have availed himſelf of the general act of indemnity to return from baniſhment, but who readily embraced every opportunity to ſerve his country. Having with difficulty eſcaped in a ſmall veſſel from the iſle of Ægina, the generous patriot immediately communicated an account of what he had ſeen there to his rival and enemy, Themiſtocles, who, meeting his generoſity with equal frankneſs, made him the confidant of his ſecret. Their interview was as memorable as the occaſion; and, after a continued life of oppoſition and hatred, they now firſt agreed to ſuſpend their private animoſities, in order to promote the common intereſt of their country. As the Peloponneſian commanders were either wavering and irreſolute, or had determined to ſet ſail, Ariſtides was deſired to in-

[10] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxv

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form them of the arrangement which he had ſeen; but the conſideration of his country rendered his evidence ſuſpected, and it was imagined that he meant to ſacrifice the general intereſt of the confederates to the ſafety of the Athenian families in Salamis. But the arrival of a veſſel belonging to the iſle of Tenos confirmed the veracity of his report, and the Peloponneſians reſolved to fight, becauſe it was impoſſible to fly [10].

Sea-fight off the iſle of Salamis.

Before the dawn of day the Grecian ſhips were drawn up in order of battle; and the Perſians, who had been ſurpriſed at not finding them attempt to eſcape during night, were ſtill more ſurpriſed when morning diſcovered their cloſe and regular arrangement. The Greeks began with the ligh: their ſacred hymns and pœans—then broke at once from a thouſand voices their triumphant ſongs of war, accompanied as uſual by the animating ſound of the trumpet. The ſhores of Attica re-echoed to the rocks of Salamis and Pſyttalea. The Grecian acclamations filled the ſky. Neither their appearance nor their words betokened flight or fear, but rather determined intrepidity, and daring courage—yet was their valour tempered with wiſdom. Themiſtocles delayed the attack until the ordinary breeze ſhould ſpring up, which was no leſs favourable to the experience of the Grecian mariners, than dangerous to the lofty unwieldineſs of the Perſian ſhips [11]. The ſignal was then given for the Athenian line to bear down againſt that of the Phœnicians, which rode on the weſt, off the coaſt of Eleuſis; while the Peloponneſians advanced againſt the enemy's left wing placed on the eaſt, near the harbour of the Piræus. The Perſians, confiding

[10] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxix. & ſeqq.

[11] Id. Ibid.

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fiding in their number, and ſecure of victory, did not decline the fight. A Phœnician galley, of uncommon ſize and ſtrength, was diſtinguiſhed in the front of their line by every circumſtance of naval pomp. In the eagerneſs to engage, ſhe far outſtripped her companions; but her career was checked midway between the two fleets by an Athenian galley, which had ſailed forth to meet her. The firſt ſhock ſhattered her ſculptured prow, the ſecond buried her in the waves. The Athenians, encouraged by this glorious prelude, proceeded with their whole force, animating each other to the combat by a martial ſong: "Advance, ye ſons of Athens, ſave your country, defend your wives and children, deliver the temples of your gods, regain the ſacred tombs of your renowned forefathers; this day the common cauſe of Greece demands your valour." The battle was bloody and deſtructive, and diſputed on the ſide of the Perſians with more obſtinate reſiſtance than on any former occaſion; for, from the Attic coaſt, ſeated on a lofty throne on the top of Mount Ægialos, Xerxes obſerved the ſcene of action, and attentively remarked, with a view to reward and puniſh, the various behaviour of his ſubjects. The preſence of their prince operated on their hopes, and ſtill more powerfully on their fears. But neither the hope of acquiring the favour, nor the fear of incurring the diſpleaſure of a deſpot, could furniſh principles of action worthy of being compared with the patriotiſm and love of liberty which actuated the Greeks. To the dignity of their motives, as much as to the ſuperiority of their ſkill, the latter owed their unexampled ſucceſs in this memorable engagement. The foremoſt ſhips of the Phœnicians were diſperſed or ſunk. Amidſt the terror and confuſion occaſioned by their repulſe, they ran foul of thoſe which had been

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The Perſians totally defeated.

been drawn up in two lines behind them. The Athenians ſkilfully encircled them around, compreſſed them into a narrower ſpace, and increaſed their diſorder; they were at length entangled in each other, deprived of all power of action, and, to uſe the expreſſive figure of an eye-witneſs, "caught and deſtroyed like fiſh in a net[11]." Such was the fate of the right wing; while the Ionians, who, on the left, oppoſed the fleets of Peloponneſus and Ægina, furniſhed them with an opportunity to complete the victory. Many of the Aſiatic Greeks, mindful of the advice given by Themiſtocles, abandoned the intereſt of the great king, and openly declared for their countrymen; others declined the engagement; the remainder were ſunk and put to flight. Among thoſe which eſcaped was the ſhip of queen Artemiſia, who in the battle of Salamis diſplayed ſuperior courage and conduct: ſhe was cloſely purſued by an Athenian galley, commanded by Amenias, brother of the poet Æſchylus. In this extremity ſhe employed a very unwarrantable ſtratagem. The neareſt Perſian veſſel was commanded by Damaſithymus, a tributary prince of Calynda in Lycia, a man with whom Artemiſia was at variance. With great dexterity ſhe darted the beak of her galley againſt the Lycian veſſel. Damaſithymus was buried in the waves; and Amenias, deceived by this meaſure, equally artful and audacious, believed the veſſel of Artemiſia one of thoſe which had deſerted the Perſian intereſt. The Phœnician and Ionian ſquadrons (for that of the Egyptians had been exceedingly weakened by the action on the coaſt of Eubœa) formed the main ſtrength of the Perſian armament; after theſe were defeated, the ſhips at a diſtance ventured

[11] Æſchylus Perſæ.

ventured not to advance, but haſtily changing ſail, meaſured back their courſe to the Athenian and other neighbouring harbours. The victors, diſdaining to purſue them, dragged the moſt valuable part of the wreck to the coaſts of Pſyttalea and Salamis. The narrow ſeas were covered with the floating carcaſes of the dead, among whom were few Greeks, as even thoſe who loſt their ſhips in the engagement, ſaved their lives by ſwimming, an art which they univerſally learned as a neceſſary branch of education, and with which the Barbarians were totally unacquainted [12].

Xerxes had ſcarcely time to conſider and deplore the deſtruction and diſgrace of his fleet, when a new ſpectacle, not leſs mournful, offered itſelf to his ſight. The flower of the Perſian infantry had taken poſt, as we have already obſerved, on the rocky iſle of Pſyttalea, in order to receive the ſhattered remains of the Grecian armament, which, after its expected defeat, would naturally take refuge on that barren coaſt. But equally falſe and fatal was their conjecture concerning the event of the battle. The Greeks, diſembarking from their ſhips, attacked, in the enthuſiaſm of victory, thoſe aſtoniſhed troops, who, unable to reſiſt, and finding it impoſſible to fly, were cut down to a man. As Xerxes beheld this dreadful havoc, he ſtarted in wild agitation from his ſilver throne, rent his royal robes, and, in the firſt moment of his returning tranquillity, commanded the main body of his forces, poſted along the Athenian coaſt, to return to their reſpective camps.

From

[12] Before this period it was a law at Athens and other ſtates, τους παιδας διδασκισθαι γραμματα τε και νειν; that boys firſt learn reading and ſwimming. Sam. Petit. de Leg. Att. p. 11.

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Xerxes determines to leave Greece.

From that moment he reſolved to return with all poſſible expedition into Aſia. Yet did his fears and policy conceal, for a few days, the deſign, not only from the Grecian but from the Perſian generals. Mardonius alone was too well acquainted with the genius of his maſter, to believe that his concern for the ſafety of his illuſtrious perſon would allow him to remain longer than neceſſary in a country, which had been the ſcene of ſo many calamities. The artful courtier availed himſelf of the important ſecret, to divert the ſtorm of royal reſentment which threatened the principal author of this inglorious undertaking. In his firſt interview with Xerxes, he exhorted him, "not to be too deeply affected by the defeat of his fleet: that he had come to fight againſt the Greeks, not with rafts of wood, but with ſoldiers and horſes: that the valour of the Perſians had oppoſed all reſiſtance, and their invincible ſovereign was now maſter of Athens, the main object of his ambition: that having accompliſhed the principal end of the enterpriſe, it was time for the great king to return from the fatigues of war to the cares of government, for with three hundred thouſand choſen men he would undertake to proſecure his deſigns, and to complete his victory." Such is the language of adulation, too often held to princes. The other courtiers confirmed, by their approbation, the advice of Mardonius; and the Perſian monarch, while he obeyed the dictates of his own puſillanimity, ſeemed to leave Greece in reluctant compliance with the anxious ſolicitude of his ſubjects.

Mardonius remains there with 300,000 men.

The miſerable retreat of his army.

The remains of the Perſian fleet, frightened from the coaſt of Greece, returned to the harbours of Aſia Minor, and afterwards aſſembled and rendezvouſed, during the enſuing winter, in the

the port of Cymé. The tranſports were ordered to the Helleſpont, on the banks of which Xerxes arrived with his troops in forty-five days, after intolerable hardſhips and fatigue. Famine and peſtilence filled up the meaſure of their calamities; and, excepting the three hundred thouſand choſen men committed to Mardonius, a detachment of whom guarded the royal perſon to the coaſt, ſcarcely a remnant was left of ſo many millions [13]. The bridge oſtentatiouſly erected on the Helleſpont, would have preſented, had it remained intire, a mortifying monument of loſt greatneſs. But this magnificent fabric had been deſtroyed by a tempeſt: and ſuch is the obſcurity with which Xerxes returned from Greece, compared with the blaze of grandeur in which he arrived there, that it is uncertain whether he croſſed the channel in a Phœnician ſhip of war, or only in a fiſhing boat [14]. Having returned to Sardis, he endeavoured to compenſate for the diſappointment of ambition by the gratification of ſenſuality, and buried himſelf in pleaſures more infamous and degrading, and not leſs frightfully criminal, than all the diſgrace which his pride had incurred, and all the calamities which his ſubjects had either inflicted or ſuffered [15].

Meaſures taken by the Greeks after their victory.

When the Greeks had leiſure to examine the extent and completeneſs of their ſucceſs, they determined, in the firſt emotions of triumph and reſentment, to purſue the ſhattered remains of the enemy. That no Barbarian might eſcape, they purpoſed immediately to ſail northward, to deſtroy the Perſian bridge over the Helleſpont, and thus to intercept their return. This deſign was recommended,

[13] Οὐδεν μερος ὡς ἐπεσε ſays Herodotus, emphatically.
[14] Conter. Herod. Juſtin. Corn. Nepos.
[15] Herodot. & Diodor. ibid.

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mended, and chiefly ſupported by the Athenians, who having experienced the greateſt ſhare of the danger, felt moſt ſenſibly the joys of deliverance. But, upon more mature deliberation, it occurred that the Perſians were ſtill ſufficiently numerous to afford juſt grounds of terror. To their cowardice and inexperience, not to their want of ſtrength, the Greeks owed all their advantages over them; but if to their former calamities was added the impoſſibility of retreat, they might derive courage from deſpair, and, by efforts hitherto unexerted, repair the conſequences of their paſt errors and misfortunes. Theſe conſiderations, firſt ſuggeſted, it is ſaid, by Euribiades, the Spartan, were adopted by Themiſtocles, who convinced his countrymen, that the jealouſy of the Grecian gods, unwilling that one man ſhould be lord of Europe and Aſia, rather than their own proweſs, had given them the victory over Xerxes; a prince of ſuch folly and madneſs, that he had treated with equal irreverence things human and divine, deſtroyed the ſacred temples, overthrown the venerable altars and images, and impiouſly inſulted the gods of the Helleſpont with ſtripes and fetters. That it was the duty of the Athenians, after having glorioufly repelled the common enemy, to provide for the ſubſiſtence of their wives and families, to ſow their lands, rebuild their houſes, and thus to repair, by the moſt induſtrious activity, the dreadful ravages committed in their territories [as].

Bold ſtratagem of Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles had no ſooner perſuaded the Athenians to embrace his opinion, than he ſecretly diſpatched his confidant Sicinus to acquaint the great king with the danger which he had ſo nearly eſcaped,

[as] Herodot. l. viii. c. cviii. & ſeqq.

eſcaped, and to adviſe him to purſue his journey with all poſſible expedition. Xerxes readily believed a piece of information, which agreed with the ſuggeſtions of his own timidity. The rapidity of his march conſpired with other circumſtances above-mentioned in proving fatal to the lives of his followers; and the crafty Athenian, who knowing the unſtable affections of the multitude, wiſhed to deſerve the gratitude of a king, gained the double advantage of diſpelling ſooner than could otherwiſe have happened, that deſtructive cloud of Barbarians which hovered over his country, and of convincing their leader, that he was in part indebted for his ſafety to that very man whoſe counſels, rather than the arms of Greece, had occaſioned all his affliction and diſgrace.

The victory at Salamis terminated the ſecond act of the Perſian expedition, which has, with much propriety, been compared to a tragedy. The Greeks ſoon underſtood that, notwithſtanding the return of Xerxes, three hundred thouſand men, commanded by Mardonius, were cantoned for the winter in Thrace, Macedon, and Theſſaly, with a deſign to take the field early in the ſpring, and again to try the fortune of war. This intelligence deterred the Athenians from bringing home their wives and children, as they originally intended, from Træzené, Salamis, and Ægina, becauſe they had reaſon to dread that their country would experience new effects of Barbarian reſentment. It appears, however, that a few citizens, more ſanguine in their hopes than the reſt, returned to their ancient habitations; while the greater part continued on board the fleet, or went to reſide with their friends in the Peloponneſus.

According

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Employment of the Greeks during the winter.

According to modern ideas, it would be natural to expect, that under the apprehenſion of another formidable invaſion, the Greeks ſhould have employed the winter in raiſing contributions, levying and diſciplining troops, and concerting proper meaſures for the public defence. But ſuch preparations were in ſome degree unneceſſary, becauſe in the Grecian republics almoſt every citizen was a ſoldier; and the different ſtates were at all times too weakly united, to agree in any uniform plan of operations. Beſides, the cuſtoms and prejudices of that early age obliged them to obſerve many forms and ceremonies, which interfered with employments ſeemingly more uſeful, on ſuch an important emergency. We find, accordingly, that inſtead of increaſing or improving their military eſtabliſhment, the Greeks ſpent the winter [16] in dividing the ſpoil; aſſigning to the different commanders the prizes of conduct and valour; performing the laſt offices to the dead; celebrating their games and feſtivals; and diſplaying both in the multitude of their prayers, and in the magnificence of their offerings, the warmeſt gratitude to their protecting divinities. The dedications to the gods were intrinſically valuable. The rewards beſtowed on their generals were ſimple tokens of public eſteem. The firſt conſiſted in vaſes, ſtatues, and other ornaments of gold and ſilver; the ſecond in a wreath of pine, laurel, or olive: a circumſtance which made Tigranes the Perſian exclaim, "Heavens! againſt what men have we come to contend? inſenſible to intereſt, they fight only for glory!"

Of the Athenians and Themiſtocles,

It is not ſurpriſing, that the inſtitutions of Greece ſhould have deceived an untutored Barbarian,

[16] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxxi. & ſeqq.

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rian, when we conſider that even the modern philoſopher and hiſtorian, have been too often dazzled by their ſplendour. Yet notwithſtanding what Tigranes believed, and what, from the fond admiration of antiquity, many modern writers have aſſerted, the indiſcriminate praiſe of diſintereſtedneſs by no means belonged to the Grecians. When the commanders of their ſeveral ſhips and ſquadrons aſſembled to regulate the diſtribution of naval and military rewards, each captain, with a ſelfiſhneſs equally indelicate and unjuſt, arrogated to himſelf the firſt prize of merit; though moſt of them acknowledged the deſert of Themiſtocles as ſecond to their own [16]. This general aſſignment of the ſecond, while all alike aſſumed the firſt place, was equivalent to a public declaration in favour of the Athenian: and the honours which were conferred on him, both in his own country and in Sparta, ſufficiently confirmed the deciſion. The uſual marks of the public eſteem were not indeed attended with any immediate profit; but their conſequences were extremely beneficial. Supported by the favourable opinion of his countrymen, a commander by ſea or land frequently attained an authority, the exerciſe of which was equally adapted to flatter pride, and to gratify avarice. The behaviour of Themiſtocles, after he had acquired ſufficient merit with the public to juſtify his rapacity, affords one memorable example of this kind; and we ſhall meet with many more, in examining the ſubſequent events of the Grecian hiſtory. Inſtead of remaining at home, in order to concert a plan for repelling the danger which threatened his country, the Athenian commander ſailed with a little ſquadron to the Cyclades, laid theſe unfortunate iſlands under an heavy

[16] Herodot. l. viii. c. xxiii.

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heavy contribution, and without the participation, or even knowledge of his colleagues in command, enriched himſelf and his favourites[17].

Mardonius prepares to open the campaign.

On the approach of ſpring, Mardonius prepared to take the field. His army conſiſted of the Medes, Perſians, Scythians, and Indians; and though reduced from the millions which followed Xerxes to about three hundred thouſand men, it was thereby rather delivered from an uſeleſs incumbrance, than deprived of any real ſtrength. Before marching from Theſſaly, his ſuperſtition engaged him to conſult the Grecian oracles, and moved probably by an erroneous explanation of their ambiguous reſponſes, he determined to try the effect of negociation, before he had recourſe to arms. He might treat either with individuals, or with communities. By the former method, the Thebans aſſured him, that he might become maſter of Greece, without hazarding a battle. "You have only," ſaid they, "to ſend money to the leading men in the ſeveral republics. In this manner you will divide each ſtate into factions; engage them in a civil war; and, when exhauſted by mutual hoſtilities, they will readily ſubmit to your demands." Mardonius, inſtead of purſuing this judicious ſyſtem, which would probably have been ſucceſsful, ſent Alexander, king of Macedon, to treat with ſuch Athenians as had returned to their city. This illuſtrious ambaſſador, who boaſted an Argive extraction, was the tributary prince of a barbarous country; but of a country deſtined, in a future age, to attain empire and renown by the arts of Philip, and the arms of his immortal ſon. The firſt Alexander was peculiarly well qualified for executing the office with which Mardonius

Endeavours to detach the Athenians from their allies;

[17] Herodot. l. viii. c. lxxv.

nius had entruſted him, becauſe his family had long been connected with the republic of Athens, by the ſacred ties of hoſpitality. But his commiſſion was as unwelcome as his viſit was acceptable. The Athenians, therefore, delayed calling an aſſembly to hear and anſwer his diſcourſe, until the Spartans (who were appriſed of the intention of Mardonius) ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to aſſiſt at the deliberation. When all parties were convened, Alexander declared, "That he was ſent on the part of Mardonius, who had received a meſſage from the great king, intimating his will to forgive their paſt injuries, to reinſtate them in their poſſeſſions, to rebuild their houſes and temples, and to receive them into the number of his friends and confederates." Mardonius then ſpoke for himſelf: "What madneſs, O Athenians, can impel you to maintain war againſt a monarch, whom you cannot expect *ever* to conquer, nor hope *always* to reſiſt. You are acquainted with the number and proweſs of the troops under my command, which, formidable as they are, make but a ſmall part of the unbounded reſources of Xerxes. Every year he can invade you with an increaſing ſuperiority of ſtrength; ſubmit, therefore, to a power which it is impoſſible to oppoſe; profit, ere it be too late, of the diſpoſition of the great king, and accept the offer of an alliance which folly alone, not fortitude and firmneſs, can engage you to decline." Alexander endeavoured to add weight to theſe conſiderations, by obſerving, "That his paſt conduct had uniformly proved the ſincerity of his attachment to the Athenians; and that he was firmly convinced of the expediency, and even neceſſity of the meaſures now in agitation, otherwiſe he ſhould not have undertaken to propoſe them. He therefore exhorted them to reflect on the advantages which would accrue

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accrue to them from being alone, of all the Greeks, admitted into the alliance of Xerxes; to reflect alſo on the dreadful conſequences which would attend their refuſal, ſince their country, placed as a prize between the contending parties, would thereby be expoſed to inevitable deſtruction[18]."

but without ſucceſs.

As ſoon as Alexander had ended his diſcourſe, the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors repreſented to the aſſembly, "That they had been ſent on the part of their republic, to thwart the meaſures of the Barbarians; with whom, in order to reſent the quarrel of her Athenian allies, Sparta had engaged in a bloody and deſtructive war. Could the Athenians then, for whoſe ſake alone the war which now extended over all Greece was originally undertaken, abandon their friends and confederates, whoſe ſervices they had every reaſon to approve? Could they aſſociate with Barbarians, whoſe hoſtilities they had every reaſon to reſent? Sparta affectionately ſympathized with their ſufferings, in the loſs of their houſes, and their harveſts; yet the confederates in general had endeavoured to prevent or repair the unhappy conſequences of their loſs: they had maintained their wives and families, ſupported and educated their helpleſs children, cheriſhed and ſuſtained the declining years of their parents. Their generoſity was not yet exhauſted; if the Athenians ſhould be compelled again to abandon their country, they would again find the ſame hoſpitable reception in Peloponneſus; and their families, if it became neceſſary, would be maintained at the common expence, during the continuance of the war. Let them not, therefore, be deceived by the ſpecious words of the tyrant

[18] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxl.

tyrant Alexander, who, at the expence of truth, endeavoured to promote the intereſt of a tyrant like himſelf. The Athenians ought to remember, that neither juſtice, nor honour, nor fidelity, can be expected from Tyrants and Barbarians [16]." Having thus ſpoken, the Lacedæmonians, as well as Alexander, withdrew; and the Athenians, after a ſhort deliberation, anſwered both parties by the voice of Ariſtides, who, as archon, or chief magiſtrate, preſided in the aſſembly: firſt, to the Macedonian they replied, "That as they were ſufficiently acquainted with the ſtrength of Xerxes, he might have ſpared them the inſult of deſcribing its vaſt ſuperiority to their own. Yet, in defence of liberty, there was no power too great to oppoſe. Return, then, and tell Mardonius, that the Athenians will never make peace with Xerxes, while the ſun performs his annual courſe in the heavens; but that, truſting to the aſſiſtance of the gods and heroes, whoſe temples and images the tyrant has impiouſly deſtroyed, we will reſiſt him to the laſt extremity. To conclude: Come not a ſecond time to Athens with ſuch meſſages, the inſolence of which may make us forget that you are our friend, and connected with us by the ſacred ties of reciprocal hoſpitality." The anſwer given to the Lacedæmonian ambaſſadors was delivered in a ſtill higher ſtrain of patriotiſm: "That the Barbarians, or even the peaſants of Laconia, ſhould ſuppoſe us capable of coming to an accommodation with the Perſians, does not ſurpriſe us; but it is indeed ſurpriſing, that you, citizens of Sparta, ſhould entertain the ſame groundleſs fears; you, who have ſo often heard by report, and who, on ſo many occaſions, have yourſelves witneſſed the diſintereſted magnanimity of our republic.

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[16] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxlii.

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public. Know then, that the richeſt poſſeſſions on earth, that all the treaſures of the great king, are not ſufficient to ſeduce our unalterable attachment from Greece. The laws of God and man equally forbid our ingratitude; or if all ties of *duty* were diſſolved, our *reſentment* againſt the Perſians would reſtrain us. We muſt avenge our plundered altars, our proſtrate images, our deſolated temples. We muſt avenge the cauſe of our allies, and our own; for all the Greeks have the ſame religion, language, lineage, and manners, and, while an Athenian ſurvives, will never, with his conſent, make peace with the Barbarians. We acknowledge with gratitude your proffered kindneſs to our families; but henceforth we hope to provide for them, without giving the confederates any trouble on their account. What we requeſt of you is, that your army march with all poſſible expedition towards Bœotia, that our united reſiſtance may ſtop the progreſs of the Barbarian, who, as ſoon as he is appriſed of our determined hoſtility, will not fail to proceed ſouthward, to invade Attica a ſecond time [17]."

The Peloponneſians deſert the common cauſe.

This conjecture was juſtified by the event. The Perſians within a few weeks marched into Bœotia, but the Athenians looked in vain for the expected arrival of their Spartan auxiliaries. To have witneſſed the proceedings juſt deſcribed in the Athenian aſſembly, we ſhould have imagined, that there was a generous conteſt of patriotiſm between the two republics; and that the happineſs and glory of Greece, not the intereſt of their particular communities, was the great object of their ambition. But the Greeks had often much patriotiſm in their ſpeeches, when there was little in their

[17] Herodot. l. viii. c. cxl. & ſeqq.

their hearts; and the Spartans, who had lately employed ſuch powerful argument to engage Athens in defence of the common cauſe, totally abandoned their principles, whenever it ſuited their convenience [17]. Inſtead of iſſuing forth in order to ſupport their allies in Bœotia, they remained within the Iſthmus, and endeavoured to fortify that inlet into their territory, with ſuch additional walls and bulwarks, as might render it impenetrable. The work was now complete; and the Peloponneſians, ſecure as they imagined behind this ſolid rampart, equally diſregarded the ſafety, and deſpiſed the reſentment, of their northern allies. CHAP. X.

Magnanimity of the Athenians.

The Athenians, a ſecond time forſaken by their confederates, were obliged again to deſert their country. They had ſcarcely ſailed to their families in Salamis, when Attica was invaded by the Perſians. While the fugitives continued in that iſland, they received another embaſſy from Mardonius, offering them the ſame terms which they had formerly rejected. They ſtill perſiſted in rejecting them; in conſequence of which, they beheld, without apparent uneaſineſs, from the ſhores of Salamis, their territories [18] again laid waſte, their cities, and villas, and temples, devoured by the flames, and every thing that had eſcaped the fury of the firſt invaſion, deſtroyed or conſumed by the ſecond. After committing theſe ravages, which, as he had already obtained complete poſſeſſion of the country, deſerve to be conſidered only as the effect of a childiſh reſentment, Mardonius returned into Bœotia, that his troops might be ſupplied with proviſions, and that, ſhould the

[17] Lyſias, Orat. Funeb. [18] Herodot. l. ix. c. i. & ſeqq.

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enemy offer them battle, they might engage in a country better adapted than Attica to the operations of cavalry.

They remonſtrate with their confederates.

The Athenians, who had been ſent from Salamis to remonſtrate with the Spartan council againſt the delays or deſertion of the Peloponneſians, were accompanied by the ambaſſadors of Platæa and Megara, who confirmed their arguments and complaints. With the indignation of diſappointed confidence, they upbraided the indifference and lukewarmneſs of the Spartans in the common cauſe; ſentiments which ill correſponded with their own generous ardour. They contraſted the baſe treachery of Sparta, formerly the honour, now the diſgrace, of Greece, with the patriotic magnanimity of Athens. The latter, they obſerved, compelled by neceſſity, or urged by reſentment of the ſhameful dereliction on the part of her allies, would doubtleſs accept the terms offered by Mardonius, and then the Peloponneſians muſt become ſenſible, when it was too late, that the wall acroſs the Iſthmus formed but a partial and feeble defence; and however it might ſecure them from inroads on the ſide of the land, would ill protect their coaſts againſt the deſcents of the Perſian, reinforced by the Athenian, fleet[18].

Perſuade them to take the field.

Whether the eloquence of the ambaſſadors, or the returning ſenſe of public utility, overcame the puſillanimous reſolutions formerly embraced by the Spartans, it is certain that they now firſt determined to take the field. Five thouſand Spartan pike men were accompanied by thirty-five thouſand helots. Their Peloponneſian allies ſent their reſpective contingents; ſo that the heavy-armed men raiſed in the Peninſula exceeded twenty thouſand,

[18] Lyſias, ibid.

thouſand, commanded by Pauſanias, the guardian and kinſman of Pliſtarchus, ſon of Leonidas. Having marched beyond the Iſthmus, they were joined by Ariſtides, at the head of eight thouſand Athenians, and by a ſuperior number of their allies of Megara, Theſpiæ, Platæa, Salamis, Eubœa, and Ægina. The whole heavy-armed troops amounted to nearly forty thouſand; the light-armed were the thirty-five thouſand Helots, attendants on the Spartans, and about as many more, one to each ſoldier, attended the other diviſions of the army [19].

Mardonius encamps on the Æſopus, in Bœotia;

Mardonius having marched into Bœotia, encamped on the banks of the Æſopus. His army of three hundred thouſand men, while they waited the enemy's approach, of which they were ſecretly informed by the Argives, were employed in building a ſquare fortification, about five quarters of a mile in front; a work of little utility, ſince it could only defend a ſmall portion of a camp, which extended many miles from the Theban town of Erythræa, to the territory of the Platæans. The Greeks having arrived in thoſe parts, took poſt at the foot of mount Citheron, directly oppoſite to the enemy.

the Greeks on the oppoſite bank.

Incidents preceding the battle of Platæa.

The hoſtile armies remained eleven days in their encampments, during which ſeveral incidents happened, which tend to diſplay the manners and character of thoſe great bodies of men, who were ſoon to attempt the deſtruction of each other. Of the Grecians inhabiting the countries of north of Attica, the Phocians, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve, were the leaſt diſpoſed to embrace the cauſe of Mardonius. Yet as all their neighbours

[19] Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. & Plut. in Ariſtid.

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neighbours had ſubmitted to his arms, they reluctantly ſent to his camp a thouſand ſoldiers, well armed, and commanded by Harmocydes, a citizen of great influence and authority. They had not continued many days in the Perſian army, when an order came from Mardonius (the reaſon was unknown), for the Phocians to be detached from the reſt, and encamped in a ſeparate body on the plain. They had no ſooner obeyed his command, than the whole Perſian cavalry appeared in ſight, and ſoon formed themſelves in hoſtile array. It immediately occurred to the Phocians, and particularly to their prudent commander, that Mardonius, ſuſpecting their fidelity, or yielding to the ſolicitations of their inveterate enemies the Theſſalians, had determined their deſtruction. Harmocydes, therefore, pointing to the cavalry, called to his companions, "You ſee thoſe men, who come with an evident intention to deſtroy us: but let us die like Grecians, and exert ourſelves with all the fury of a deſperate defence, rather than tamely ſubmit to a diſhonourable fate." While he yet ſpoke, the Phocians ſeized their arms, arranged themſelves in order of battle, and ſupporting each other in redoubled ranks, preſented on every ſide a firm circle of portended lances. Their warlike appearance ſtruck terror into the ſurrounding cloud of Barbarians, who advanced brandiſhing, and a few of the neareſt throwing, their javelins: but farther they ventured not to proceed; the determined countenance of the Greeks ſufficed to repel them; they retired in haſte to the Perſian camp. A herald was then ſent by Mardonius, "deſiring the Phocians to take courage, nor to dread farther hoſtilities; that they had ſhewn themſelves to be brave men, contrary to the account which he had received of them; and, if they diſplayed their valour

lour in the Perſian cauſe, they ſhould find it impoſſible to conquer either Xerxes or himſelf in good offices [20]." CHAP. X.

The above relation tends to prove, that none of the Greeks, not even thoſe who joined the enemy, were deficient in courage. Another incident related by the ſame hiſtorian proves, that notwithſtanding the extreme folly of their commanders, the Perſians were not univerſally deficient in wiſdom. While they were encamped on the Æſopus, a wealthy Theban, named Attaginus, invited Mardonius, with fifty of his moſt diſtinguiſhed officers, to a magnificent entertainment. The feaſt was given at Thebes, and an equal number of Bœotians were called to it. Among theſe was Therſander, a native of Orchomenus, and a perſon of the higheſt diſtinction in that city. Two of the gueſts were placed on each couch; and, as Therſander himſelf related to Herodotus, his Perſian companion, after ſupper, entering into converſation in the Greek tongue, teſtified, under the ſeal of ſecrecy, his gloomy apprehenſions concerning the event of the preſent war. He did not even heſitate to declare his firm perſuaſion, that few Perſians would ſurvive an engagement. When aſked by the Theban, Why he did not communicate his opinion to his general? he ſaid, that men of plain ſenſe and honeſty had ſeldom much influence with the great. It appeared from the whole tenor of his diſcourſe, that there were many people in the Perſian army, who, like himſelf, lamented the mad ambition of Xerxes, and the fatal raſhneſs of Mardonius; and who, while they reſpected their ſtations and dreaded their power, deſpiſed their character and condemned their conduct [21]. This obſervation it is proper to make for the honour of human nature. In abſolute governments,

[20] Herodot. ibid.

[21] Herodot. l. ix. c. xv.

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vernments, it is ſaid, that men obey, like a flock of ſheep, the voice of a deſpot; yet it may be ſaid with equal truth, that amidſt the obedience extorted by fear, they often ſee and regret the folly of their ſhepherd.

Skirmiſhes between the Greeks and the Perſian cavalry.

In this ſituation, it was ſcarcely to be expected that the hoſtile camps ſhould continue without frequent ſkirmiſhes. Theſe preludes to the general engagement, ended favourably for the Grecians. Three thouſand ſoldiers, furniſhed by the rocky diſtrict of Megara, were poſted on the ſide moſt expoſed to the enemy's cavalry, by whoſe incurſions they had been ſo much haraſſed, that they determined to abandon that difficult ſtation. Before executing their deſign, they ſent a herald to the Grecian generals, intimating the reſolution they had taken from neceſſity, and at the ſame time hinting the injuſtice of detaining them, from the time of the firſt encampment, in a poſt of peculiar danger, which though they had hitherto indeed maintained with ſingular fortitude and conſtancy, they now found themſelves unable longer to defend. Pauſanius addreſſed himſelf ſucceſſively to the whole army, to know whether any diviſion was willing to change poſts with the Megarians. All were ſilent, or declined the propoſal on frivolous pretences. The Athenians alone, actuated by that love of pre-eminence which they did not more ardently deſire, than they juſtly deſerved, voluntarily offered their ſervices on this trying occaſion. They had not long occupied the important poſt, when the enemy's cavalry began to aſſault them. The aſſault they repelled with vigour, and Maſiſtius, the Perſian general, fell in the action. A terrible conflict enſued, according to ancient cuſtom, around the body of the dead. The Athenians at length gained poſſeſſion of it; though they began to give way before the general attack

attack of the horſe, yet upon being ſupported by a reinforcement from the main body, they again recovered their ground, and compelled the Perſians to retire. When the firſt unwelcome meſſengers arrived in the camp with an account of their own defeat, and the death of the general, Mardonius and his attendants burſt into tears; their lamentations were ſoon communicated to the troops, and diffuſed over the army, whoſe plaintive cries filled the whole land of Bœotia. The Perſians tore their hair, disfigured their faces, and diſplayed every ſymptom of intolerable woe; for they had loſt Maſiſtius, who in comelineſs and ſtature was the firſt of their generals, and in military courage and addreſs only ſecond to Mardonius[22].

The Greeks move to Hyſia, in the territory of Platæa.

The Grecians having thus bravely delivered themſelves from the incurſions of the Perſian cavalry, were now expoſed to a ſtill greater inconvenience, the ſcarcity of freſh water, which ſoon obliged them to decamp. Their late ſucceſs afforded a favourable moment for executing this dangerous meaſure. They proceeded in arms along the foot of mount Citheron, prepared to repel the attack of the enemy, by converting the column of march into an order of battle. They arrived without oppoſition at the place appointed. This was a plain near the village of Hyſia, in the territory of Platæa, interſperſed with many gentle eminences, adorned with a grove and temple ſacred to the genius of the place, and enriched by the copious fountain Gargaphia; a neceſſary reſource to the Greeks, as the enemy, by means of their cavalry and archers, commanded both ſides of the Æſopus.

Diſſentions in the allied army,

It might be expected, that men prepared to defend every thing moſt dear to them, ſhould have

[22] Herodot. l. ix. c. ccxxiv.

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have preſerved in the field perfect agreement and unanimity; eſpecially as the Greeks, on ſome occaſions at leaſt, ſeemed ſenſible that mutual union was neceſſary for the general ſafety. When the allies on both ſides the Iſthmus had aſſembled in Attica, they vowed with common conſent to the gods, and bound themſelves by the moſt tremendous oaths, to maintain with ſtedfaſt adherence, an unſhaken fidelity to Greece, to prefer liberty to life, to obey the command of their leaders, and to bury their companions ſlain in battle. Should fortune render them victorious (which to their preſent ardour, ſeemed ſcarcely a matter of doubt), they ſwore never to demoliſh any city whoſe inhabitants had concurred with the general voice on this important occaſion, and never to rebuild the temples defaced by the Barbarians, but to leave them to the moſt diſtant poſterity, as a monument of ſacrilegious rage, and an incitement to honourable revenge. They ſwore alſo to inſtitute an annual feſtival, denominated the Common Liberty [23], and to conſecrate public games and ſacrifices to the goddeſs, the great author of their union, and the venerable object of their worſhip. But theſe public-ſpirited ſentiments continued not long to actuate them. We have already had occaſion to remark ſeveral ſymptoms of approaching animoſity. Their diſſentions ſoon broke out into an open rupture, and prevailed, even on the eve of a battle, not only between rival republics, but in the boſom of almoſt every community.

between the Athenians and Tegeans.

The firſt conteſt aroſe between the Athenians and Tegeans, about the command of the left wing. Both parties yielded the right, as the place of

[23] Herodot. l. ix. c. viii. & ſeqq.

of greateſt honour, to the Spartans. But the citizens of Tegea, in number three thouſand, had been long deemed the beſt ſoldiers in Arcadia; and in all the conjunct expeditions of the Peloponneſians, they had always obtained, unrivalled, the ſecond honours of the field. Theſe they profeſſed themſelves unwilling to relinquiſh, alleging the heroic exploits of their ancient kings; and aſſerting, "That the actions of the Athenians, performed either during their royal or democratical government, could not bear a compariſon with their own: they appealed on this ſubject to the Lacedæmonians, in conjunction with whom they had often fought and conquered, and whoſe deciſion in their favour they rather claimed, than requeſted." This bold pretenſion the Athenians eaſily repelled, by the luſtre of their uſual eloquence. "We know," ſaid they, "that the Greeks are here aſſembled, not to diſpute about precedency, but to fight the Barbarian. Yet, as the Tegeans have mentioned *their* anceſtors, it becomes us to maintain the immortal renown of our own. Need we mention their ancient victories over the impious Thebans; their chaſtiſement of the inſolent Euryſtheus; their generous protection of the unfortunate ſons of Hercules? When Greece was invaded by the warlike Amazons, and afterwards by the fiercer ſavages of Scythia and Thrace, the Athenians reſiſted and overcame the common enemy. What people fought with more bravery than they in the war of Troy? But perhaps *we*, who now addreſs you, have degenerated from the glory of our anceſtors. Let the battle of Marathon efface the foul ſuſpicion. There, unaided and alone, we defended the general ſafety, maintained the glory of Greece, and raiſed, by the proweſs of our ſingle republic, a trophy over forty nations. This exploit, had we no other to allege,

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allege, entitles us to the rank claimed by the Tegeans, and to far higher honours. But the preſent is not a time for ſuch conteſts; place us, therefore, O Spartans! in whatever ſtation you think fit; there we will behave like brave men." Their words were ſcarcely ended, when the whole army of the Lacedæmonians cried out with one conſent, "That the Athenians were far more worthy than the Tegeans, or any nation of Arcadia, to ſtand at the head of the left wing;" and accordingly they aſſumed that important poſt [21].

The Perſians encamp near the enemy.

Meantime the Barbarian army approached. The Medes and Perſians encamped on the plain, fronting the Spartans: the Grecian auxiliaries were placed in direct oppoſition to the Athenians. It is eaſy to perceive, even at this diſtance of time, the reaſon of ſuch an arrangement. The Perſians avoided to encounter the Athenian bravery, which they had already fatally experienced in the field of Marathon; and as the Thebans were the moſt powerful and the warmeſt of their foreign allies, as well as the inveterate enemies of Athens, it was thought proper to oppoſe them to that ſide on which the Athenians were poſted. Ambiguous oracles, attended by unfavourable omens and prophecies, had hitherto deterred Mardonius from venturing a general engagement; and he was at length determined to this meaſure, not from any auſpicious [22] change in the admonitions of heaven, but

[21] Herodot. l. ix. c. xxvi. & ſeqq. Plut. in Ariſtid.

[22] The prophets conſulted were Greeks, who perhaps ſecretly ſerved the cauſe of their country. Mardonius reſolved to engage the enemy, as we learn from Herodotus, without regarding their predictions. Alexander of Macedon came in the night to the Grecian camp, to give intimation of that reſolution; yet Mardonius ſeems to have been immediately determined to attack, by the circumſtances mentioned in the text.

but from the apparent timidity, occaſioned by the real diſſentions of the Greeks. CHAP. X.

The Greeks decamp a ſecond time.

The ſame reaſons which made Mardonius deſire to preſerve, made Pauſanias wiſh to alter, the relative diſpoſition of their reſpective camps. Excepting in the glorious conteſt at Thermopylæ, in which they devoted themſelves to death for the ſafety of their country, the Spartans had never contended with the Medes; but they had often fought and conquered the Bœotians. Pauſanias therefore deſired (for, though dignified with the title of general, he could not command) the Athenians to change places with his countrymen. This requeſt was cheerfully complied with; but other circumſtances ſowed diſſention in the Athenian camp[23]. The quiet likewiſe of the Lacedæmonians was diſturbed by the quarrels between Pauſanias and Anompharetus, the Spartan next in command; and conſpiring with theſe internal animoſities, the Perſian horſe beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and, by an unexpected incurſion, deſtroyed their watering-place. It thus became neceſſary again to decamp. The obſcurity of midnight was choſen as the moſt convenient time for effecting this purpoſe; and the deſtined place of retreat was a narrow ſlip of ground lying towards the ſource of the Æſopus, and confined between that river and mount Citheron. This poſt was at laſt preferred by the majority; for the Greeks were by no means unanimous: ſo that when the march was ordered, many of the allies abandoned their leaders; others took refuge in the neighbouring temples, to elude the purſuit of the horſe; while Anompharetus the Spartan declared, "That neither he, nor the diviſion under his

[23] Plutarch. in Ariſtid

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his command, ſhould ever fly from the enemy:" and in conſequence of its diſperſion in ſo many different directions, the Grecian army preſented next morning the appearance, not of a regular march, but of a flight, or rout.

Mardonius attacks them.

Mardonius received intelligence when the Greeks changed their order of battle. He was now informed, that they had abandoned their camp. Not doubting that fear had precipitated their retreat, he ordered his ſoldiers to purſue the fugitives, and to complete the victory. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians were ſtill within his reach; the former near the foot of the mountain, the latter in the middle of the plain. Having ſent his Grecian auxiliaries, amounting to fifty thouſand, againſt the Athenians, he advanced with the braveſt of the Perſian troops againſt that portion of the enemy which had ſhewn an anxious ſolicitude to avoid his arms. Never did the contraſt appear greater, than in the oppoſite appearance and behaviour of the hoſtile armies on this occaſion. The Barbarians, ill armed, and totally ignorant of diſcipline, advanced without order, and with a loud inſulting noiſe. The Lacedæmonians, carefully covered with their ſhields, obſerved in ſilence the reſult of their ſacrifices. While the heavenly admonitions were unfavourable, they patiently received the darts and javelins which the enemy threw upon them. But as ſoon as Pauſanias, caſting his eyes towards a neighbouring temple of Juno, and devoutly entreating the protection of the goddeſs, had obtained, in the changing aſpect of the victims, a propitious anſwer to his prayer, they proceeded with intrepidity to cloſe with their opponents [24]. The Perſians, reinforced with

The battle of Platæa.

[24] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxii. & ſeqq.

with the Sacæ, a Scythian tribe, ſuſtained the attack with great bravery. Immenſe numbers were ſlain; but new numbers ſucceeded, crowding together in tumultuous diſorder, and making an hideous outcry, as if they had intended to tear in pieces and to devour the enemy. Mardonius, mounted on a white ſteed of uncommon ſtrength and ſwiftneſs, was diſtinguiſhed in every part of the battle by the ſplendor of his appearance, but ſtill more by deeds of ſignal valour. He was attended by a thouſand horſemen, conſiſting of the flower of the Perſian nobility, all alike ambitious to imitate the example, and to emulate the fame, of their leader. Had their ſkill been equal to their courage, or had they previouſly beſtowed as much pains in diſciplining their troops, as in improving their own agility and addreſs, either the Greeks muſt have been conquered, or the battle muſt have remained doubtful. But the Barbarians acted without union or concert; and as they fought ſingly, were ſucceſſively defeated. It is the nature, and the greateſt diſadvantage of cavalry, not to increaſe in force in proportion to the reduplication of their ranks. The Grecian phalanx, on the other hand, received an acceſſion of ſtrength from every addition to its depth; the ranks behind ſupported thoſe before; no power was miſpent, or unexerted; and the effect might be continually augmented, till it became irreſiſtible. Availing themſelves of this circumſtance, the Lacedæmonians thickened their ranks, extended their ſpears, attacked and penetrated the brave Perſian ſquadron. Mardonius fell by the fortunate arm of the Spartan Aieimneſtus. The death of the general was immediately followed by the defeat of the Perſians, and the defeat of the Perſians, by the flight of the Barbarian army. Artabazus, the Parthian chief, had from the beginning condemned the raſh meaſures

Death of Mardonius, and defeat of the Barbarians.

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ſures of Mardonius. He commanded forty thouſand men, who were prepared on every occaſion to follow the example of their leader. As ſoon as he perceived the confuſion of the Perſians, he made the ſignal for his troops to quit the field. He conducted them through the territory of the Phocians, and arriving by haſty marches at the Helleſpont, before the news of the defeat and death of Mardonius, returned in ſafety to the Aſiatic coaſt, with the forces entruſted to his care[25].

Defeat of their auxiliaries.

The remainder of the diſcomfited Barbarians ſought refuge in their camp, which, as we have already mentioned, had been ſtrengthened by a conſiderable fortification. The Spartans purſued them with great ardour, but were unable to force their encampment. The Tegeans and other troops ſeconded the attack, but no impreſſion could be made on the wall, till the arrival of the Athenians. Theſe generous defenders of the cauſe of liberty had repulſed the Grecian auxiliaries, who impiouſly aſſiſted the enemies of their country. The behaviour of the greater part of the traitors furniſhed the occaſion of an eaſy victory; for, unable to meet the juſt reproaches and indignant looks of their countrymen, they ſoon betook themſelves to flight, which, in the preſent caſe, ſeemed more honourable than reſiſtance. The Thebans alone oppoſed with great perſeverance the Athenian valour; they did not deſiſt from hoſtility, till ſeveral hundreds were ſlain; and when compelled to quit the field, they fled towards Bœotia, and ſhut themſelves up within the ſtrong walls of their city. Inſtead of purſuing theſe fugitives, though their domeſtic and inveterate foes, the Athenians, with a laudable moderation

[25] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxv.

ration and prudence, probably inſpired by Ariſtides, then one of their generals, directed their march towards the Lacedæmonian forces, which had already engaged and put to flight the main ſtrength of the enemy. The Athenians, however, came in time to complete the glory of that memorable day. They attacked with redoubled vigour the fortification, which had been in vain aſſailed by their allies; and having effected a breach in the wall, entered the Perſian camp. They were followed by the brave ſoldiers of Tegea, and afterwards by the Spartans. The Barbarians were ſeized with conſternation at ſeeing ſo many myriads confined within a narrow ſpace. The means of their expected ſafety became the principal cauſe of their deſtruction. Fear hindered them to fight; the wall hindered them to fly: the great number of the enemy made it dangerous for the victors to give quarter; the reſentment of paſt injuries prompted them to revenge; of near two hundred thouſand Barbarians, not two thouſand eſcaped the fury of the Grecian ſpear [26].

The Perſians maſſacred in their camp.

The event of this bloody engagement not only delivered the Greeks from the danger of ſervitude, but gave them poſſeſſion of greater wealth than they could ever have expected to poſſeſs. In his precipitate retreat from Greece, Xerxes left behind him all his riches and magnificence. His moſt valuable effects were beſtowed on Mardonius, the flatterer of his inclinations, and the unfortunate miniſter of his revenge. The reſt was divided among his inferior favourites; and independent of the bounty of the prince, the tents of the Perſian nobles furniſhed a wide profuſion of elegance

The valuable booty found there.

[26] Herodot. l. ix. cap. c.

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and ſplendor. Couches magnificently embroidered; tables of gold and ſilver; bowls and goblets of gold; ſtalls and mangers of braſs, curiouſly wrought and ornamented; chains, bracelets, ſcymitars, ſome of ſolid gold, others adorned with precious ſtones; and, to crown all, many cheſts of Perſian money, which began at that time, and continued long afterwards, to be current in Greece. Among the common maſs of ſpoil, Herodotus reckons a great many Perſian women, beſides innumerable horſes and camels. The whole being collected into one place, the tenth was conſecrated to the gods. A tenth of the remainder was beſtowed on the general. Peculiar preſents were offered to the temples of Olympian Jove, Iſthmian Neptune, and Delphian Apollo, the favourite divinities of the whole Grecian name; nor did the Athenians forget to ſhew particular gratitude to their adored Minerva. Prizes were afterwards diſtributed among the braveſt of the ſurviving warriors; for though the victory had been obtained with little blood, yet ſeveral hundreds had fallen, eſpecially of the moſt generous and daring; among whom were ninety-one Spartans, fifty-two Athenians, and ſixteen men of Tegea. Callicrattides, a Spartan, the braveſt and moſt beautiful of the Greeks, was ſlain by an arrow, before Pauſanias, who had not yet finiſhed the ſacrifice, had given the ſignal of engagement. As he fell, he ſaid to thoſe around him, that he was contented to die for Greece, but regretted dying ingloriouſly, having performed nothing worthy of himſelf or the common cauſe. But in the battle itſelf none of the warriors behaved with ſuch diſtinguiſhed bravery as Ariſtodemus, who alone of three hundred Spartans, ſurvived the action at Thermopylæ. This circumſtance had rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his countrymen. He was continually upbraid-

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ed with the baſe deſertion of his companions. The moſt heroic deeds could not reſtore him to the good opinion of the public; and it was aſſerted by the Spartans, that even on the preſent occaſion, as he had determined to ſeek a voluntary death in order to efface the ſtain of his former infamy, he was not entitled to any of thoſe honours which are deſervedly beſtowed on the genuine efforts of ſpontaneous valour [27]. CHAP. X.

The confederate Greeks chaſtiſe the perfidy of the Thebans.

The Greeks buried their dead with every circumſtance of funeral pomp, erected in the field of battle conſpicuous trophies of their renown, and appropriated about twenty thouſand pounds for dedicating temples and ſtatues to the tutelary deities of Platæa, the illuſtrious ſcene of victory. A few days were ſpent in theſe tranſactions, after which it was determined, by univerſal conſent, to march into Bœotia, in order to chaſtiſe the perfidy of the Thebans. On the eleventh day after the battle they arrived in the neighbourhood of Thebes, ravaged the territory, and made approaches to the walls. The citizens, who were not all equally guilty, or equally obnoxious, eſcaped general deſtruction by ſurrendering the leaders of the faction which abetted the intereſt of the Medes. The traitors were carried to Corinth, condemned without trial, and ſacrificed to the manes of their countrymen who had died at Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, in defence of political liberty and national independence [28].

Battle of Mycalé in Ionia.

The battle of Platæa was fought the twenty-ſecond of September; and on the ſame day another battle, not leſs glorious or leſs deciſive, was fought between the ſame nations at the promontory of Mycalé in Ionia, oppoſite to the iſle of Samos. The ſhattered remnant of the Perſian

[27] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxx. [28] Herodot. l. ix. c. lxxxv.

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fleet, which had eſcaped deſtruction on the fatal twentieth of October of the preceding year, took refuge in the friendly ports of Aſia Minor. The victorious armament had ſuffered too much in repeated ſhocks with a ſuperior force, to engage at that late ſeaſon in the purſuit of an enemy, whoſe ſtrength, amounting to above four hundred veſſels, was ſtill nearly the double of their own. The little ſquadron of Themiſtocles, averſe to inactivity, found occupation, as we already had occaſion to notice, in laying the iſlands of the Ægean under contribution. The great body of the fleet rendezvouſed in the harbours of Ægina. There the Grecians continued during the winter, and before the ſeaſon for action approached, the command was beſtowed on Xantippus the Athenian, and on Leotychides the Spartan king. To theſe commanders, whoſe abilities and influence in their reſpective republics we formerly had an opportunity to mention, there arrived early in the ſpring a ſecret deputation from ſeveral cities of Ionia, intreating that the valour of the European Grecks, which had been ſo ſucceſsfully employed in their own defence, might be ſtill farther exerted in delivering from bondage their brethren in Aſia. In conſequence of this invitation the fleet ſailed eaſtward, and had ſcarcely reached the coaſt of Delos, when a ſecond embaſſy came from the Samians, propoſing the ſame meaſures as the firſt, and farther adding, that the Perſian fleet, now lying in the harbour of Samos, might be attacked and defeated without danger or difficulty. The Grecians ſeized with eagerneſs the favourable opportunity of terminating the war; but before they arrived at Samos, the enemy ſuſpecting their motions, and unwilling to hazard another engagement at ſea, had retired to the Ionic coaſt, and according to the cuſtom of that age, not only drawn

drawn their ſhips on ſhore, but ſurrounded them with a ditch and palliſade, and even a ſtone wall of conſiderable ſtrength. The veſſels thus ſecured, the ſailors amounting to forty thouſand, commanded by Artayndes, formed a camp along the ſhore. They were reinforced by the Perſian army under Tigranes, computed at ſixty thouſand. It appears not whether this powerful body of men made any attempt to diſturb the landing of the Greeks, who at the higheſt computation could not amount to a fourth part of their number. It ſeems moſt probable that they diſdained this meaſure, and though they acknowledged their inferiority at ſea, determined to hazard at land a general engagement, in which the iſles and Helleſpont, as well as the flouriſhing cities of the Aſiatic coaſt, ſhould be the glorious prize of victory. CHAP. X.

The Greeks did not decline the battle. Xantippus is ſaid to have made uſe of a ſimilar contrivance with that employed by Themiſtocles at Artemiſium, for depriving the enemy of their Grecian auxiliaries[29]. A more probable ſtratagem is aſcribed to Leotychides, who, in order to encourage his troops, is ſaid to have induſtriouſly ſpread a report that their countrymen had obtained a ſignal victory at Platæa. This report, by whatever means[30] it was raiſed and circulated, had doubtleſs a conſiderable effect in deciding the fortune of the day. Other circumſtances, not leſs powerful, were the general revolt of

[29] The ſtory is improbable, becauſe the Aſiatic Greeks had already declared their intention to revolt. It was not the intereſt of Xantippus, therefore, to make the Perſians ſuſpect their fidelity, ſince treacherous friends are always more dangerous than open enemies.

[30] Herodotus (l. ix. c. c), and Diodorus (l. xi. c. xxxv.), differ in their accounts.

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of the Aſiatic Greeks, and the ſilent conteſt of honour between the Spartans and Athenians. Among the Barbarian troops, the Perſians behaved with uncommon bravery; and on the ſide of the Grecians, the battle of Mycalé was more bloody than any other fought in the courſe of the preſent war.

It deſerves attention, that, in all theſe memorable actions, the Greeks had no reſource but in victory. But the Barbarians had provided probable means of ſafety, even in caſe of a defeat. On the preſent occaſion they had endeavoured not only to ſecure a retreat within a ſtrongly fortified camp, but to acquire an undiſturbed paſſage through the narrow defiles of Mycalé. Yet all their precautions were ineffectual againſt the valour and fortune of the Greeks. The Mileſians, poſted by the enemy to guard the paſſes of the mountain, prevented, inſtead of promoting, their eſcape. The Spartans purſued them with great ſlaughter in that direction; while the Athenians, aſſiſted by the allies of Corinth, Sicyon, and Træzené, advanced with undaunted bravery to attack their camp. The Aſiatic Greeks, who at all times acknowledged the warlike preeminence of their European brethren, emulated, in the preſent engagement alone, in which they fought for every thing dear to them, the admired valour of their anceſtors. Above forty thouſand Perſians periſhed in the field; many fell in the purſuit, or in defending their entrenchments; the remainder fled in diſorder, nor thought themſelves ſecure till they had reached the walls of Sardis. Their ſhips, their camp, the freedom of Ionia, and the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the Aſiatic coaſt, were the ineſtimable prize of the victors; and thus the expedition of Xerxes,

Concluſion and conſequences of the Perſian invaſion.

Xerxes, undertaken with a view to enſlave Europe, reſtored liberty to the faireſt portion of Aſia [31]. CHAP. X.

[31] Herodot. l. ix. c. xc.—c. cxiv. Diodorus Siculus, l. xi. c. xxxiv.—c. xxxviii.

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Military Glory of Greece—Enemies to whom that Country was expoſed.—Foundation and Growth of Carthage.—The flouriſhing Condition of Magna Græcia.—Excites the Jealouſy of the Carthaginians—Who enter into a League with Xerxes.—The Object of this Alliance.—Cauſes of the ſingular Proſperity of Magna Græcia.—Hiſtory of Pythagoras, and of his Philoſophy.—The Carthaginians invade Sicily.—Their Diſaſters.—Glory of Gelon.—His Treaty with the Carthaginians.—Cauſes of the Decay of Magna Græcia.

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State of Greece. Olymp. lxxv. 1. A.C. 480.

THE beginning of the fifth century before Chriſt forms the moſt glorious æra in the hiſtory of Greece. While the republics of Athens and Sparta humbled the pride of Aſia, the flouriſhing ſettlements on the Helleſpont and the Hadriatic overawed the fierce Barbarians of Europe[1]; and the ſouthern colony of Cyrené reſtrained, within their native limits, the ſavage ferocity of the Libyans[2]. The north, ſouth, and eaſt, thus acknowledging the aſcendant of the Grecian valour and genius, Rome ſtill contended, in the weſt, with the obſtinacy of the Volſci[3], for the rude villages of Latium: yet on this ſide, from which the ſtream of conqueſt was deſtined, in a future age, to flow over the world, the Greeks had already moſt danger to apprehend, and moſt laurels

[1] Herodot. l. vi. Thucydid. l. i. [2] Strabo, l. xvii.
[3] Diodor. l. xi.

rels to acquire; not however from Rome, but from the implacable[4] enemy of the Roman name. CHAP. XI.

The foundation and growth of Carthage, which have been ſo ſucceſsfully adorned by poetical fiction, are very imperfectly explained in hiſtory. It is known that at leaſt eight hundred and ninety years[5] before the Chriſtian æra, a Phœnician colony ſettled on that fertile projecture of the African coaſt, which boldly advances into the Mediterranean, to meet, and, as it were, to defy, the ſhores of Sicily and Italy, planted in the following century by Greeks, with whom the republic of Carthage, long before the age of her great Hannibal, waged many cruel and bloody wars. For three centuries after their eſtabliſhment, the Carthaginians ſeem to have ſilently but ſucceſsfully availed themſelves of the natural fertility of their ſoil, the conveniency of their harbours, the ſkill and dexterity of their artiſans, the adventurous ſpirit of their mariners; above all, of the profound wiſdom of their government, which had been eſtabliſhed on ſuch admirable principles, that, from the foundation of their city till the age of the philoſopher Ariſtotle[6], no tyrant had oppreſſed the freedom, The foundation and growth of Carthage,

[4] With what energy does Virgil expreſs the eternal enmity between Rome and Carthage?

Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas,
Imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipſique nepotes.
Æneid. l. iv.

[5] B. C. 891. Petav. de Doctr. Temporum. Yet, as there is a gap in the Carthaginian hiſtory of ſeveral centuries, every man of taſte will be deſirous of extending the duration of this dark and unknown period, to have the pleaſure of believing that Æneas and Dido were contemporaries: an opinion not altogether improbable, ſince it is adopted by Sir Iſaac Newton in his Chronology.

[6] Ariſtot. de Repub. l. ii. c. xi.

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freedom, no ſedition had diſturbed the tranquillity of Cartharge [7].

which oppoſes the naval enterpriſes of the Greeks.

From this peaceful and happy obſcurity the Carthaginians firſt emerged into notice in conſequence of their oppoſition to the naval enterpriſes of the Aſiatic Greeks, who, about the middle of the ſixth century before Chriſt, flying the oppreſſive domination of Perſia, threw themſelves on the weſtern ſhores and iſlands of the Mediterranean. As a maritime and enterpriſing nation the Greeks were naturally the rivals of the Carthaginians; and the Phocæans, who had left the coaſt of Ionia to avoid the cruel tyranny of the Satrap Harpalus, had landed at, or perhaps founded, Aleria in the iſle of Corſica, before they finally ſettled at Velia [8] in Italy, and Marſeilles in Gaul [9]. The Carthaginians, who had already formed eſtabliſhments in Corſica, regarded the whole iſland as a dependency of their republic, and ſet themſelves to oppoſe with vigour the Grecian invaders. From a ſimilar motive the Tuſcans embraced the ſame deſign; and the moſt ancient naval engagement, diſtinctly recorded in hiſtory, was fought in the Sardinian ſea, between the Phocæans with ſixty ſail on the one ſide, againſt the Tuſcans and Carthaginians with double that number on the other [10]. The Greeks had the whole glory of the battle; they deſtroyed forty of the enemy's ſhips, and compelled

[7] If Dido laid the foundation of ſo much proſperity and happineſs, ſhe might boaſt, with becoming dignity, of having ſecured immortal fame:

Vixi, & quem dederat curſum fortuna peregi,
Urbem præclaram ſtatui, mea mœnia vidi:
Et nunc magna mei ſub terris ibit imago.

VIRGIL, ibid.

[8] Diodor. l. v. and Cluverius Sicil. Ant. p. 507.

[9] Thucydid. l. i.

[10] Thucydid. l. i. & Herodot. l. vi.

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compelled the reſt to fly. But the ſmallneſs of their numbers, greatly diminiſhed by their deſperate efforts in defence of the honour of their nation againſt a ſuperior force, obliged them to abandon the project of ſettling in Corſica.

Hinders them from ſettling in Corſica.

Though the iſſue of this memorable ſea-fight tends to diſpel the cloud of fiction concerning the remote voyages and ancient naval power of the Carthaginians, yet it cannot be doubted, that in the beginning of the following century, and before the invaſion of Xerxes, they were the moſt powerful commercial nation in the world. The proud centre of their empire was ſurrounded by a cluſter of colonies and tributary cities, which extended above a thouſand miles[11] along the coaſt of Africa. They were maſters of Sardinia and the northern coaſt of Sicily[12]. They had eſtabliſhed colonies not only in Corſica but in Malta and the Belearian iſles. They often viſited the Caſſeterides. They probably firſt diſcovered the Canaries, whoſe equable and happy temperature entitled them to the epithet of Fortunate. They had appropriated the gold mines of Spain, the Peru and Mexico of the ancient world[13]; and all theſe advantages being directed by the prudent enterpriſe of the magiſtrates, conſiſting chiefly of merchants[14], and improved by the patient induſtry

Power and ſplendour of Carthage. Olymp. lxx. 1. A.C. 500.

[11] From the weſtern boundary of Cyrenaica to the Straits of Gibraltar, Shaw reckons 1420 geographical miles; but this was the extent of the Carthaginian dominion in the greateſt ſplendour of the republic. SHAW's Travels, p. 150.

[12] Polyb. l. iii. c. xxii.

[13] Auctor. apud Hendreich Reſpub. Carthag. l. i.

[14] In this reſpect the government of Carthage was very different from that of Crete, and particularly of Sparta, with both which Ariſtotle compares it. Iſocrates (ad Nicoclem) ſays, that in civil affairs the Carthaginian government was ariſtocratical; in military, royal: this probably was the caſe in

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try of the people, who knew that by gaining wealth they muſt attain reſpect, rendered Carthage the centre of general commerce. From Egypt they imported linen and the papyrus; the coaſts of the Red Sea furniſhed them with ſpices, perfumes, gold, pearls, and precious ſtones[15]. The rich carpets of Perſia adorned the palaces of the Carthaginian magiſtrates. From Spain they drew the precious metals neceſſary to facilitate their commerce; and from Britain and other provinces of the north they derived iron, lead, tin, and copper, equally neceſſary to ſecond all the efforts of their induſtry. The Carthaginian exports conſiſted partly in the produce of their fertile ſoil, but chiefly in the ingenious labours of their artificers. Grains, fruits, honey, leather, and flax of a ſuperior kind[16]; naval ſtores, particularly

in the earlieſt times. The chief magiſtrates were called Suffetes, which, in the Hebrew language, ſignifies judges (Bochart. Canaan), and might therefore be naturally tranſlated by the word βασιλεις, in Greek. But it appears from Ariſtotle, that theſe judges or kings, who were two in number, were nothing more than annual magiſtrates, who convoked the ſenate, and preſided in that aſſembly. When the ſenate and the ſuffetes were of one mind, the people had no vote in the management of public affairs; but when their opinions were different, it belonged to the people to decide. Ariſtotle regards this as an imperfection in their conſtitution; and time juſtified his opinion. In a commercial republic, where the people gradually become more rich and more licentious, ſuch a regulation naturally tended to throw too much power into their hands. During the century which elapſed from Ariſtotle to Hannibal, the people of Carthage became more powerful than the ſenate: at Rome the ſenate were more powerful than the people: and to theſe circumſtances, chiefly, the moſt judicious author of antiquity aſcribes the very different fortune of the two nations in the ever memorable wars waged between them. POLYB. l. vi.

[15] Pliny, l. xxxviii. c. vii. tells us, that carbuncles were ſo common in Carthage, that they were generally known by the name of Carthaginian.

[16] Xenophon. de Venatione.

ticularly ropes made of a ſpecies of broom called ſpartum; houſhold furniture, toys, and the materials of the highly valued *Punicean* colour. Their mechanic arts had attained a degree of perfection which was acknowledged and admired by their enemies [17]; but the liberal arts, and particularly poetry and eloquence [18], ſeem never to have flouriſhed or taken root in their republic; a circumſtance more fatal to the renown of Carthage than all the deſtructive ravages of the Romans, whoſe immortal hate would have found it more difficult to aboliſh the elegant inventions of genius, than to extinguiſh the moſt ſplendid monuments of wealth and grandeur.

The ambitious and jealous ſpirit of that republic.

. Few individuals are capable to enjoy, without abuſing, the gifts of fortune; and no nation ever poſſeſſed power, without aſpiring at conqueſt. But the commercial ambition of the Carthaginians was diſtinguiſhed by an excluſive and jealous ſpirit, which ſought to ſtifle the activity and improvements of every people that might ever become their rival. In the end of the ſixth century before Chriſt, and twenty-eight years before the invaſion of Xerxes, they concluded a treaty with Rome, recently

[17] Cato de Re Ruſtica, & Valerius Maximus, l. vii.

[18] The great Hannibal was a lover of Greek learning, and compoſed ſeveral books in that language. Cornelius Nepos in Hannibal. Silenus, another Carthaginian, wrote hiſtory in Greek. CICER. de Divinat. Salluſt ſpeaks of *Punic books* in his hiſtory of the Jugurthine war; and we know that Mago's Treatiſe of Rural Oeconomy, in 28 books, was tranſlated by order of the Roman ſenate, although the elder Cato had previouſly handled that important ſubject. I mention not the ſpurious voyage of Hanno, ſince better proofs of the Carthaginian literature may be found in the ſecond and eighteenth books of Pliny. But two obſervations naturally preſent themſelves, which juſtify what is ſaid in the text; firſt, that the Carthaginians wrote rather on the uſeful than ornamental arts; and, ſecondly, that their greateſt writers preferred the Greek to the Punic language.

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recently delivered from the tyranny of its kings, which marks the utmoſt ſolicitude to prevent the new republic from ever entering into correſpondence, or ever gaining acquaintance [19] with the dependencies of Carthage. The Greek colonies in Italy and Sicily, which, within the courſe of ſixty years, had (for reaſons that will immediately be explained) received ſuch acceſſions of ſtrength and ſplendour, as entitled thoſe countries to the appellation of Magna Græcia [20], more juſtly alarmed the jealouſy, and provoked the envious reſentment, of the Carthaginian magiſtrates. The Greeks were already maſters of the eaſtern iſles and ſhores of the Mediterranean. They were not only a warlike but an ingenious and commercial nation. The naval force of the Phocæans alone had defied and diſgraced the united fleets of the Tuſcans and Carthaginians. The latter, therefore, beheld with the utmoſt ſatisfaction the continual ſparks of hoſtility that broke out between the Greeks and Perſians. They learned, with admiration and delight, the mighty preparations of Xerxes; but were ſtill more delighted when the great king, who had been accuſtomed to receive the preſents and the adulation of the tributary princes of Aſia, condeſcended to demand an equal alliance with their republic; probably granted them ſubſidies to raiſe troops in Spain, Gaul, and the northern parts of Italy; and only required them to join their efforts with his own to puniſh, and, if poſſible, to extirpate the natural enemies of both. The crafty Africans greedily accepted propoſitions, ſeemingly ſo favourable to their intereſt; and, after three years preparations, had collected an armament of two thouſand ſhips of war, and three thouſand tranſports,

The proſperity of Greece alarms the Carthaginians,

who enter into an alliance with Xerxes.

[19] Polyb. l. iii. c. xxii.

[20] Strabo, l. viii. p. 389.

ports, to convey an army of three hundred thouſand men into Magna Græcia [21]. It was determined between the confederates, that while Xerxes poured his millions into the centre of Greece, and rooted out the original ſtock of the devoted nation, the Carthagians ſhould cut off its flouriſhing branches in Italy and Sicily. The terms of the agreement were carefully obſerved; the combined attack was made at the time appointed; and Europe is intereſted in knowing to what particular cauſes muſt be aſcribed the failure of expeditions, which, if ſucceſsful, would probably have inverted her deſtiny, and deprived her of the boaſted ſuperiority which ſhe thenceforth maintained over the other quarters of the world.

Their views in adopting this meaſure.

Whoever has obſerved the deſolate barbarity of Calabria, or reflected on the narrow extent, and preſent weakneſs of Sicily, cannot hear without a mixture of ſurprize and incredulity, that five centuries before Chriſt, thoſe countries contained above twenty warlike communities, ſeveral of whom could ſend into the field an hundred thouſand fighting men. The haſty glance of impatient ignorance will confidently reject, on this ſubject, the evidence of antiquity, as contrary to probability and experience; the contemplative viſionary will admit the fact, and deduce from it many gloomy reflections on the old age and decay of the world; but the more practical philoſopher will attempt to diſcover the cauſes of the ancient and actual ſtate of Magna Græcia, in the hiſtory and inſtitutions of that country during the reſpective periods of time which are the objects of his reſearch.

The flouriſhing condition of Magna Græcia.

The

[21] Herodot. l. vii. & Diodor. l. xi.

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History of the colonization of that country.

The eſtabliſhment of Eubœan Cumæ, the mother of Parthenopé, or Naples, and the foundation of a few other Grecian cities in Italy and Sicily, remounts, as already mentioned, to the heroic ages; but by far the greater number of Greek colonies in thoſe parts were planted during the eighth century before the Chriſtian æra [22], and chiefly, 1. by the Eubœans, whoſe principal city, Chalcis, uſually furniſhing the conductor of the colony, gave the epithet of Chalcidian to the new ſettlements; 2. by the Achæans of Peloponneſus, who were of the Eolian tongue and lineage; and, 3. by the Dorian ſtates of that peninſula, eſpecially Corinth; to which city may be applied the obſervation of ancient republicans concerning the fathers of Cato and Brutus, that as children often derived luſtre from the merit of their parents, ſo Corinth acquired renown from the ſplendour and proſperity of its children. Beſides their powerful colonies in Corcyra, Leucas, Anactorium, Ambracia, whoſe tranſactions form ſuch an important part of the hiſtory of ancient Greece, the Corinthians founded Syracuſe, which ſoon became, and long continued, the capital of Sicily. Seventy years after their eſtabliſhment there, the inhabitants of Syracuſe built Acras, and afterwards, at an equal diſtance of time, Camerina. Many other cities of leſs note owed their birth to the ſame metropolis; ſo that in the ſixth century before Chriſt, the Syracuſans had extended their ſettlements over all the ſouthern coaſt of the iſland [23]. We had already an opportunity to mention, on what occaſion the Lacedæmonians founded the city of Tarentum in Italy; thirty nine years afterwards, Rhegium was built by the Meſſenians and

The Dorian colonies moſt powerful in Sicily. Olymp. xi. 2. A.C. 729.

Olymp. viii. 2. A.C. 707.

[22] Between the 10th and 30th Olympiads, and the years 737 and 777 B. C.

[23] Scymnus, v. 293. Thucyd. l. vi. & Herodot l. vii.

and Chalcidians, the former of whom (as we have related above) had already ſettled at Meſſene, on the oppoſite ſhore of Sicily. The citizens of Tarentum founded Heraclea, ſituated on the Tarentine gulph, and perhaps gave an acceſſion of inhabitants to Locri, which, though originally planted by the Eolians, ſeems early to have uſed the Doric dialect. The Rhodians, who were alſo of the Doric race, built the city of Gela in Sicily, forty-five years after the foundation of Syracuſe[24]; and Gela planted the flouriſhing colony of Agrigentum, which ſoon ſurpaſſed the ſplendour of its metropolis, and became the ſecond city in the iſland. CHAP. XI. Olymp. xlix. 3. A. C. 582.

By means of theſe powerful eſtabliſhments, the *Dorians* acquired, and always maintained, an aſcendant in Sicily; but the Achæan colonies, who were of the *Eolian* blood and language[25], commanded the Italian ſhore. Crotona, the moſt conſiderable city of the Achæans, and of all Italy in ancient times, was built ſeven hundred and ten years before Chriſt[26]. Sybaris, its rival, was founded about the ſame time, and by the ſame nation. The former ſent colonies to Tirina, Caulonia, and Pandoſia; the latter built Laus, Metapontum, and Poſidonia, or Pæſtum[27], whoſe admired ruins atteſt the ancient wealth and grandeur of the Greek cities of Italy. The Eolian, in Italy.

In this deduction, had we followed the order of time, we ought to have mentioned, firſt of all, the Ionian colonies, who came from the iſle of Eubœa. The Ionian the weakeſt in both countries.

[24] Thucyd. l. vi.

[25] Strabo, l. viii. p. 513, aſſures us of the latter circumſtance, which is of more importance than the uncertain genealogy of the ancient Grecian tribes.

[26] Dionyſ. Halicarn. l. ii.

[27] Scymnus, v. 245.

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Eubœa. The inhabitants of that iſland built Naxus in Sicily, a year before the foundation of Syracuſe [28]; but neither that, nor their ſettlements at Catana, Egeſta, Leontium, ever attained conſiderable populouſneſs or ſplendour. And it deſerves to be particularly remarked, that, for reaſons which will appear in the ſequel of this work, the Ionians, who ſettled chiefly near the eaſtern ſhore of Sicily, never rivalled the power and fame of their Dorian and Eolian neighbours, but fell ſhort of thoſe nations in Magna Græcia, as much as they ſurpaſſed them in the ſhores and iſlands of Aſia.

General cauſes of the wealth and populouſneſs of all theſe colonies. Olymp. lxx. 1. A.C. 500.

Inſtead of fatiguing the memory of our readers with the names of leſs conſiderable ſtates or cities, which had little influence on the general affairs of the whole country [29], it is of more importance to examine the circumſtances to which the inhabitants of Magna Græcia owed their flouriſhing ſituation at the period of time of which we write, when (it may be boldly affirmed) theſe colonies equalled, and exceeded, the wealth and power of the mother-country. We ſhall not inſiſt on the well-known phyſical and moral cauſes which uſually contribute to the rapid growth of newly-eſtabliſhed colonies. It is evident, that amidſt the equality of fortune, and ſimplicity of manners, which

[28] Thucyd. l. vi.

[29] The Magna Græcia which I always uſe in the ſenſe of Strabo, cited above, to denote the Greek ſettlements in Sicily as well as Italy, being the moſt acceſſible part of the Grecian dominions, has been more fully deſcribed by the moderns than any other. The immenſe collection of the Theſaurus Siculus, and particularly vols. i. iv. vii. viii. and xiii. afford uſeful materials, as well as Cluverii Sicil. Antiqua, and Fazellus de Rebus Siculis, and the excellent work of Gio. Balt. Caruſo, Memorie iſtoriche di quanto e accaduto in Sicilia dal tempo dé ſuoi primi habitanti fino ai Normanni.

which commonly prevail in ſuch communities, men who have a wide country before them muſt naturally multiply far beyond the proportion of nations corrupted and weakened by the vices of wealth, luxury, and above all, of vanity, which perhaps is the greateſt enemy to the increaſe of the human ſpecies. It is ſufficient barely to mention the natural fertility of Magna Græcia, and particularly of Sicily, which in many places produced an hundred fold[30]. The Greeks who ſailed thither from Peloponneſus, carried with them the knowledge and practice of agriculture, which had early attained an high degree of perfection in their peninſula; and the exuberant ſoil of Sicily, improved by cultivation, ſoon exhibited a picture of that rich abundance, which, in later times, made that beautiful iſland be entitled the granary of Rome[31].

Particular cauſes. The Achæan laws.

The peculiar ſituation of the Achæans and Dorians, from whom, chiefly, the colonies in Magna Græcia derived their origin, had a conſiderable influence in accelerating the population and grandeur of theſe new eſtabliſhments. The Achæans, whoſe republic became ſo famous in later times, and that in conſequence of circumſtances which it is neceſſary at preſent to deſcribe, originally inhabited a long, but narrow ſtrip of ground, not more fertile than extenſive, along the Corinthian gulph, whoſe rocky ſhores were deſtitute of good harbours[32]. But the impartial and generous ſpirit of the Achæan laws early compenſated the natural defects of their territory. They were the firſt, and long the only republic of Greece, who admitted ſtrangers into their community on equal

[30] Strabo. l. viii. [31] Diodorus, l. xvi.
[32] Plutarch, in Arato, p. 1031.

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terms with the ancient citizens [33]. In *their* truly free country, no powerful capital, like Thebes in Bœotia, or Athens in Attica, domineered over the inferior towns and villages. Twelve cities, which had common laws and inſtitutions, and afterwards common weights and meaſures [34], ſent deputies to Helicé, which is diſtinguiſhed by Homer [35] as the moſt conſiderable town of Achaia. That place being deſtroyed by an earthquake [36] three hundred and ſeventy-three years before Chriſt, Ægæ became the ſeat of the general congreſs, which regulated public affairs, and appointed annual magiſtrates and generals to execute their reſolutions, who were accountable to the congreſs, or council, as the members of the council themſelves were to the cities by which they had been named and conſtituted [37]. This excellent ſyſtem of government, which checked the ambition, while it maintained the independence, of Achaia [38], defended that fortunate country againſt the convulſions which ſhook and overwhelmed the moſt powerful republics of Greece.

A. C. 281. It was then that the Achæans, who during many ages had enjoyed their equitable laws in ſilence, emerged from obſcurity: and communicating their government on equal terms to the neighbouring cities of Peloponneſus, preſerved the feeble ſpark of liberty, every where extinguiſhed around them, for one hundred and thirty-ſix years, till they

[33] Polybius, l. ii. p. 178.

[34] Polybius, ibid. mentions this circumſtance, to ſhew how deſirous they were to have every thing common and equal among them.

[35] Il. ii. in the catalogue.

[36] Strabo, l. viii. p. 589, ſays, the earthquake happened two years before the battle of Leuctra, which was fought 371 years before Chriſt.

[37] Polybius, ibid.

[38] Schook. Achaia, apud Gronov. Theſ. t. w.

they finally yielded to the power and policy of Rome [39]. This ſhort period of war and tumult has been minutely deſcribed in hiſtory, while the many happy centuries that preceded it are but occaſionally glanced at by antient writers: and were it not for the defeats and calamities which the Achæans ſuffered in later times, we ſhould, perhaps, be ignorant that their anceſtors anciently poſſeſſed an equitable and generous policy, which being tranſported with them into Magna Græcia, could not fail to promote the happineſs and proſperity of that delightful country [40].

The ſtate of the Dorians at the time of their emigration to Magna Græcia.

The condition of the Dorians, at the time when they planted colonies in Italy and Sicily, is not leſs worthy of remark. The Dorian ſtates of Peloponneſus were then univerſally ſubject to the gentle government of limited, but hereditary princes, or to magiſtrates choſen from the deſcendants of their ancient royal families [41], and who, thus adorned by birth, were ſometimes ſtill more ennobled by wiſdom and virtue [42]. It is the nature of colonies to preſerve with affectionate reſpect the inſtitutions of the mother-country, which often

[39] Polyb. Excerp. Legat. & Titus Livius, l. xxxviii. & xxxix.

[40] Xenophon, in his Greek hiſtory, ſpeaks of the excellence of the Achæan laws, in treating a paſſage of hiſtory which will be related in the ſequel. Polybius was evidently engaged to enter deeper into this ſubject, by the reaſon aſſigned in the text.

[41] Theſe were properly the only nobility in Greece; they were called ευπατριδαι, and long held ſway in all the Grecian ſtates. S. Petitus has collected the moſt important paſſages concerning them in his commentary on the ancient Athenian law, "Τους Ευπατριδας γινεσθαι τα θεια, και παρεχειν αρχοντας, και νομων διδασκαλους ειναι, και οσιων και ιερων εξηγητας." "That the Eupatridæ, or nobility, adminiſter the rites of religion, fill the offices of magiſtracy, interpret the laws, and explain all ſacred and divine matters."

[42] Thucyd. l. i.

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often improve by tranſplantation, and thrive and flouriſh in foreign lands, when they have withered and periſhed in the ſoil which originally produced and propagated them. Time and accident, and the various cauſes which have been explained in the courſe of this hiſtory, tended to change the ancient conſtitution, and to diminiſh the ſtrength of the Grecian ſtates on both ſides the Corinthian Iſthmus. While fierce and frequent wars exhauſted their population, the excluſive ſpirit of republican jealouſy, which ſternly refuſed ſtrangers any participation in their government, or any protection from their laws, naturally repreſſed their vigour, and ſtunted their growth. The colonies in Magna Græcia, enjoying a wide territory before them, had not the ſame interference of intereſt, and found ſufficient employment in ſubduing the original inhabitants of that country, without commencing hoſtilities againſt each other. Nor were they more ambitious to ſubdue the barbarous natives, than ſolicitous to incorporate them into their own communities. The kings, or nobility, of Magna Græcia, ſecure of their own preeminence, felt [43] nothing of the republican jealouſies which prevailed in the mother-country. They received with pleaſure new citizens, or rather ſubjects, from whatever quarter they might come. The Barbarians adopted the language and manners of the nation to whom they were aſſociated; their children received a Grecian education; and the ſtates of Italy and Sicily thus increaſing by degrees, could ſoon boaſt, the former of Crotona, Tarentum, Sybaris, Rhegium; the latter of Syracuſe, Agrigentum, Meſſene, Himera, and ſeveral

Circumſtances favourable to the new ſettlers in that country.

[43] The ſame policy was practiſed by Macedon; and, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate, was the primary cauſe of the Macedonian greatneſs.

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ſeveral other cities, which rivalled or ſurpaſſed the wealth of Athens or Corinth, and the populouſneſs of Thebes, Argos, or Sparta.

The wars, conqueſts, or oppreſſions, but above all the civil diſſentions, which in the ſixth century before Chriſt diſturbed and deformed the coaſt of Ionia, and the other Grecian colonies in the iſlands and continent of Aſia, brought frequent acceſſions of inhabitants to the ſhores of Magna Græcia. In that age the Aſiatic Greeks had attained greater proficiency, both in the uſeful and in the agreeable arts, than any other portion of the Grecian name; but they alſo ſunk deeper in voluptuouſneſs and luxury. Their poetry, which ſtill remains, alike atteſts the refinement of their taſte, and the corruption of their morals. The effeminate vices, for which the Ionians were thenceforth in all ages infamous [44], ſeem to have taken deep root in that century; and it is probable, that along with their poetry, muſic, and painting, they communicated alſo their diſſolute and artificial appetites to the Greeks of Italy and Sicily.

The oppreſſion of the Aſiatic Greeks brought new inhabitants to Italy and Sicily;

who improved arts, and corrupted manners;

But whether this be admitted, or whether we ſuppoſe that, according to the ordinary courſe of events, the inhabitants of Magna Græcia having attained opulence by induſtry, diſſipated it in idleneſs and licentiouſneſs, it is acknowledged by all writers on this part of hiſtory, that the Greek cities of Italy, and particularly Sybaris and Cortona, had degenerated from their antient maxims, and fallen a prey to the moſt dangerous errors and vices, when Pythagoras came to their relief, about five

[44] Motus doceri gaudet *Ionicos*
Matura virgo, & fingitur artibus,
Jam nunc, & inceſtos amores
De tenero meditatur ungue. HORACE.

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five hundred and fifty years before the Chriſtian æra.

which are reformed by Pythagoras.

The philoſophy of Pythagoras forms an important object in the hiſtory of the human mind: and if we admit the concurring teſtimony of ancient authors [45], the philoſophy, or rather the legiſlation, of this extraordinary man, reformed and improved the manners and policy of Magna Græcia, and contributed in an eminent degree, not only to the quiet and happineſs, but to the induſtry, power, and ſplendour, of that celebrated country. Leſt this influence ſhould appear too great, and even incredible, in a ſtranger, who is known to have ſtudiouſly declined all public offices and authority, the occaſion requires that we ſhould explain the means by which ſuch extraordinary effects were produced.

Hiſtory of that philoſopher. Olymp. xlv. 1. A.C. 600.

Pythagoras was born at Samos [46]. when Samos was the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing of all the Grecian iſles. His father, Mneſarchus, being a perſon of diſtinction in his country [47], the promiſing youth was carefully inſtructed in the learning known or valued in that early age. Muſic, poetry, and the gymnaſtic exerciſes, formed the principal

His education.

[45] Particularly Ariſtoxenus, the learned diſciple of Ariſtotle (apud Stobæum, Serm. 41.); various ancient authors cited by Jamblicus and Porphyry, as well as by Diogenes Laertius, l. viii.; to which add Juſtin, l. xx. and Cicero, Tuſc. Quæſt. de Amicitia, & de Oratore. "Pythagoras exornavit eam Græciam quæ Magna dicta eſt, & privatim & publice, præſtantiſſimis & inſtitutis & artibus." Cicero de Amicitia.

[46] Iſocrates in Buſiri. Titus Livius, l. i. c. xviii. Lucian. Lexiphanes. To theſe authorities we may add, that Pythagoras is repreſented on ſeveral Samian coins. Fabric. Bibl. Græca, t. i. p. 455.

[47] Mneſarchus was ſent from Samos to conſult the oracle of Delphi, probably on ſome public occaſion. Jamb. in Vit. Pythag.

principal part of his education; but the young philoſopher, if we may anticipate that name, was not indifferent [48] to the diſcoveries of Thales, the firſt Grecian who nearly calculated an eclipſe of the ſun; and he early ſet himſelf to rival the Mileſian ſage in his favourite ſtudies. It is recorded, that he learned eloquence from Pherecydes of Syros [49], who reſided a conſiderable time in the iſle of Samos, and who is famous in the literary hiſtory of Greece, as the firſt author in proſe [50]. Pittacus of Leſbos, Bias of Priené, and the other ſophiſts, or wiſe men (as they were emphatically ſtyled by their contemporaries) who then flouriſhed in Aſiatic Greece, and whoſe abilities and virtue had raiſed them, in troubled times, to the head of the ſeveral communities of which they were reſpectively members, excited the kindred ambition of Pythagoras, who appears to have been early animated with the deſire of acquiring juſt renown, by promoting public happineſs. In his eighteenth year he viſited the continent of Greece, and gained the prize of wreſtling at the Olympic games [51], where his vigour, addreſs, and beauty, were beheld with admiration by the multitude; while the opening virtues of his mind, were ſtill more admired by men of ſenſe and diſcernment. In conformity with the practice of an age when the feeble rays of knowledge were ſcattered over a wide ſurface, and much pains were requiſite to collect them, he withdrew himſelf from the applauſes of his countrymen, and for a longer time than was uſual with the Grecian travellers. This circumſtance gave occaſion to many fables

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Travels.

[48] Apollon. apud Jamblichum.
[49] Diogenes apud Porph.
[50] Plin. N. H. l. vii. c. lvi.
[51] Jambl. Porph. &c.

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[52] The travels of the Greek philoſopher were ſpoken of in vague terms, and magnified even by great writers. *Ultimas* terras luſtrâſſe Pythagoram, Democritum, Platonem accepimus. Cicero de Finibus, l. iv. c. xix. We may well believe, then, that ſuch men as Hermippus (apud Joſeph. adverſ. Apionem), Apollonius, Jamblichus, &c. would carry their exaggerations to the higheſt degree of incredibility on this fertile ſubject. The chief ſource of theſe fables, and of the ſuppoſed learning of the Magi, Chaldæans, Indians, &c. may be found in the credulous or lying writers, who accompanied Alexander in his eaſtern expedition. At their return to Greece, they magnified the learning, as well as the power and wealth, of the nations conquered by their patron; they were ſolicitous to perſuade their countrymen, that their anceſtors had learned their philoſophy from people whoſe names they had never before heard; and their own vanity was flattered by having viſited, and familiarly known thoſe fancied inſtructors of mankind. Clearchus, Oneſicretus, and Calliſthenes, were the moſt celebrated of theſe writers, of whom Diogenes Laertius, or rather a far ſuperior man whom he cites, ſays, Λανθανουσι δε αυτους τα των Ελληνων καταρθωματα Βαρβαροις προσαπτοντες. "They are miſtaken, when they refer the Grecian diſcoveries to the Barbarians." It was natural for the eaſtern nations, when they had adopted the language and learning of the Greeks, to avail themſelves of Grecian authorities, to prove how much that celebrated nation owed to people whom they proudly denominated Barbarians. Hence the fables of Beroſus the Chaldæan, of Manetho the Egyptian, of Sanchoniothon the Phœnician. We except from this claſs of fabuliſts the Jew, Joſephus, the antiquity of whoſe nation reſts on evidence which it would be irreverent to name in ſuch company. Had Pythagoras or Thales been acquainted with the Jewiſh religion, they would have learned far nobler notions of the Deity, than thoſe which it appears they entertained. Anaxagoras, ſurnamed ὁ νους, the preceptor of the great Pericles, was the firſt Grecian philoſopher, who ſaw, by the light of reaſon, the natural and moral attributes of God, ſo ſublimely deſcribed in the Pſalms of David. Yet it never was ſaid, that Anaxagoras had ſeen the Pſalms, the Books of Moſes, or any part of the ſacred writings; and it may be remarked, that Joſephus himſelf, in his firſt book, (cont. Ap.) however zealous to prove, that the Greeks derived their knowledge from the Eaſt, can cite no author in favour of this opinion, who lived before the age of Alexander.

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ſeveral years in the antient kingdom of Egypt[53], which had been long familiarly known to the Grecian mariners, and where the ſon of Mneſarchus might probably enjoy the protection of many hereditary friends. In that country he probably made ſome additions to his knowledge in arithmetic and geometry; he certainly learned many traditions concerning the gods, and the human ſoul: but what particularly deſerved his attention was, the ſecret ſymbolic writings of the prieſts,

[53] There is a famous paſſage in Iſocrates's panegyric of Buſiris, which might ſeem to contradict what is ſaid in the preceding note, if we did not reflect, that the rules of panegyric require not always a ſtrict adherence to hiſtorical truth. In ſpeaking of the ancient wiſdom and piety of the Egyptians, and particularly of the ſacerdotal order, he ſays, that he himſelf is not the firſt who perceived and acknowledged their merit; that many philoſophers had done this before him, and particularly Pythagoras the Samian, Ὃς ἀφικομενος εις Αιγυπτον, και μαθητης εκεινων γενομενος, την τε αλλην φιλοσοφιαν πρωτος εις τους Ελληνας εκομισε, και τα περι τας θυσιας τε και τας αγιστειας τας εν τοις ἱεροις επιφανεστερον των αλλων εσπουδασεν. ηγουμενος, ει και μηδεν αυτω δια ταυτα πλειον γιγνοιτο παρα των θεων, αλλα παρα γε τοις ανθρωποις εκ του των μαλιστα αν ευδοκιμησειν. ὁπερ αυτω και συνεβη. Τοσουτον γαρ ευδοξια της αλλης ἁπαντας ὑπερεβαλεν, ὡστε και τους νεωτερους ἁπαντας επιθυμειν αυτου μαθητας ειναι, και τους πρεσβυτερους ἡδιον ὁρᾶν τους παιδας τους αυτων εκεινω συγγιγνομενους η των οικειων επιμελουμενους. "Who coming to Egypt, and being inſtructed by the prieſts of that country, firſt introduced other kinds of learning into Greece, and particularly a more accurate knowledge of religious rites and ceremonies." (I have generaliſed the expreſſion θυσιας και ἁγιστειας εν τοις ἱεροις,) "of which he was a careful obſerver; thinking that although he were entitled to no peculiar favour on that account from the gods, he would thereby, at leaſt, procure eſteem among men, which alſo happened to him; for he ſo far eclipſed the glory of all other philoſophers, that all the young deſired to become his diſciples, and the old were better pleaſed to ſee their ſons in the company of Pythagoras, than engaged in the moſt lucrative or honourable purſuits." If what is ſaid in my account of the life and writings of Iſocrates be conſidered with attention, this paſſage will only ſerve to confirm the obſervations in the text.

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priests, and the singular institutions and policy of the sacerdotal order, by which that body of men had long been enabled to govern prince and people [54]. At his return from Egypt and the East, Pythagoras found his native country governed, or rather insulted, by the artful and long fortunate Polycrates; a tyrant whose power seemed so firmly established, that there remained no hopes to subvert it, and under whose jealous eye the son of Mnesarchus could neither display his talents, nor enjoy personal security: he therefore returned to European Greece, and again assisted at the Olympic games; where being saluted by the then honoured name of Sophist, he modestly declined that distinction for the humbler title of Philosopher; and when asked what he precisely meant by this new appellation, he is said to have replied, "That, in the same manner as at the Olympic assembly, some men came to contend for crowns and honours, others to sell their merchandise, and a third class merely to see and examine every thing which passed in that celebrated convention; so, in the greater theatre of the world, while many struggled for the glory of a name, and many for the advantages of fortune; a few, and but a few, neither covetous of money, nor ambitious of fame, were contented with beholding the wonders of so magnificent a spectacle [55]." This definition has been often cited, because it well agrees with the contemplative notions generally entertained of the Pythagorean school; but it will appear in the sequel,

Olymp. lvi. A. C. 560.

[54] Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, passim, and Strabo, l. 10. p. 482.

[55] Cicero (Tusc. Quæst. v. 3.) has translated a passage to this purpose from Heraclides Ponticus, the scholar of Plato: and the original passage of Heraclides is still preserved in Jamblichus.

quel, that the philoſophy of Pythagoras was of a more practical kind. CHAP. XI.

From Olympia and the republic of Elis, he travelled to the neighbouring territory of Sparta [56], and ſpent a conſiderable time in that capital, diligently ſtudying the laws and inſtitutions of Lycurgus, and obſerving the manners and genius of the beſt governed, moſt virtuous, and moſt proſperous of all the Grecian ſtates. Here he beheld a conſtitution of government (the wiſdom of which had been long approved by experience) founded on a ſyſtem of education; and combining in his clear capacious mind, the Spartan laws and diſcipline with a mixture of the Egyptian craft and policy, he framed that ſublime plan of legiſlation, which was to be far more extenſive than the laws of Lycurgus; and which at firſt fixing its root in a ſmall ſect at Crotona, was deſtined, in twenty or thirty years, to diffuſe its flouriſhing branches over Italy and Sicily.

Cauſes of his authority in Italy.

Pythagoras arrived at the capital of Italian Greece in his fortieth year, in the full vigour of mind and body [57]. His fame, doubtleſs, preceded him; ſince, whoever had honourably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the general convention at Olympia, was ſpeedily known and celebrated in the remoteſt provinces of Greece. His perſonal acquaintances among the Italian Greeks, whoſe eſteem, or rather reſpect, he had acquired in that auguſt aſſembly, would naturally be loud in his praiſes; and the manners of the age, in which men lived together in crowds, and enjoyed their paſtimes, or tranſacted their ſerious buſineſs with undiſguiſed freedom, in temples and gymnaſia, contributed

[56] Porphyr. Jambl. & Juſtin. l. xx.
[57] Ariſtoxen. apud Jambl.

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His ſuperior talents.

contributed to the rapid increaſe of his friends and admirers. Upon his arrival at Crotona, he appeared in the public places, diſplaying his dexterity in thoſe exerciſes and accompliſhments, which were the faſhionable objects of purſuit, and the principal ſources of honour. His ſkill in muſic and medicine, ſciences which were far better underſtood in his native country than in Magna Græcia, procured him particular regard; nor can we heſitate to believe, that his mathematical and natural knowledge would be highly admired by the Greeks of Italy, who, having recen tlyreceived the firſt tincture of arts and ſciences from the Aſiatics, cultivated them with that ardor which novelty excites; and who ſeem hitherto to have gained in point of knowledge and civility, in proportion as they had loſt in purity of life and manners, by an acquaintance with their Eaſtern brethren.

His manner of life.

Neither the voluptuouſneſs nor the refinement of the inhabitants of Magna Græcia, were incompatible with the hopes and fears of the moſt puerile ſuperſtition; and Pythagoras, who had ſeen and examined the rites and ceremonies employed by remote nations, celebrated for their antiquity, to avert the diſpleaſure, or to gain the good-will of their inviſible protectors, called forth the whole force of this powerful, yet dangerous inſtrument of policy, to excite reſpect for his perſon, and reverence for his inſtructions. He carefully frequented, at an early hour, the temples of the gods; his regular purifications and ſacrifices announced ſuperior ſanctity of character; his food was of the pureſt kind, that no corporeal ſtain might interrupt his fancied communication with his celeſtial friends, and he was clothed in the linen

linen of Egypt, which was the dreſs [58] of the ſacerdotal order in that native land of ſuperſtition, as well as of the Athenian magiſtrates and nobles, in the early and pious times of their republic [59]. The reſpect excited by ſuch artifices (if we may degrade by that name the means uſed to deceive men into their duty and happineſs) was enhanced by the high renown, the long travels, the venerable aſpect, the harmonious voice, the animated and affecting eloquence, of the Samian philoſopher. His hearers ſometimes amounted to two thouſand of the principal citizens of Crotona; and the magiſtrates of that republic erected, ſoon after his arrival among them, an elegant and ſpacious edifice, which was appropriated to the virtuous leſſons of this admired ſtranger, who pleaſed their taſte, and gratified their fancy, while he condemned their manners, and reproached their vices. Equally rapid and aſtoniſhing, and not more aſtoniſhing than advantageous, if we may credit the general voice of antiquity, was the reformation produced at Crotona in perſons of every age, and of either ſex, by this ſingular man. The women laid aſide their ornaments, and reſumed their modeſty; the youth preferred their duty to their pleaſures; the old improved their underſtanding, and almoſt neglected to improve their fortunes.

The happy revolution which he produced at Crotona.

Yet this revolution of manners was not ſurely ſo inſtantaneous, as the concurring exaggerations of wonder and credulity were naturally inclined to repreſent it. The ſame writers, who would thus magnify the fame of Pythagoras, acknowledge, that ſoon after coming to Crotona, he choſe a ſelect number of his moſt aſſiduous diſciples,

His ſchool.

[58] Diodorus.

[59] Thucyd. l. i.

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ples, and thoſe chiefly perſons of weight in the republic, whoſe temper, character, and views, beſt ſuited his own. Theſe were formed into an aſſociation, or ſeparate order of men, into which none were admitted, who poſſeſſed not qualities and endowments worthy of that honour. In order to confirm this aſſociation, as well as to obtain the purpoſes for which it had been inſtituted, Pythagoras employed the cypher, or ſymbolic writing, and other ſecrets, which he had learned from the wiſdom, or rather cunning, of the Egyptian prieſts: his ſcholars were taught certain ſigns or words, by which they might know each other; they could correſpond when ſeparated by place, in an unknown character; and ſtrangers of all countries, Greeks and Barbarians, were promiſcuouſly admitted into the ſociety, after undergoing a due probation as to their diſpoſitions and underſtanding. In a few years, three hundred men, all Pythagoreans, held the ſovereignty of Crotona; the influence of the new ſect extended with rapidity over Locri, Rhegium, Catana, and other cities of Italy and Sicily; the diſciples of Pythagoras were diffuſed over ancient Greece, and the iſles of the Ægean Sea; and it ſeemed as if the ſage of Samos, whoſe nobler ambition declined and diſdained any particular office of power and dignity, had conceived the ſublime idea of forming a ſchool, or rather an aſſociation of men, who might govern the world, while they were themſelves governed by wiſdom and virtue.

Its influence on affairs of ſtate. Olymp. lvii. 3. A.C. 550.

His great views.

His politics.

Pythagoras was deeply perſuaded, that the happineſs of nations depends chiefly on the government under which they live; and the experience of his own times, and of his own iſland in particular, might teach him the dangerous tendency of democratic turbulence on the one hand, and jealous

jealous tyranny on the other[60]. He preferred, therefore, to all governments, a moderate ariſtocracy; CHAP. XI.

[60] A ſtriking example of this appeared at that time in Sicily, if we credit Jamblichus, who places the reign of Phalaris, at Agrigentum, in the age of Pythagoras. The doubtful, or rather incredible, hiſtory of this tyrant, may be compriſed in few words. His reign, of about ſixteen years, was diſtinguiſhed by intolerable atrocities. He burned his enemies in a brazen bull; and, as luſt or cruelty happened to direct, ſometimes abuſed, and ſometimes eat, boys. Phalaris, together with his mother and friends (could ſuch a monſter have friends?) were burned, by the long-injured Agrigentines, in his own bull. This is the abominable tyrant, whoſe ſpurious letters furniſhed an opportunity to Dr. Bentley to diſplay his profound erudition (ſee his Diſſert. upon Phalaris). But that very learned man ſeems not to ſuſpect, that the hiſtory of Phalaris is as ſpurious as his epiſtles. It was a common artifice among Greek poets and orators (ſee above the ſpeech of Soſicles the Corinthian, p. 324.) to exaggerate the vices of bad princes. Of this we ſhall find many examples in the following parts of this work. This practice began early, for Pindar ſays,

Τον δε ταυρω χαλκεω καυτηρα νηλεα νοον
Εχθρα Φαλαριν κατειχε παντα φατις.

PYTH. i. Επωδ. κωλ. ιε.

Ariſtotle mentions, Το περι Φαλαριν λεγομενον, the hearſay about Phalaris, which Aſpaſius explains, Ὁ δε Φαλαρις λεγεται φαγειν τον ἑαυτου παιδα. Phalaris is ſaid to have eat his own ſon. In the ſame chapter (c. v. l. vi. Ethic. Nicom.) ſpeaking of brutal paſſions, Ariſtotle inſtances Phalaris ſometimes devouring boys, ſometimes uſing them as the inſtruments of an abſurd venereal pleaſure: "Προς αφροδισιων ατοπον ἡδονην." The philoſopher does not ſay that he believes theſe monſtrous fictions, any more than Cicero, "Ille nobilis taurus, quem crudeliſſimus omnium tyrannorum Phalaris *habuiſſe dicitur*;" l. iv. in Verrem, c. xxxiii. Timæus, the hiſtorian of Sicily, who was more likely than any other writer to be well informed concerning the tranſactions in his own iſland, repreſents the ſtory of Phalaris's bull as a mere fable. Polyb. Excerp. ver. 3. p. 47. Polybius, indeed, attempts to refute Timæus, but I think, as to the main point, with little ſucceſs. Nor is it ſurpriſing that this judicious writer ſhould be carried along by the torrent. The republicans of Greece and Rome delighted in blackening the characters of tyrants; Τραγωδουντες δε την ὠμοτητα

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tocracy; which ſeems, without exception, to have been the well-founded opinion of the greateſt men of antiquity, ſince, under the adminiſtration of a ſenate, the republics of Greece, of Rome, and of Carthage, attained their higheſt proſperity and ſplendour. Yet he was extremely averſe to arbitrary power, whatever ſhape it might aſſume; and the main aim of his inſtitution was, to prevent oppreſſion in the magiſtrates, and licentiouſneſs in the people. The dead letter of the law could never, he thought, effect that ſalutary purpoſe, until men were ſo trained by education and diſcipline, as to regard the great duties of life as its moſt agreeable amuſement, and to conſider the eſteem of their fellow-citizens, and their own, as the chief ſource of their enjoyment. Magiſtrates, thus formed, would command a willing obedience, and the inhabitants of Magna Græcia muſt ſoon attain the moſt perfect ſtate of which political ſociety is ſuſceptible.

Morality.

To explain at large the ſyſtem of Pythagoras, would be to write a treatiſe of ſublime, yet practical, morality, ſince his concluſions are ſtrictly founded on the nature of man. Beſides the propenſities common to us with inferior natures, and beſides the ſelfiſh and artificial paſſions of avarice and ambition, he found in the human breaſt the ſeeds

ὑμοτητα των τροπων, και την ασεβειαν των πραξεων; "exaggerating, after the manner of tragedians, the fierceneſs of their manners, and the impiety of their actions." For this reaſon, the abſurd fictions concerning Dionyſius of Syracuſe, Alexander of Pheræ, &c. are related by many reſpectable writers. For this reaſon, Hieronymus was deſcribed in the blackeſt colours, vid. Excerp. ex Polyb. l. vii. p. 10. And for this reaſon, the enormous cruelties of Phalaris, which no nation, and far leſs the Sicilians in that age, could have tolerated, receive countenance from ſome of the higheſt authorities of antiquity.

ſeeds of nobler faculties, fitted to yield an incomparably more durable, more perfect, and more certain gratification. The chief happineſs of the mind muſt be ſought in itſelf, in the enjoyment of intellectual and moral pleaſure. Our thoughts are ever, and intimately, preſent with us; and although the buſtle of external objects, and the tumult of paſſion, may ſometimes divert their current, they can never dry up their ſource. The reflections on our own conduct, will be continually occurring to our fancy, whatever pains we may take to exclude them; nor can voluptuous enjoyment, or ambitious activity, ever ſo totally occupy the mind of a Perſian ſatrap, or a Grecian demagogue, but that their principal happineſs or miſery, in the whole courſe of life, muſt chiefly depend on the nature of their reflections upon the paſt, and on their hopes and fears about futurity. To ſtrengthen this great ground-work of morality, Pythagoras employed the whole force of education and habit. Rules were laid down, to which the members of his reſpected order bound themſelves to conform, and from which none could ſwerve, without being excluded from a ſociety of which they proved themſelves unworthy. The different periods of life had each its appropriated employment. The youth were carefully inſtructed in the gymnaſtic exerciſes, in literature [61], and in ſcience, and

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[61] So I have tranſlated Εν γραμμασι και τοις αλλοις μαθημασι, of Ariſtoxenus apud Stobæum, Serm. xli. The learned reader will perceive, that I comprehend under the name of youth, the two different periods of life, or ἡλικιαι, which the Greeks denoted by the words παις and νεανισκος, boy, and young man. I have done this becauſe it was not the intention of Ariſtoxenus to ſay, that the young men were not ſtill to be employed in literature and ſcience, or that the boys were to be kept ignorant of the laws and conſtitution. The rules of the Pythagorean ſchool, and the laws of Lycurgus, often explain each other.

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and eſpecially in the laws and conſtitution of their country. Their time was ſo diverſified by ſucceſſive ſtudy, exerciſe, and repoſe, that no leiſure remained for the premature growth of dangerous paſſions; and it was an important maxim of the Pythagorean ſchool, that many things were beſt learned late[62], eſpecially love; from which, if poſſible, the youth ſhould be reſtrained till their twentieth year, and after that period, ſhould rarely, and with many precautions, indulge a paſſion, always hurtful to the weak, and which, when injudiciouſly indulged, enfeebled the moſt vigorous. He required in thoſe who had attained the age of manhood, that they ſhould no longer live for themſelves, but for the buſineſs of the community, of which they were members. They were to employ the greateſt part of the day in the duties of public ſpirit and patriotiſm; in the laborious or dangerous offices committed to their charge; and to derive their chief reward from reading, in the eyes of their admiring countrymen, the hiſtory of their generous exploits; and from beholding the happy effects of their probity, beneficence, and fortitude.

Rules for the conduct of his diſciples;

The Pythagoreans were ſtrictly enjoined, as their earlieſt and lateſt work, to review the actions of the paſt, and, if time permitted, of many preceding, days. In the morning they repaired alone to the temples, to ſolitary mountains and foreſts; and after there converſing with themſelves, joined in

other. See above, p. 115, & ſeqq. It may be worthy of remark, that Jean Jaques Rouſſeau has borrowed what is rational and practical, in his ſyſtem of education, from theſe two great ſources.

[62] Ariſtoxen. apud Stobæum, Serm. lix. This is the great principle of Rouſſeau in his *Emile*. The paſſage of Ariſtoxenus, concerning love, is almoſt literally tranſlated in that ingenious, but fanciful, work.

in the converſation of their friends, with whom they aſſembled, in ſmall companies, to an early and frugal meal, diſcuſſed different ſubjects of philoſophy or politics, regulated their conduct for the enſuing day, and, by the mutual ſtrength and encouragement acquired in this ſelect ſociety, prepared for the tumultuous buſtle of the world, and the contentions of active life. The evening was ſpent as the morning, with this difference, that they then indulged in the moderate uſe of fleſh and wine, from which they rigidly abſtained during the day; and the whole concluded with that ſelf-examination, which was the capital precept of the Pythagorean ſchool. CHAP. XI.

which coincide with the inſtitutions of Lycurgus.

To enter more fully into the principles of this aſſociation, would be repeating what has been formerly obſerved concerning the laws of Lycurgus. It is ſufficient barely to mention, that, like the legiſlature of Sparta, Pythagoras enjoined the higheſt reſpect for age; that, like him, he raiſed the weaker ſex from that ſtate of inferiority in which they were ungenerouſly kept in all other countries of Greece; that he enured his diſciples to temperance and ſobriety by the ſame means employed by Lycurgus; and that both theſe great men regarded health and vigour of body as the firſt principle of mental ſoundneſs and energy; that the probationary ſilence of the Pythagoreans, which credulity has ſo much exaggerated, was nothing more than that prudent, recollected behaviour, required by Lycurgus, who prized higher the caution of ſilence than the readineſs[62] of ſpeech: and that the intimacy of the Spartan and Pythagorean friendſhips, and almoſt the community of goods, naturally flowed from the general

[62] Plut. in Lycurg.

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ral ſpirit and genius of their reſpective ſyſtems [63]; ſo that the rules of the Pythagorean order were little more than a tranſcript of the Spartan laws, as theſe laws themſelves were only a refinement on the generous and manly inſtitutions of the heroic ages [64].

Origin of the fictions concerning Pythagoras.

In the hiſtory of a man who entertained ſuch juſt notions of human life, as did the founder of the Pythagorean ſchool, we may at once reject, as fabulous, the tales related by the vain, lying Greeks, who lived in, and after, the age of Alexander, when their nation ſeems to have loſt their love of truth along with their liberty, as well as the ridiculous wonders of the later Platoniſts, thoſe contemplative viſionaries, who, during the firſt centuries of the Chriſtian æra, degraded ancient philoſophers, by deſcribing *their* active and uſeful lives, as if they had reſembled their own ſpeculative tranquillity. Yet, after all, ſhould the leaſt extraordinary account of the Pythagorean order ſtill ſeem incredible, it need only be obſerved, that modern hiſtory, and even our own obſervation, may have made us acquainted with orders of another kind, of which the rules are more difficult to be obſerved than thoſe of the Pythagoreans; and it is equally unreaſonable and ungenerous to ſuppoſe, that what our own experience teaches us may be done by the illiberal ſpirit of ſuperſtition, could not, in a happier age, be effected by the love of glory, of virtue, and of mankind.

War between Crotona and Sybaris.

The concurring teſtimony of hiſtorians aſſures us, that the ſchool of Pythagoras had flouriſhed above forty years, to the unſpeakable benefit of Magna

[63] See above, p. 120.
[64] Diodor. l. xii. p. 77, &c.

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Magna Græcia, when a war aroſe between Crotona and Sybaris [65], the latter of which had ever contemptuouſly rejected the Pythagorean inſtitutions. The city of Sybaris was founded (as above-mentioned) by the Achæans, on the confluence of the river Sybaris, from which the city derives its name, and the winding ſtream of Crathis, which deſcends from the Lucanian mountains. The fertility of the ſoil, the happy temperature of the climate, the reſources of fiſhing, navigation, manufactures, and commerce, conſpired, with the ſalutary effect of the Achæan laws, wonderfully to increaſe, in the courſe of two centuries, the ſtrength and populouſneſs of Sybaris; which was ſurrounded by walls, nine miles in extent, commanded twenty-five ſubordinate cities, and, if we credit the evidence of writers often prone to exaggeration, could bring three hundred thouſand men into the field [66]. Riches and luxury proved fatal to the Sybarites, whoſe effeminacy paſſed into a proverb [67], which has been tranſmitted to modern times. In a deciſive battle, they were defeated by the citizens of Crotona, under the command of Milo, a favourite diſciple of Pythagoras, who had already obtained univerſal renown by his Olympic victories [68].

The Sybarites conquered by Milo the Pythagorean. Olymp. lxvii. 4. A. C. 509.

But the deſtruction of Sybaris was almoſt alike fatal to Crotona. The inferior ranks of men in that city, intoxicated with proſperity, and inſtigated by the artful and ambitious Cylon, whoſe turbulent manners had excluded him from the order of Pythagoras, into which he had repeatedly attempted to enter, became clamorous for an equal partition of the conquered territory of Sybaris;

Sedition in Crotona.

[65] See above, p. 132.
[66] Strabo, l. vi. p. 263. Diodor. ibid.
[67] Athenæus, l. xii. p. 518.
[68] Strabo, ibid. Pauſanias, l. vi. p. 369.

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baris; which being denied, as inconſiſtent with the nature of ariſtocratical government, they ſecretly conſpired againſt their magiſtrates, attacked them by ſurpriſe in the ſenate-houſe, put many to death, and drove the reſt from their country. Pythagoras himſelf died ſoon afterwards, in extreme old age, at Metapontum in Lucania [69]. His diſciples were ſcattered over Magna Græcia, and particularly Sicily, which, at the time of the Carthaginian invaſion, was governed by men who had imbibed the ſublime ſpirit of their illuſtrious maſter.

Proves fatal to the Pythagoreans there.

Gelon, who, eleven years before that event, had mounted the throne of Syracuſe, was entitled, by the unanimous ſuffrage of his ſubjects, to the glorious, though often proſtituted appellation, of Father of his Country [70]. The mildneſs of his government reſtored the felicity of the heroic ages, whoſe equitable inſtitutions had much affinity (as above obſerved) with the political ſyſtem of Pythagoras. This virtuous prince had cemented an alliance with Theron, king of Agrigentum, by accepting his daughter in marriage; and the confederacy of the two principal ſtates of Sicily ſeemed to have diffuſed ſecurity and happineſs over the whole iſland, when the immenſe armament of Carthage was beheld off the northern coaſt. Though not abſolutely deſtitute of naval ſtrength, the Sicilians had nothing by which they could oppoſe a fleet of two thouſand gallies. The enemy landed without oppoſition in the ſpacious harbour, or rather bay, of Panormus, whoſe name may be ſtill recogniſed in the modern capital Palermo, where the Carthaginians had planted one of their moſt ancient colonies. Their forces were commanded

The Carthaginians invade Sicily. Olymp. lxxv. 1. A.C. 480.

[69] Ariſtoxenus.

[70] Ælian. var. hiſt. l. xiii. c. xxxvii. Plut. in Timol.

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commanded by Hamilcar, who was deemed a brave and experienced leader. The firſt care of this general was, to fortify two camps; the one deſtined for his fleet, which, according to the practice of that age, was drawn on ſhore; the other intended as a ſafe retreat for his army, which immediately prepared to form the ſiege of Himera. Theron uſed proper meaſures to defend the ſecond city in his dominions, until his kinſman, the intrepid Gelon, ſhould arrive to his aſſiſtance, at the head of an army of fifty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. While this numerous army advanced, by rapid marches, towards Himera, they rencountered a foraging party of the enemy, and took ten thouſand priſoners. But what appeared a ſtill more important booty to the diſcernment of Gelon, they ſeized a meſſenger from Selinus, a city in the neighbourhood of Agrigentum, which had entered into a treacherous correſpondence with the Carthaginians. The priſoner conveyed a letter to Hamilcar, acquainting him, that the Selinuntines would not fail to ſend the cavalry demanded from them at the appointed time, which was likewiſe particularly ſpecified. Upon this diſcovery, Gelon founded a ſtratagem, not more daring than ſucceſsful. He commanded a choſen body of troops to advance in the night towards the Carthaginian camp, and by day-break to preſent themſelves to Hamilcar, as his Selinuntine auxiliaries, and when admitted, by this artifice, within the rampart, to aſſaſſinate the general, and ſet fire to the fleet [71].

Defeated by a ſtratagem.

It happened on the fatal day, that Hamilcar offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to the bloody divinity of Carthage,

[71] Diodor. l. ix. ſect. 25, & ſeqq. Polyæn. l. i. c. xxvii.

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Carthage, who delighted in human victims. While he performed this abominable rite, the ſoldiers ſurrounded him unarmed, in the gloomy ſilence of their deteſted ſuperſtition, with which their minds were totally penetrated. The Sicilian cavalry, being admitted without ſuſpicion, thus found no difficulty to execute their audacious deſign. Hamilcar, while he ſacrificed an innocent and noble youth, to the abhorred genius of ſuperſtition, was himſelf diſpatched with a dagger; and next moment the Carthaginian ſhips were in a blaze. A chain of Sicilian ſentinels, poſted on the neighbouring eminences, intimated to Gelon the happy ſucceſs of his ſtratagem; of which, in order fully to avail himſelf, that gallant commander immediately conducted the main body of his troops to the Carthaginian army, while it was yet agitated by ſurprize and terror at the ſudden conflagration. The furious onſet of the Sicilians made a dreadful havoc among the aſtoniſhed Barbarians, who recovering, however, their faculties, began to defend themſelves with vigour; when the melancholy tidings, that their ſhips were all burnt, and their general ſlain, drove them to deſpair and flight. Gelon commanded his troops not to give quarter to an enemy, who, though defeated, ſtill ſeemed formidable by their numbers. It is reported that an hundred and fifty thouſand periſhed in the battle, and the purſuit. The remainder ſeized an eminence, where they could not long maintain themſelves, for want of water and proviſions. In the language of an ancient hiſtorian, all Africa ſeemed to be taken captive in Sicily. Gelon diſtributed the priſoners among the Sicilian cities, in proportion to the contingents of troops which they had reſpectively raiſed for this memorable ſervice. The greater part falling to the ſhare of Syracuſe and Agrigentum, were employed in beautifying

Their diſaſters.

beautifying and enlarging thoſe capitals [72], whoſe magnificent monuments, ſtill conſpicuous in their ruins, are ſuppoſed, with great probability, to be the effect of Carthaginian labour. CHAP. XI.

Treaty of peace between Gelon and the Carthaginians

The melancholy tidings affected Carthage with conſternation and deſpair. The inhabitants of that city, ever ſhamefully depreſſed by bad fortune, in proportion as they were immoderately elated by the deceitful gifts of proſperity, dreaded every moment to behold the victorious enemy in their harbour. To ward off this calamity, their ambaſſadors were ſent to crave a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities on any terms the victorious Greeks might think proper to impoſe. Gelon received them with ſuch moderation as marked the ſuperiority of his character, and told them, that he would deſiſt from every purpoſe of revenge, on condition that the Carthaginians paid two thouſand talents of ſilver, to be diſtributed among the cities of Sicily, which had incurred trouble and expence by the war; that they thenceforth abſtained from the abominable practice of inſulting the gods by human victims; that they erected two temples, one in Carthage, another in Syracuſe, to preſerve the memory of the war, and the articles of the peace [73].

Olymp. lxxxii. A. C. 449.

This honourable treaty was a prelude to that ſtill more famous, concluded thirty years afterwards between the Athenians and the Perſians. It marked a nation ſuperior to its enemies, not only in valour but humanity, and conferred more true glory than could be acquired by the moſt ſplendid ſeries of victories. It might be expected, however, and ſeems much to have been deſired, that a people ſo advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed

[72] Cicero, Orat. iv. in Verrem. [73] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

CHAP. XI. A.C. 504

ed as were the Greeks during that age in arts and arms; a people who had repelled, defeated, and diſgraced the moſt populous and powerful nations, and who were alike prompted, by ambition and revenge, to the attainment of diſtant conqueſt, ſhould have united their efforts againſt the enemies who ſtill made war on them, and, advancing in a rapid career of victory, have diffuſed, along with their dominion, their manners, knowledge, and civility over the eaſtern world. But various events and cauſes, which we ſhall have occaſion afterwards to explain, tended to detach the colonies of Magna Græcia from the affairs of the mother country, as well as to diſunite the two moſt powerful republics of that country by inteſtine diſcord.

While the fortune of Athens raiſed her to ſuch power, as threatened the liberty of Sicily and Greece, the kings of Syracuſe and Agrigentum contented themſelves with the humbler glory of embelliſhing their capitals with barbaric ſpoils, and producing thoſe wonders of art, which, in the time of Cicero and Verres, were eſteemed among the moſt precious monuments of antiquity[74]. The golden medals of Gelon, ſtill preſerved, and of the higheſt beauty[75], juſtify the glowing expreſſions of the Roman orator.

Decay of Magna Græcia, and deſtruction of the Pythagoreans.

In Italy, the citizens of Crotona had too ſoon cauſe to lament their inſurrection againſt their magiſtrates, and their forſaking the diſcipline of Pythagoras. They who had hitherto defeated ſuperior numbers, who had furniſhed ſo many victors in the Olympic conteſt, and whoſe country was diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of healthy, on a ſuppoſition

[74] Cicero in Verrem, paſſim.
[75] Mem. de Trevoux. Pann. 1727, p. 1449.

ſuppoſition that the vigorous bodies of its inhabitants proceeded from an effect of the climate, were now totally routed and put to flight at the river Sagra, with an army of an hundred and thirty thouſand men, by the Locrians and Rhegians, whoſe forces were far leſs numerous. The other Greek cities of Italy, which are ſaid to have imitated the fatal example of Crotona, were haraſſed by wars againſt each other, or againſt their barbarous neighbours. In conſequence of theſe misfortunes, the Pythagoreans again recovered their credit; and about ſixty years after the death of the great founder of their order, Zaleucus and Charondas, the firſt in Locri, the ſecond in Thurium, endeavoured to revive the Pythagorean inſtitutions, which, perhaps, were too perfect for the condition of the times. In leſs than forty years a new perſecution entirely drove the Pythagoreans from Italy, and completed, according to Polybius, the confuſion and miſery of that once happy country [76].

[76] Polybius, i. 203.

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Glory of Athens.—Military ſucceſs of the Confederates.—Athens rebuilt and fortified.—Extent of its Walls and Harbours.—The Confederates take Bizantium.—Conſpiracy of Pauſanias.—Baniſhment of Themiſtocles—Virtue of Ariſtides.—Cimon aſſumes the Command.—His illuſtrious Merit and Succeſs.—Revolt of Egypt.—War in Cyprus.—Peace with Perſia.—Domeſtic Tranſactions of Greece.—The Athenian Greatneſs.—Envy of Sparta, Thebes, and Argos.—Earthquake in Sparta.—Revolt of the Helots.—War between the Elians and Piſans.—The Temple and Statue of Olympian Jupiter.—Diſſentions in Argolis.—Revolt in Bœotia.—Truce of Thirty Years.—Character of Pericles.—Subjection of the Athenian Allies and Colonies.—Spirit of the Athenian Government.

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The glory of Athens; A. C. 479—431.

FROM the battles of Mycalé and Platæa, to thememorable war of Peloponneſus, elapſed half a century, the moſt illuſtrious in the Grecian annals. A ſingle republic, one of ſixteen ſtates, whoſe united poſſeſſions nearly equalled the extent of Scotland, and whoſe particular territory is ſcarcely viſible in a map of the world, carried on an offenſive war againſt the Perſian empire, and, though ſurrounded by jealous allies or open enemies, proſecuted this extraordinary enterpriſe with unexampled ſucceſs: at length, granting ſuch conditions of peace as the pride of victory may dictate, and the weight of accumulated diſaſters condeſcended to ſolicit or accept. In that narrow ſpace of time the ſame republic erected, on the

in arms,

feeble

feeble baſis of her ſcanty population and diminutive territory, a mighty maſs of empire; eſtabliſhed and confirmed her authority over the extent of a thouſand miles of the Aſiatic coaſt, from Cyprus to the Thracian Boſphorus; took poſſeſſion of forty intermediate iſlands [1], together with the important ſtraits which join the Euxine and the Ægean; conquered and colonized the winding ſhores of Macedon and Thrace; commanded the coaſt of the Euxine from Pontus to the Cherſoneſus Taurica, or Crim Tartary; and, overawing the barbarous natives by the experienced terrors of her fleet [2], protected againſt *their* injuſtice and violence, but at the ſame time converted, to the purpoſes of her own ambition and intereſt, the numerous but ſcattered colonies which Miletus, and other Greek cities of Aſia, had at various times eſtabliſhed in thoſe remote regions [3]. Our wonder will be juſtly increaſed, if we conſider that Athens obtained thoſe immortal trophies, not over ignorant ſavages or effeminate ſlaves, but over men who had the ſame language and laws, the ſame blood and lineage, the ſame arts and arms, in ſhort every thing common with the victors but their audacity and fortune. CHAP. XII.

in arts.

But it is the peculiar glory of the Athenians that, during this rapid ſeries of military and naval triumphs, they cultivated, with a generous enthuſiaſm, the arts which adorn peace as well as war, and carried them all to a perfection which few nations have been able to imitate, and

[1] Several of theſe iſlands had been formerly conquered by Athenian commanders, particularly Miltiades, as we have related above; but having rebelled againſt the ſevere government of Athens, they were finally ſubdued by Pericles.

[2] Plut. in Pericle.

[3] Strabo, Geograph. paſſim.

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and none have found it poſſible to ſurpaſs. During the adminiſtration of a ſingle man, more works of elegance and ſplendor, more magnificent temples, theatres, and porticos were erected within the walls of Athens, than could be raiſed during many centuries in Rome, though miſtreſs of the world, by the wealth and labour of tributary provinces [4]. In the ſame period of time ſculpture attained a ſublimity, from which that noble art could never afterwards but deſcend and degenerate; and a republic hitherto inferior in works of invention and genius to ſeveral of her neighbours, and even of her own colonies, produced, in the ſingle life-time of Pericles, thoſe ineſtimable models of poetry, eloquence, and philoſophy [5], which, in every ſucceeding age, the enlightened portion of mankind hath invariably regarded as the beſt ſtandards, not merely of compoſition and ſtile, but of taſte and reaſon. The name of Greek ſeemed thenceforth to be ſunk in that of Athenian; Athenian writers are our ſureſt and almoſt only guides in relating the ſubſequent tranſactions of the whole nation [6]; and from them we learn what is yet the moſt extraordinary circumſtance reſpecting the Athenian empire, that it had been built on ſuch ſtable foundations, and reared with ſuch art and ſkill, as might have long defied the hoſtile jealouſy of Greece and Perſia, confederate in arms and reſentment, if various cauſes, which human prudence could neither foreſee nor prevent, had not ſhaken

[4] Plutarch. in Pericle.

[5] Pericles may be conſidered as the contemporary of Socrates, Sophocles, Euripides, Thucydides, &c. ſince, although he died before them of the plague, theſe and other great men flouriſhed during his adminiſtration.

[6] I mean Thucydides and Xenophon, together with the Athenian orators, philoſophers, and poets.

ſhaken its firmneſs, and precipitated its down- CHAP. XII.
fall [7].

Such is the ſubject which I have undertaken to treat in this and the two following Chapters; a ſubject worthy to animate the diligence, and call forth the vigour of an hiſtorian: but if he truly deſerves that reſpected name, he will remember that it is leſs his duty to amuſe the fancy by general deſcription, than to explain, with preciſion and perſpicuity, the various tranſactions of this intereſting and ſplendid theme; to give the reader a full and diſtinct view of the complicated matter which it involves; and to remove every adventitious circumſtance that might diſtract or dazzle the attention, as aſtronomers, in viewing the ſun, are careful to ward off its ſurrounding ſplendour.

Military ſucceſs of that republic.

The military ſucceſs of the Athenians [8] (which naturally forms the firſt branch of the ſubject, becauſe it not only ſupplied the materials of future improvements, but awakened that energy requiſite to cultivate and complete them) includes three ſeparate actions which were carried on at the ſame time, and conſpired to the ſame end, yet cannot be related in one perpetual narrative, without occaſioning ſome confuſion of ideas, alike deſtructive of the pleaſure and of the uſe of hiſtory. While we endeavour to keep each ſeries of events unbroken and diſtinct, we muſt be careful to point out its influence on the ſimultaneous or ſucceeding

[7] Thucydid. l. vii. & viii. paſſim.

[8] The chief materials for this portion of hiſtory, conſiſt in the firſt and ſecond books of Thucydides; the eleventh and twelfth of Diodorus Siculus; Plutarch's lives of Themiſtocles, Ariſtides, Cimon, Pericles; Pauſanias's Deſcription of Greece, and Pliny's Natural Hiſtory; ſcattered facts are ſupplied by other ancient writers, whoſe works will be carefully cited.

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Diviſion of the ſubject.

ceeding tranſactions of the times, that our relation may be at once ſatisfactory and faithful. In ſuch a delineation, the trophies of the Perſian war juſtly claim the firſt and moſt conſpicuous place; the hoſtile animoſity of rival ſtates, which continually envied and oppoſed, but, for reaſons that will be fully explained, could neither prevent nor retard the growing ſuperiority of Athens, ſhall occupy the middle of the picture; and we ſhall throw into the back ground the ſucceſſive uſurpations of that fortunate republic over her allies, colonies, and neighbours.

The Athenians take Seſtos. Olymp. lxxv. 2. A.C. 479.

The common fears, which, notwithſtanding innumerable ſources of animoſity, had formed, and hitherto upheld a partial confederacy of the Greeks, were removed by the deciſive victories of Platæa and Mycalé. After theſe memorable events, it was the firſt care of the Athenians to bring home their wives, children, and moſt valuable effects from the iſles of Ægina and Salamis. In the latter iſland they celebrated their good fortune by a national ſolemnity. The ſublime Sophocles joined in the chorus of boys which danced, in exultation, around the Barbarian ſpoils[9]; the valour of his predeceſſor, Æſchylus, had contributed to the victories by which they were obtained; and his rival, the tender Euripides, was born in the iſle of Salamis[10]; on that important day, which proved alike glorious to Greece and fatal to Perſia. But an attention to domeſtic concerns, prevented not the Athenians from puſhing the war with vigour, though deſerted by the Spartans and other Peloponneſians, who ſailed home before winter. The Aſiatic colonies, animated by the recent recovery of freedom, ſeconded the Athenian

[9] Athenæus, l. i. [10] Vita Euripid.

nian ardour; and the confederates, having ſucceſsfully infeſted the territories of the great king, beſieged and took the rich city of Seſtos in the Cherſoneſus of Thrace, the only place of ſtrength which adhered to the Perſian intereſt in that fertile peninſula [11]. CHAP. XII.

Athens rebuilt and fortified. Olymp. lxxv. 3, 4. A.C. 478, & 477.

During the two following years, the war languiſhed abroad, while the ſymptoms of jealouſy and diſcord, which had already appeared in the ſeparation of the Athenian and Spartan fleets, broke out with more virulence at home. The Athenians began the laborious taſk of rebuilding their ruined city, which the Perſian ſpoils might contribute to enrich with uncommon magnificence, and which the acquaintance gained in the courſe of the war, with the graceful forms of Ionic and Doric architecture, might enable them to adorn with more beauty and elegance, than had yet been diſplayed in Europe. But the weighty advice of Themiſtocles, prevailed on them to ſuſpend this noble undertaking, and engaged them, inſtead of decorating their capital with temples, theatres, and gymnaſia, to fortify it by walls of ſuch ſtrength and ſolidity, as might thenceforth bid defiance to every enemy, whether foreign or domeſtic. In an age when the art of attack was ſo rude and imperfect, that the ſmalleſt fortreſs formed an object of importance, ſuch a deſign could not fail of exciting jealouſy in the neighbouring republics. The meaſure was ſcarcely determined when an embaſſy arrived from Sparta, remonſtrating againſt a deſign peculiarly dangerous and alarming to thoſe who owed their ſafety to the weakneſs of their cities. If the Greeks, it was ſaid, "had poſſeſſed any town of impregna-

Jealouſy of Sparta,

[11] Herodot. l. ix. c. cvi. Diodor. l. xi. c. xxxvii.

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ble ſtrength, they muſt have found it impoſſible to expel the Barbarians from their country. The Athenians, therefore, who had hitherto ſo generouſly maintained the cauſe of the confederacy, ought not only to deſiſt from raiſing walls and fortifications, but even to prevent a ſimilar deſign in any republic beyond the Iſthmus; the Peloponneſus was alone ſufficient to afford, in time of danger, a ſecure refuge to the whole Grecian name."

diſcovered by Themiſtocles;

Themiſtocles eaſily unveiled the ſuſpicion and hatred concealed under this ſpecious maſk of public utility, and encouraged his countrymen to elude the Spartan artifice by ſimilar addreſs. The ſenate of the five hundred, who gave audience to foreign ambaſſadors, declared that Athens would adopt no meaſure inconſiſtent with the public intereſt, and promiſed ſpeedily to ſend an embaſſy, in their turn, which would remove all groundleſs apprehenſions entertained on that ſubject. The Lacedæmonians having returned with this temporiſing anſwer, Themiſtocles was immediately diſpatched to Sparta, and expected, as he had previouſly concerted matters with his countrymen [12], to be followed, at a proper time, by Ariſtides, the moſt reſpected character of his age; and by Liſicles, an able orator in the ſenate and aſſembly. Meanwhile the Athenians walls aroſe with unexampled celerity. Not only ſlaves, artificers by profeſſion, and the poorer claſſes of citizens, but magiſtrates of the firſt rank, the venerable fathers of the republic, wrought with their own hands, and with unceaſing induſtry. The feeble efforts of women and children contributed to the uſeful labour. The moſt ſuperſtitious

[12] Idem ibid. & in Themiſt. Lyſias Orat. Funeb. & Cont. Alcibiad.

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ſtitious of men neglected their accuſtomed ſolemnities, and no longer acknowledged the diſtinction of days or ſeaſons: nor did even the ſilent tranquillity of night abate the ardour of their diligence. The ruins of their city happily ſupplied them with a rich variety of material; no edifice was ſpared, public or private, ſacred or profane; the rude ſculpture of antient temples, even the mutilated tombs of their anceſtors, were confounded in the common maſs; and, at the diſtance of near a century, the ſingular appearance of the wall, compoſed of ſtones rough and unpoliſhed, of various colours, and unequal ſize, atteſted the rapid exertions by which the work had been conſtructed [13].

and its effects eluded by his addreſs.

Themiſtocles had hitherto, under various pretences, avoided declaring his commiſſion before the Spartan ſenate. When urged to this meaſure by ſome of the magiſtrates, who began to ſuſpect his ſilence, he ſtill alleged the abſence of his colleagues as a ſufficient reaſon for delay. But a company of travellers, who had recently viſited Athens, gave intelligence of the extraordinary works carrying on in that city. This information, and the reſentment of the Spartans which it occaſioned, muſt have diſconcerted a man who poſſeſſed leſs cool boldneſs than the commander at Salamis and Atemiſium. But Themiſtocles, with the addreſs congenial to his character, aſſerted, that it was unworthy the gravity of Sparta to regard the vague rumours of obſcure men; and that before lightly ſuſpecting the approved fidelity of their allies, ſhe ought to beſtow ſome pains in diſcovering the truth. This declaration was enforced, it is ſaid, by ſeaſonable bribes to the moſt popular

[13] Thucydid. l. i. c. lxxxix. & ſeqq.

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popular of the Ephori; and the Spartans, deluded or corrupted, agreed to diſpatch a ſecond embaſſy to Athens, conſiſting of ſome of their moſt reſpectable citizens. Theſe men had no ſooner arrived at their deſtination, than they were taken into cuſtody, as pledges for the ſafe return of Themiſtocles and his colleagues, who by this time had brought him the welcome news, that the walls were completed. The Athenian ambaſſadors were now prepared to throw off the maſk. They appeared in the Lacedæmonian aſſembly; and Themiſtocles, ſpeaking for the reſt declared, that his countrymen needed not to learn from their confederates, what meaſures were honourable to themſelves, and beneficial to the common cauſe; that, by his advice, they had firmly defended their city againſt the aſſaults of open enemies and jealous friends; and that if Sparta entertained any reſentment of this meaſure, which was evidently not leſs conducive to the public intereſt, than, perhaps, diſpleaſing to private ambition, her anger would be equally unjuſt and impotent, ſince her own citizens muſt remain as hoſtages at Athens, till his colleagues and himſelf ſhould be reſtored in ſafety to their country [14]. Whatever ſecret indignation this ſpeech might excite, the Spartans thought proper to ſuppreſs their animoſity. They allowed the ambaſſadors to return home; but the conduct of Themiſtocles laid the foundation of that unrelenting hatred with which he was perſecuted by Sparta; whoſe intrigues engaged all Greece, not excepting Athens herſelf, in the deſtruction of this illuſtrious citizen. Yet his eminent ſervices, before they were interrupted by the ſtorm of perſecution, gave an opportunity to his unworthy country

[14] Plut. &c. ibid.

country to diſplay more fully her ſignal ingratitude [15]. CHAP. XII.

The ancient Athenian harbour of Phalericum was ſmall, narrow, and inconvenient. To ſupply its defects, Themiſtocles, even before the Perſian invaſion, had recommended the Piræus, a place five miles diſtant from the citadel, furniſhed with three natural baſons, which, if ſufficiently fortified, might form a far more commodious and ſecure ſtation for the Athenian navy. The foundations were laid, and the walls began to riſe, when the cruel ravages of the Barbarians interrupted the undertaking. Having in the preceding year fortified the city, Themiſtocles thought the preſent a proper time to finiſh the new harbour [16]. His addreſs, his eloquence, and his bribes, were ſeaſonably applied to divert the reſentment of Sparta, who, though thenceforth leſs jealous of the naval than military power of her rival, threatened, on this occaſion, to enter Attica with an armed force. But the artful Athenian had the ſkill to perſuade the Spartans, and their allies, that the procuring a ſtrong and capacious harbour was a matter eſſentially requiſite to the common intereſt of the Grecian confederacy. The work, meantime, was carried on at Athens with much ſpirit and activity, and, in leſs than a twelvemonth, brought to ſuch a proſperous concluſion, as could ſcarcely be credited, but on the teſtimony of a contemporary hiſtorian of the moſt approved diligence and fidelity [17]. The new walls were ſufficiently broad to admit two carriages abreaſt; the ſtones compoſing them were of

Themiſtocles builds the Piræus. Olymp. lxxv. 4. A.C. 477.

[15] Diodor. l. xi. p. 437.

[16] Thucydid. l. i. c. xciii. Plut. in Themiſt. Diodor. xi. 436.

[17] Thucydid. ubi ſupra. in Cimon.

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of an immenſe ſize, ſtrongly united by bars of iron, which were faſtened by melted lead. The Piræus ſoon grew into a town, containing many thouſand inhabitants. It was joined to the city by walls begun by Cimon, but finiſhed by Pericles, twenty years after the harbour itſelf had been erected. The new buildings of Cimon and Pericles are often mentioned in hiſtory under the name of the Long Walls. They extended forty ſtadia on either ſide; and when added to the circumference of the ancient city (about ſixty ſtadia) give us for the whole circuit of the Athenian fortifications an extent of nearly eighteen Engliſh miles [18].

A.C. 457.

The war againſt Perſia continued by the confederates;

The altercations and animoſities excited by ſuch undertakings among the confederates at home, prevented not their united arms from aſſaulting the dominions of the great king. Thirty Athenian, and fifty Peloponneſian ſhips, had been employed to expel the Perſian garriſons from the ſea-ports which they ſtill occupied in the Helleſpont, the Prepontis, and the Ægean iſles. The European fleet, being ſeaſonably joined by various ſquadrons from the Greek cities of Aſia, ſcoured the eaſtern ſhores of the Mediterranean, and delivered from oppreſſion the long-enſlaved iſland of Cyprus. Their next operation muſt have been at a conſiderable diſtance of time, ſince they had to return near two hundred leagues weſtward, and then to proceed almoſt as far towards the north, and the Boſphorus of Thrace. At the entrance of this celebrated canal, which joins the Euxine and Propontis, the city of Bizantium, deſtined in future ages to become the ſeat of

who take Byzantium. Olymp. lxxvi. 1. A.C. 476.

[18] Pauſanias, p. 20, & ſeqq. Strabo, p. 391, & ſeqq. Plut.

of empire, and long to remain the chief emporium of Europe and Aſia, had been firſt founded by a feeble colony of Megareans, which had gradually become populous, flouriſhing, and independent, but which was actually commanded and inſulted by armed Barbarians. It is not probable that Xerxes, or his miniſters, perceived the peculiar ſecurity of Byzantium, ſituate between the Boſphorus and the Helleſpont, two ſtraits, which it might occaſionally ſhut to an hoſtile navy, or open to the fleets of commerce. But had they been ſenſible of this advantage, the misfortunes hitherto attending all their maritime enterpriſes, muſt have rendered it impoſſible to encourage their ſeamen to reſiſt a victorious enemy. They diſcovered, however, more than their uſual vigour, in defending, by land, a place which they regarded as the center of very valuable poſſeſſions. The adjacent coaſt of Thrace forms a ſtriking contraſt with the inland parts of that country. Inſtead of bleak heaths, and ſnowy mountains, which deform the inhoſpitable regions of Hæmus and Rhodopé, the maritime provinces produce in abundance, vines, olives, the moſt uſeful grains, and the moſt delicious fruits. The climate vies with the delightful ſoftneſs of the Aſiatic plains; and the ſoil had been long cultivated by Greek colonies, who had widely extended themſelves on both ſides of Byzantium. The Barbarians ſtrengthened the garriſon of the place, which was well ſupplied with proviſions, and commanded by Perſians of the firſt diſtinction, among whom were ſeveral kinſmen of the great king. The ſiege was obſtinate, but the events of it are not deſcribed in hiſtory. It is only known, that the walls were ſtormed, and that an immenſe booty, together with many Perſian princes and

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and nobles, fell into the hands of the victors [19].

The conſpiracy of Pauſanias;

Here ends the glory of Pauſanias, who ſtill commanded the forces of the confederacy; a man whoſe fame would rival the moſt illuſtrious names of antiquity, had he fallen in the ſiege of Byzantium. The rich ſpoils of Platæa, of which the tenth was allotted to him, as general, raiſed him above the equality required by the republican inſtitutions of his country. His recent conqueſt ſtill farther augmented his wealth and his ambition; a continual flow of proſperity, which is dangerous to the beſt-regulated minds, proved fatal to the aſpiring temper of Pauſanias. As he conceived himſelf too great to remain a ſubject, he was willing to become a ſovereign, through the aſſiſtance of Xerxes, the inveterate enemy of his country. To this prince he made application, by means of Gongylus the Eretrian, a fit inſtrument for any kind of villainy. To ſuch an aſſociate Pauſanias had entruſted the noble Perſians taken in Byzantium. This man eſcaped with his priſoners acroſs the Boſphorus, and conveyed a letter to the great king, in which the Spartan general, having mentioned as an indubitable proof of his ſincerity, the reſtoring his captive kinſmen, propoſed to enter into ſtrict amity with Xerxes, to take his daughter in marriage, to ſecond his efforts in conquering Greece, and to hold that country as a dependent province of the Perſian empire. The Perſian is ſaid to have highly reliſhed theſe propoſals, the ſubjugation of Greece being the great object of his reign. It is certain, that he ſpeedily ſent Artabazus, a nobleman of

[19] Plut. in Ariſtid. Thucydid. l. i. 95, & ſeqq. Diodor. l. xi. 44—46.

of confidence, to confer and co-operate with the traitor. CHAP. XII.

ill conducted.

But Pauſanias himſelf acted with the precipitancy and inconſiſtency of a man, who had either been deluded into treaſon by bad advice, or totally intoxicated by the dangerous vapours of ambition that floated in his diſtempered brain. Inſtead of diſſembling his deſigns until they were ripe for execution, he aſſumed at once the tone of a maſter, and the manners of a tyrant. He became difficult of acceſs to his colleagues in command; diſdained their advice in concerting meaſures which they were ordered to execute; he was ſurrounded by guards, choſen from the conquered Barbarians; and he puniſhed the ſlighteſt offence in the allied troops, with a rigour hitherto unknown to the Grecian diſcipline. He ſtill managed, indeed, the fierce ſpirits of the Spartans, but without any degree of prudence, ſince the diſtinctions which he demanded for *them*, tended only to irritate and inflame their confederates, who were not allowed to forage, to draw water, to cut down ſtraw for their beds, until the countrymen of Pauſanias had been previouſly furniſhed with all theſe articles.

The allies reject his authority; Olymp. lxxvi. 1. A.C. 476.

This intolerable inſolence diſguſted and provoked the army in general, but eſpecially the Ionians, who lamented that they had been no ſooner delivered from the ſhackles of Perſian deſpotiſm, than they were bent under the ſeverer and more odious yoke of Sparta. By common conſent, they repaired to the Athenian, Ariſtides, and his colleague Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, a youth of the faireſt hopes, who had ſignalized his patriotiſm and valour, in all the glorious ſcenes of the war. Their deſigns being approved by the Athenian

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nian admirals, Uliades and Antagoras, who reſpectively commanded the fleets of Samos and Chios, the braveſt of all the maritime allies, ſeized the firſt opportunity to inſult the galley of Pauſanias; and when reproached and threatened by the Spartan, they deſired him to thank Fortune, who had favoured him at Platæa, the memory of which victory alone ſaved him from the immediate puniſhment of his arrogance and cruelty. Theſe words ſpeedily re-echoed through the whole fleet, and ſerved, as ſoon as they were heard, for the ſignal of general revolt. The different ſquadrons of Aſia and the Helleſpont failed from their ſtations, joined the ſhips of Uliades and Antagoras, loudly declared againſt the inſolent ambition of Pauſanias, abjured the proud tyranny of Sparta, and for ever ranged themſelves under the victorious colours of Athens, whoſe generous magnanimity ſeemed beſt fitted to command the willing obedience of freemen [20].

and ſubmit to the Athenians

Pauſanias recalled by the Spartans. Olymp. lxxvi. 2. A.C. 475.

This revolution had immediate and important effects, which we ſhall proceed to explain, when we have puniſhed and diſmiſſed the unworthy Pauſanias. Appriſed of his malverſation and treachery, the Spartan ſenate recalled him to ſtand trial for his life. But his immenſe wealth enabling him to corrupt the integrity of his judges, he eſcaped without farther puniſhment than degradation from his office, and paying a heavy fine. In his ſtead the Spartans ſubſtituted, not one admiral, but ſeveral captains, with divided authority, thereby to remove the odium and reſentment which the inſolence of unlimited command had excited among their confederates. Pauſanias, though diveſted of his public character, having

[20] Nepos. in Pauſan. Plutarch. in Ariſtid.

having accompanied theſe officers to the Helleſpont, in a veſſel fitted out at his private expence, began to diſplay more arrogance than ever. He diſdained not only the manners and behaviour, but the dreſs and appearance, of a Greek; carried on, almoſt openly, his treacherous correſpondence with Artabazus; increaſed the number of his Barbarian guards and attendants; trampled with contempt on the moſt revered inſtitutions of his country; and aſſumed that provoking pomp of power, and that offenſive oſtentation of vice, which diſgraced the profligate lives of the Perſian ſatraps[21].

Returns to the eaſt;

When the Spartan magiſtrates received a full account of his pride and folly, they were apprehenſive leſt he might refuſe to return home on an ordinary ſummons, and therefore employed the form of the ſcytalé, which they reſerved for the moſt ſolemn occaſions. The ſcytalé (for opinion can give importance to any thing) was only a narrow ſcroll of parchment, which had been rolled on a piece of wood, and then ſtamped with the decree of the republic. Every Spartan, inveſted with authority at home or abroad, poſſeſſed a tally exactly correſponding to the rod on which the parchment had been firſt rolled. By applying his tally, the words of the ſcytalé neceſſarily arranged themſelves in their original form, and atteſted the authentic command of the magiſtrate. As tutor to the infant king of Sparta, Pauſanias had been furniſhed with an inſtrument of this kind; and ſuch is the effect of legal formality, that a man who would probably have deſpiſed the injunction of a ſimple letter, returned without delay to a country which he had betrayed, when

recalled by the ſcytalé;

[21] Thucydid. i. 95. & 128.

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when recalled by this frivolous, but reſpected ceremony.

and puniſhed.

The external profeſſions, and hypocritical pedantry, of Spartan virtue, were moſt ſhamefully detected and expoſed in the whole affair of Pauſanias. Though convicted of the moſt odious tyranny, extortion, and profligacy, he was ſtill allowed to enjoy the benefit of perſonal freedom; to correſpond by frequent meſſages with his accomplice Artabazus; and, at length, to tamper with the Helots and Meſſenians, theſe oppreſſed ſlaves, who were ever ready to rebel againſt the unrelenting tyranny of their maſters. But as it exceeded even the opulence and effrontery of Pauſanias, to corrupt and influence the whole republic, thoſe who had either eſcaped the general contagion of venality, or who were offended at not ſharing his bribes, accuſed him, a third time, of treaſon to Greece, in conſequence of an event which enabled them in the fulleſt manner, to make good the charge. An unhappy youth, who lived with Pauſanias as the infamous miniſter of his pleaſure, was deſtined by that monſter to become the victim of his ambition. He was charged with a letter from his maſter to Artabazus, in which, after explaining the actual ſtate of his affairs, Pauſanias hinted to him, as had been his uſual practice, to diſpatch the bearer. The ſuſpicious youth, who had obſerved that none of thoſe ſent on ſuch errands ever returned to their country, broke open the letter, and read his own fate. Fired with reſentment, he inſtantly carried the writing to the enemies of Pauſanias, who prudently adviſed the meſſenger to take refuge in the temple of Neptune, expecting that his maſter would ſoon follow him. Meanwhile they practiſed a concealment in the wall of the temple, and having

having acquainted the Ephori, and other chief magiſtrates, with their contrivance for convicting the traitor by his own words, they obtained a deputation to accompany them, to remain concealed with them in the temple, and to overhear the mutual reproaches of Pauſanias and his meſſenger. Yet the ſuperſtition of the Spartans permitted them not to ſeize the criminal in that ſacred edifice. He was allowed to retire in ſafety; and when the ſenate had at length determined to lay hold of him, he was privately admoniſhed of his danger by ſome members of that venal aſſembly. Upon this intelligence, he took refuge in the temple of Minerva, from which it being unlawful to drag him, that aſylum was ſurrounded by guards, and he thus periſhed by hunger [22].

Ariſtides entruſted with the finances of the confederates. Olymp. lxxvi. 2. A.C. 475.

The late puniſhment of this deteſtable traitor could not repair the ruinous effects of his miſconduct and villainy. Not only the Ionians, who had firſt begun the revolt, but the foreign confederates in general, loudly rejected the pretenſions of Dorcis and other captains whom the Spartans had ſent to command them. A few communities of Peloponneſus alone followed the Lacedæmonian ſtandard; but the iſlanders and Aſiatics unanimouſly applied to Ariſtides, to whoſe approved wiſdom and virtue they not only entruſted the operations of the combined armament, but voluntarily ſubmitted their more particular concerns; and experience ſoon juſtified their prudent choice. Pay was not yet introduced into the Grecian ſervice, becauſe the character of *ſoldier* was not ſeparated from that of *citizen*. It had been uſual, however, to raiſe annually a certain proportion

[22] Thucyd. l. i. c. cxxviii. & ſeqq. Diodor. l. xi. c. xliv. & Nepos in Pauſan.

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proportion of ſupplies among the ſeveral confederates, in order to purchaſe arms, to equip and victual the gallies, and to provide ſuch engines of war as proved requiſite in ſtorming the fortified towns belonging to the common enemy [23]. By unanimous ſuffrage, Ariſtides was appointed to new-model and apply this neceſſary tax, which had been impoſed and exacted by the Spartans without ſufficient attention to the reſpective faculties of the contributaries. The honeſt Athenian executed this delicate office with no leſs judgment than equity. The whole annual impoſition amounted to four hundred and ſixty talents, about ninety thouſand pounds ſterling; which was proportioned with ſuch nice accuracy, that no ſtate found the ſmalleſt reaſon to complain of partiality or injuſtice. The common treaſure was kept in the central and ſacred iſle of Delos; and though entruſted to the perſonal diſcretion of the Athenian commander, was ſoon conceived to lie at the diſpoſition of his republic [24].

Their amount.

Merit and perſecution of Themiſtocles.

While the merit of Ariſtides thus procured his countrymen the management of the national treaſury of Greece, Themiſtocles was equally ſucceſsful in improving the internal reſources of the ſtate. By yielding more protection to ſtrangers than they enjoyed in neighbouring cities, he augmented not only the populouſneſs, but the wealth of Athens, as that deſcription of men paid an annual contribution in return for their ſecurity [25]. This, together with other branches of the revenue, he employed in building annually about ſixty gallies, the addition of which to the Athenian navy abundantly compenſated ſuch loſſes as were ſuſtained by the accidents of the ſea in foreign parts. Notwithſtanding

[23] Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 532. & ſeqq.
[24] Ibid. p. 534. Thucyd. l. i. c. xcvi. Diodor. p. 440.
[25] Lyſias adv. Philon.

ſtanding the envy and malice of worthleſs demagogues, who infeſted the Athenian aſſembly and courts of juſtice, Themiſtocles was faſt advancing to the attainment of the ſame authority at home, which Ariſtides enjoyed abroad, when complaints arrived from Sparta, that he had conſpired with Pauſanias to betray the public liberty. The known reſentment of the Spartans againſt this extraordinary man, ſufficiently explains the reaſon why they, who were ſo dilatory in their proceedings againſt Pauſanias himſelf, ſhould be ſo eager to bring to puniſhment his ſuppoſed accomplice. But it is not ſo eaſy to conceive, how the Athenians could admit ſuch an accuſation againſt a man, whoſe ſingular valour and conduct had gained the deciſive victory at Salamis; whoſe councils and addreſs had fortified their city with impregnable ſtrength; whoſe foreſight and activity had procured them a fleet which no nation in the world could reſiſt; and whoſe abilities and patriotiſm had not only ſaved his country from the moſt formidable invaſion recorded in hiſtory, and which was principally directed againſt Athens, but amidſt the terrors of this invaſion, the treachery of falſe friends, and the violence of open enemies, had ſo eminently contributed to raiſe his republic to the firſt rank in the Grecian confederacy. Yet ſuch, on the one hand, was the effect of that envy which, in republics, always accompanies excellence; and ſuch, on the other, the influence of Spartan bribery and intrigues, that Themiſtocles was baniſhed by the oſtraciſm, a puniſhment inflicted on men whoſe aſpiring ambition ſeemed dangerous to freedom, which required not the proof of any particular delinquency, and which had effect only during a term of years [25].

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[25] Diodor. p. 445. & ſeqq. Plut. ibid.

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His death and character.

Olymp. lxxvi. 4. A.C. 473

It is probable, that the illuſtrious exile would have been recalled before the expiration of the appointed time; but the perſecution of Sparta allowed not his countrymen leiſure to repent of their ſeverity. Having puniſhed Pauſanias, they acquainted the Athenians, "That from the papers of that notorious traitor, complete evidence appeared of the guilt of Themiſtocles; that it was not ſufficient, therefore, to have expelled him for a few years from Athens, by an indulgent decree, which the aſſembly might revoke at pleaſure; that crimes againſt the general confederacy of Greece, ought to be judged by the Amphictyonic council, and puniſhed by death, or perpetual baniſhment." The Athenians ſhamefully complied with this demand. It appeared, indeed, that Themiſtocles had correſponded with Pauſanias, and been privy to his deſigns; but he perſiſted in affirming, that he never had approved them. The rivalſhip and enmity ſubſiſting between Sparta and Argos, had induced him to chooſe the latter as the place of his retreat. There he received the news of his condemnation; after which, not thinking himſelf ſecure in any city of Peloponneſus, he ſailed to Corcyra. But his enemies ſtill continuing to purſue him, he fled to the oppoſite coaſt of Epirus, and ſought refuge among the barbarous Moloſſians. Soon afterwards he eſcaped into Perſia, where his wonderful verſatility of genius, in learning the language and manners of that country, recommended him to the new king Artaxerxes, who had lately ſucceeded the unfortunate invader of Greece. The ſuſpicion of treaſon throws a dark ſhade on the eminent luſtre of his abilities; nor does the diſintereſtedneſs of his private character tend to remove the imputation. Though he had carried with him his moſt valuable effects, yet the eſtimate of the property which he left behind in Athens,

Olymp. lxxvii. 1. A.C. 472.

Athens, amounted to an hundred talents (above twenty thouſand pounds ſterling), an immenſe ſum, when eſtimated by the value of money in that age. The whole was confiſcated to the exchequer; and the eagerneſs of the populace to ſeize this rich booty, ſerves to explain the alacrity with which all parties agreed to his deſtruction. A report prevailed in Greece, that Themiſtocles could never forgive the ingratitude of the Athenians, which he had determined to revenge at the head of a powerful army, raiſed by Artaxerxes. But perceiving the unexampled ſucceſs of Cimon on the Aſiatic coaſt, he deſpaired of being able to accompliſh his deſign; and, in a melancholy hour, ended his life by poiſon at the age of ſixty-five, in Magneſia, a town of Lydia, which had been beſtowed on him by the liberality of the Perſian monarch [26]. CHAP. X

Death of Ariſtides. Olymp. lxxvii. 2. A.C. 471.

His character.

It is worthy of obſervation, that the three great commanders who had reſiſted and diſgraced the arms of Xerxes, quitted the ſcene almoſt at the ſame time. While Pauſanias and Themiſtocles ſuffered the puniſhment of their real or pretended crimes, Ariſtides died of old age, univerſally regretted by the affectionate admiration of his country. He, who had long managed the common treaſury of Greece, left not a ſufficient ſum to defray the expences of his funeral. His ſon Lyſimachus received a preſent of three hundred pounds from the public, to enable him to purſue and finiſh his education. His daughters were maintained and portioned at the expence of the treaſury. This honourable poverty well correſponded with the manly elevation of his character, whoſe

[26] Plut. & Nepos in Themiſt. Diodor. l. xi. c. liv.—lix. Thucyd. i. 135, & ſeqq.

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whoſe pure and unſullied ſplendour, in the opinion of a good judge of merit [27], far eclipſes the doubtful fame of his daring, but unfortunate, rival.

Elevation of Cimon to the command.

By the death of Ariſtides, the conduct of the Perſian war devolved on his colleague Cimon, who united the integrity of that great man to the valour of Miltiades, and the deciſive boldneſs of Themiſtocles. But as he felt an ambition for eminence which diſdains bare imitation, he not only reflected the moſt diſtinguiſhed excellencies of his predeceſſors, but improved and adorned them by an elegant liberality of manners, an indulgent humanity, and candid condeſcenſion; virtues which long ſecured him the affections of his fellow-citizens, while his military talents and authority, always directed by moderation and juſtice, maintained an abſolute aſcendant over the allies of the republic. His firſt operations were employed againſt the coaſt of Thrace, which the taking of Bizantium ſeemed to render an eaſy conqueſt. The only places in that country fitted to make an obſtinate reſiſtance, were the towns of Eion and Amphipolis, both ſituate on the river Strymon; the former near its junction with the Strymonic gulph, the latter more remote from the ſhore, but entirely ſurrounded by an arm of the gulph, and the principal branches of that copious river. Amphipolis, however, was taken, and planted by a numerous colony of Athenians. But Eion ſtill oppoſed a vigorous reſiſtance; Boges, the Perſian governor, having determined rather to periſh, than ſurrender. After long baffling the efforts of the beſiegers, by ſuch perſevering courage and activity as none of his countrymen had diſplayed

He reduces the coaſt of Thrace. Olymp. lxxvii. 2. A.C. 471.

[27] Plato apud Plutarch. in Ariſtid.

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diſplayed in the courſe of the war, this fierce Barbarian was at length not tamed, but exaſperated, by hunger. His companions and attendants, equally deſperate, followed their intrepid leader; and mounting the ramparts with one accord, threw into the middle ſtream of the Strymon their gold, ſilver, and other precious effects. After thus atteſting their implacable hatred to the aſſailants, they calmly deſcended, lighted a funeral pile, butchered their wives and children, and again mounting the walls, precipitated themſelves with fury into the thickeſt of the flames [28].

Purſues the enemy into Aſia. Olymp. lxxvii. 3. A. C. 470.

With this ſignal act of deſpair, ended the Perſian dominion over the coaſt of Europe, which finally ſubmitted to the victorious arms of Cimon; a general, who knew alike how to conquer, and how to uſe the victory. The Athenians were eager to prolong the authority of a man, who ſeemed ambitious to acquire wealth by valour, only that by wealth he might purchaſe the public eſteem; and whoſe affable condeſcenſion, and generous liberality, continually increaſed his fame and his influence, both at home and abroad. The reinforcements with which he was ſpeedily furniſhed by the republic, enabled him to purſue the enemy into Aſia, without allowing them time to breathe, or recover ſtrength, after their repeated defeats. The intermediate iſlands ambitiouſly courted his protection and friendſhip; and their feeble aid, together with the more powerful aſſiſtance of the Ionian coaſt, ſpeedily increaſed his fleet to the number of three hundred ſail.

His rapid ſucceſs in Caria and Lycia.

With this formidable armament, he ſtretched towards the coaſt of Caria, where his approach ſerved for the ſignal of liberty to the numerous Greek

[28] Plut. in Cimon. Diodor. l. xi.

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Greek cities in that valuable province. Seconded by the ardor of the natives, he ſucceſſively beſieged and reduced the walled towns and fortreſſes, ſeveral of which were filled with powerful garriſons; and, in the courſe of a few months, totally expelled the Perſians from all their ſtrong holds in Caria. The victorious armament then proceeded eaſtward to Lycia, and received the ſubmiſſion of

He takes Phaſelis.

that extenſive coaſt. The citizens of Phaſelis alone, defended by ſtrong walls, and a numerous garriſon, refuſed to admit the Grecian fleet, or to betray their Perſian maſter. Their reſiſtance was the more formidable, as their ancient connection with the Chians, who actually ſerved under the colours of Cimon, enabled them to enter into a treacherous correſpondence with the enemy. After other means of intercourſe had been cut off, the Chians ſtill ſhot arrows over the walls, and thus conveyed intelligence into the place of all the meaſures adopted by the aſſailants. Wherever the attack was made, the townſmen and garriſon were prepared to reſiſt: the beſiegers were long baffled in all their attempts; but the perſeverance of Cimon finally overcame the obſtinacy of his enemies. Their vigorous reſiſtance was not diſtinguiſhed by any memorable puniſhment; the mediation of the Chians, who were juſtly eſteemed among the beſt ſailors in the Athenian fleet, eaſily prevailing on the lenity of Cimon to grant them a capitulation, on condition that they immediately paid ten talents, and augmented the Grecian armament by their whole naval ſtrength[29].

The Perſia prepare for defence:

The diſtracted ſtate of Perſia, the intrigues of the court, the diſcord of the palace, and the civil wars

[29] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

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wars which raiſed to the throne of Xerxes his third ſon Artaxerxes, diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Longimanus, prevented that vaſt but unwieldy empire from making any vigorous effort to reſiſt the European invaſion. But after Artaxerxes had at length cruſhed the unfortunate ambition of his competitors, and acquired firm poſſeſſion of the reins of government, which he continued to hold for half a century[30], he naturally concerted proper meaſures to defend his remaining dominions in Aſia Minor. Having re-eſtabliſhed the Perſian authority in the iſle of Cyprus, he conſidered that Pamphylia, being the next province to Lycia, would probably be ſoon viſited by the victorious Greeks. That he might receive them there with becoming vigour, he aſſembled a powerful army on the fertile banks of the Eurymedon. A fleet, likewiſe, of four hundred ſail, was collected, chiefly from Cilicia and Phœnicia, and was commanded to rendezvous near the mouth of that river.

A. C. 473—425.

The Greeks, conducted by the activity of Cimon, delayed not to undertake the enterpriſe which the prudence of Artaxerxes had foreſeen. Their fleet, amounting to two hundred and fifty gallies, fell in with the Perſian ſquadrons off the coaſt of Cyprus. The Barbarians, vainly confident in their ſuperior numbers, did not decline the engagement, which was obſtinate, fierce, and bloody. Many of their ſhips were ſunk; an hundred were taken; the reſt fled in diſorder towards the ſhore of Cyprus; but, being ſpeedily purſued by a powerful detachment of the Grecian fleet, were

Are defeated at ſea. Olymp. lxxvii. 3. A. C. 470.

[30] Compare Thucydid. l. i. c. cxxxvii. and Uſher Chronol. See alſo Petav. de Doctrin. Temp. l. x. c. xxv. who endeavours to reconcile the chronological differences between Thucydides and Plutarch in Themiſt.

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were abandoned, by the terror of their crews, to the victors; and thus the mighty preparations, which the great king had raiſed with ſuch flattering hopes, ſtrengthened in one day, with about three hundred ſail, the hoſtile navy of Greece[31].

Cimon's valour and conduct.

The vigorous mind of Cimon, inſtead of being intoxicated with this flow of proſperity, was leſs elevated with good fortune, than ſolicitous to improve it. The captured veſſels contained above twenty thouſand Perſians. The ſoldiers encamped on the Eurymedon were ſtill ignorant of the battle. Theſe circumſtances inſtantly ſuggeſted to the quick diſcernment of Cimon a ſtratagem for ſurpriſing the Perſian camp, which was executed on the evening of the ſame glorious day with unexampled ſucceſs. The priſoners were ſtripped of their eaſtern attire; the braveſt of the Greeks condeſcended to aſſume the tiara and ſcymitar, and thus diſguiſed, embarked in the Perſian ſhips, and ſailed up the river Eurymedon with a favourable gale. The unſuſpecting Barbarians received them with open arms into their camp, as their long-expected companions. But the Greeks had no ſooner been admitted within the gates, than on a given ſignal, at once drawing their ſwords, they attacked, with the concert of diſciplined valour, the defenceleſs ſecurity of their now aſtoniſhed, and trembling adverſaries. Before the Perſians recovered from their ſurpriſe, Cimon had advanced to the tent of their general. Conſternation and deſpair ſeized this numerous, but unwarlike hoſt. The few who were leaſt overcome by the impreſſions of fear and amazement, betook themſelves to flight; a panic terror ſuſpended the powers

Gains the deciſive victory of Eurymedon.

[31] Thucydid. Plut. Diod. ibid.

ers of the reſt; they remained, and fell, unarmed and unreſiſting, by the hands of an unknown enemy. CHAP. XII

The rich ſpoil of the Barbarian camp rewarded the enterpriſe and celerity of the Greeks, who, loaded with wealth and glory, returned home during winter, and piouſly dedicated to Apollo a tenth of the plunder acquired by theſe ever memorable atchievements. A conſiderable portion of the remainder was employed (as mentioned above) in ſtrengthening the fortifications of Athens. Agreeably to the Grecian cuſtom, the general was entitled to a valuable ſhare. Cimon received it as a teſtimony of the public eſteem, and expended it for the public uſe; embelliſhing his beloved native city with ſhady walks, gardens, porticoes, ſchools of exerciſe, and other works of general pleaſure and utility [32]. The ſpoil how employed.

After theſe deciſive victories, the Greeks, headed by the Athenians, carried on the war during twenty-one years, rather for plunder than glory. The manifeſt ſuperiority which they enjoyed on all the eaſtern ſhores of the Mediterranean, might have rendered their maritime allies ſufficiently ſecure. But the people of Athens, whoſe councils began about this time to be governed by the magnanimous ambition, and profound policy of Pericles, had the addreſs to perſuade their confederates, that naval preparations and enterpriſes were ſtill as neceſſary as ever. At length, however, moſt of thoſe ſcattered iſlands and ſea-ports, which followed the colours of Athens, grew weary of perpetual hoſtilities, of which they ſhared the toil and the danger, while their ambitious leaders alone reaped the advantage and the glory, and became The Athenians proſecute the war; Olymp. lxxvii. 4. A. C. 469. take money inſtead of ſhips from the allies;

[32] Idem, ibid. & Nepos in Cimon. & Thucydid. l. i.

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became continually more anxious to enjoy the benefits of public peace, and the undiſturbed comforts of domeſtic tranquillity. The Athenians availed themſelves of this diſpoſition, to engage ſuch ſtates as appeared moſt backward in raiſing their contingents for the common armament, to compound for perſonal ſervice on ſhipboard, by an annual ſupply of money, which might enable Athens continually to keep in readineſs a fleet of obſervation, to watch and check the motions of the common enemy. This, at firſt voluntary, contribution, ſoon amounted to about an hundred thouſand pounds. It was gradually augmented; and, at length, raiſed by Pericles to three times the original ſum [33]; an immenſe income, conſidering that the proportional value of money to labour, was then ten times higher than at preſent; and conſidering alſo the very limited revenues of the greateſt monarchs of antiquity; ſince, from all the various provinces of the Perſian empire, ſcarcely four millions ſterling entered the royal treaſury [34].

prepare to undertake an expedition againſt Cyprus. Olymp. lxxvii 3. A. C. 466

In their eaſtern expeditions, the Greeks had an opportunity of viſiting the large and beautiful iſland of Cyprus, which, though delivered by their valour from *ſome* Perſian garriſons, either ſtill continued, or again became, ſubject to that empire. The ſtriking advantages [35] of a delightful territory, four hundred miles in circumference, producing in great abundance, wine, oil, with the moſt delicious fruits, and deemed invaluable in ancient times, on account of its rich mines of braſs, naturally tempted the ambition of an enterpriſing nation. The conqueſt of Cyprus was ſtill farther recommended

[33] Thucydid. ibid. & Plut. in Pericl.
[34] Herodot. iii. 95.
[35] Strabo, p. 648.

commended to the Athenians, as the ſea-coaſt had been peopled by a Grecian colony, under the heroic Teucer, who built there a city called Salamis, from the name of his native country [36], which, from the earlieſt antiquity, had been regarded as a dependence of Attica. The Grecian inhabitants of Cyprus hitherto attained neither power nor ſplendour; their ſettlements had been ſucceſſively reduced by the Phœnicians and the great king; and they actually languiſhed in a condition of the greateſt debility [37]. Honour prompted the Athenians to relieve their diſtreſſed brethren; intereſt incited them to acquire poſſeſſion of a valuable iſland. With two hundred ſhips of war they prepared to undertake this important enterpriſe, when an object ſtill more dazzling gave a new direction to their arms. CHAP. XII.

Amidſt the troubles which attended the eſtabliſhment of Artaxerxes on the Perſian throne, the Egyptians ſought an opportunity to withdraw themſelves from the yoke of a nation, whoſe tyranny they had long felt and lamented. A leader only was wanting to head the rebellion. This alſo was at length diſcovered in Inarus, a bold Lybian chief, to whoſe ſtandard the malecontents aſſembling from all quarters, gradually grew into an army, which attacked and defeated the Perſian mercenaries, expelled the garriſons, baniſhed or put to death the governors and officers of the revenue, and traverſing the kingdom without controul or reſiſtance, every where proclaimed the Egyptians a free and independent nation. Nor was this the capricious revolt of ſhort ſighted Barbarians. Inarus maintained his conqueſt with valour and policy; and in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt

Diverted from that meaſure by the revolt of Egypt. Olymp. lxxviii. 4. A. C. 465.

[36] Iſocrat. in Evagor

[37] Iſocrat. ibid.

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intereſt by foreign alliance, diſpatched an embaſſy to Athens, craving the aſſiſtance of that victorious republic againſt its moſt odious and inveterate enemy [38].

The Athenian armament ſails thither; Olymp. lxxix. 2. A.C. 463.

The negotiation was ſucceſsful; the Athenians burned with deſire to ſhare the ſpoils of Perſia, and commanded the ſhips, deſtined for Cyprus, to ſail to Egypt. They had ſcarcely arrived in that kingdom, when a Perſian army of three hundred thouſand men, commanded by Achæmenus, encamped on the banks of the Nile. A battle ſpeedily enſued, in which the inſurgents obtained a complete victory, chiefly through the valour and diſcipline of their Grecian auxiliaries. The vanquiſhed ſought refuge within the walls of Memphis; that capital was inveſted; and after becoming maſter of two diviſions of the city, the Athenians puſhed with vigour the ſiege of the third, called, from the colour of its fortifications, the White Wall. Artaxerxes, meanwhile, neglected no poſſible effort for breaking, or eluding, a tempeſt, that threatened to diſmember his dominions. While Perſian nobles of diſtinction conveyed immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver into Greece, to rouſe, by ſeaſonable bribes, the hoſtility of rival ſtates againſt the audacity of Athens, a new army was collected, ſtill more numerous than the former, and entruſted to Megabazus, the braveſt general in the eaſt. Such, at leaſt, he was deemed; yet we cannot perceive any very illuſtrious merit in forcing to raiſe the ſiege of Memphis, men who were already worn out with the fatigues of hard ſervice, and probably enfeebled by diſeaſes in a far diſtant climate, extremely different from their own.

is victorious; beſieges Memphis.

Megabazus,

[38] Thucydid. l. i. & Diodor. l. xi. p. 279.

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Misfortunes of the Athenians in Egypt. Olymp. lxxx. 4. A.C. 457.

Megabazus, however, had the glory of firſt turning againſt the Greeks that current of ſucceſs which had run for many years ſo ſtrongly in their favour. They and the revolted Egyptians were now beſieged, in their turn, in a ſmall iſland of the Nile called Proſopis, along the coaſt of which the Athenians had anchored their ſhips. By diverting the courſe of the river, Megabazus left them on dry land. This operation ſo much confounded the Egyptians that they immediately laid down their arms: but their wonted magnanimity did not forſake the Greeks: with their own hands they ſet fire to their fleet, and, exhorting each other to ſuffer nothing unworthy of their former fame, determined, with one accord, to reſiſt the aſſailants, and, although they could not expect victory, to purchaſe an honourable tomb. Megabazus, intimidated by their countenance and reſolution, and unwilling to expoſe his men to the efforts of a dangerous deſpair, granted them a capitulation, and, what ſeems more extraordinary in a Perſian commander, allowed them to retire in ſafety. They endeavoured to penetrate through Lybia to the Grecian colonies in Cyrenaica, from which they hoped to be tranſported by ſea to their native country. But the greater part periſhed through fatigue or diſeaſe in the unhoſpitable deſarts of Africa, and only a miſerable remnant of men, whoſe bravery deſerved a better fate, reviſited the ſhores of Greece. To complete the diſaſter, a reinforcement of ſixty ſhips, which the Athenians had ſent to Egypt, was attacked, ſurrounded, and totally deſtroyed by the Phœnicians, near the ſame ſcene which had already proved ſo fatal, but ſo honourable, to their countrymen [39].

Theſe

[39] Iſocrat. de Pace & Panegyr. & Thucydid. & Diodor. ibid.

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The Athenians renew their deſigns againſt Cyprus. Olymp. lxxxii. 3 A.C. 450.

Theſe repeated misfortunes, together with the growing troubles in Greece, which we ſhall ſpeedily have occaſion to deſcribe, prevented the Athenians, during ſeven years, from reviving their deſign againſt Cyprus. A fleet of two hundred ſail was at length entruſted to Cimon, who enjoyed a proſperous voyage to the Cyprian coaſt. The towns of Malos and Citium oppoſed a feeble reſiſtance, and the ſingular humanity with which Cimon treated his priſoners, would have facilitated more important conqueſts: but the Phœnician and Cicilian fleets had again put to ſea, and Cimon wiſely determined to attack them as they approached the iſland, rather than wait their arrival, his countrymen being ſuperior to their enemies, ſtill more in naval than in military proweſs. In the battle which ſoon followed, he took above an hundred gallies; the number of thoſe ſunk or deſtroyed is unknown; the remainder fled to the coaſt of Cilicia, in hopes of protection from the army of Megabazus, encamped in that province; but that ſlow unwieldy body was unable to afford them any ſeaſonable or effectual relief. The Greeks, having purſued them on ſhore, totally deſtroyed them as well as the Perſian detachments who came to their ſuccour, and returned loaded with ſpoil to Cyprus. The Athenian general then prepared to form the ſiege of Salamis, which, though defended by a numerous Perſian garriſon, and well provided in all the neceſſaries of defence, muſt have ſoon yielded to his ſkill and valour, had not ſickneſs, in conſequence of a wound received before the walls of Citium, prevented him from exerting his uſual activity.

Their ſucceſs in that iſland.

The Perſian monarch ſo-

Meanwhile Artaxerxes, who perceived that the acquiſition of Salamis would naturally draw after it the conqueſt of the whole iſland, and who had been

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been continually diſappointed in expecting to prepare fleets and armies capable to contend with the Athenians, eagerly ſolicited peace from that people, almoſt on their own terms. His ambaſſadors were favourably heard in the Athenian aſſembly, by thoſe who were more ſolicitous about confirming their uſurpations over their allies and colonies, than ambitious of extending their Aſiatic conqueſts. Cimon, who invariably maintained the contrary ſyſtem, was now no more. A peace, therefore, was concluded on the following conditions [40]: That all the Greek colonies in Lower Aſia ſhould be declared independent of the Perſian empire; that the armies of the great king ſhould not approach within three days journey of the weſtern coaſt; and that no Perſian veſſel ſhould appear between the Cyanean rocks and the Chelidonian iſles, that is, in the wide extent of the Ægean and Mediterranean ſeas, between the northern extremity of the Thracian Boſphorus and the ſouthern promontory of Lycia. On ſuch terms the Athenians and their allies ſtipulated to withdraw their armament from Cyprus, and to abſtain thenceforth from moleſting the territories of the king of Perſia [41]. Such was the concluſion of this memorable war, which, ſince the burning of Sardis, the firſt deciſive act of hoſtility, had been carried on, with little intermiſſion, during fifty-one years. The ſame magnanimous republic, which firſt ventured to oppoſe the pretenſions of Perſia, dictated to that haughty empire the moſt humiliating conditions of peace; an important and illuſtrious æra in Grecian hiſtory, which was often celebrated with pompous panegyric during the declining ages of Athenian glory.

licits peace. Olymp. lxxxii. 4. A. C. 449.

Motives which determined the Athenians to compliance.

Although,

[40] Thucydid. Plutarch. Diodor Iſocrat. &c.
[41] Iſocrat. Panegyr.

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Obſtacles to a general or laſting confederacy in Greece.

Although, for reaſons which will be explained hereafter, peace was alike neceſſary to both parties, yet the reader, who feels a warm intereſt in the cauſe of civilization and humanity, cannot but regret, that, after diſgracing the arms of Perſia, and breaking the power of Carthage, the Greeks had not combined in one powerful exertion, and extended their victories and their improvements over the ancient world. But the internal defects in her political conſtitution, which ſtunted the growth of Greece, and prevented her manhood and maturity from correſponding to the blooming vigour of her youth, rendered impoſſible this moſt deſirable union, which, could it have taken place, would probably have left little room for the tranſient conqueſts of Alexander, or the more permanent glory of the Roman arms. Inſtead of theſe imagined trophies, the ſubſequent hiſtory of Greece preſents us with the melancholy picture of inteſtine diſcord.

Its ſubſequent hiſtory peculiarly intereſting;

During an hundred and eleven years, which elapſed between the glorious peace with Perſia, in which the Athenians, at the head of their allies, ſeemed for ever to have repreſſed the ambition of that aſpiring power, and the fatal defeat at Cheronæa, in which the ſame people, with their unfortunate auxiliaries, ſubmitted to the valour and activity of Philip, Greece, with ſhort variations of domeſtic quiet and foreign hoſtility, carried on bloody wars, and obtained deſtructive victories, in which her own citizens, not the enemies of the confederacy, were the unhappy objects of her inglorious triumph. Yet the tranſactions of this diſtracted and miſerable period, however immaterial in the hiſtory of empire, are peculiarly intereſting in the ſtill more inſtructive hiſtory of human nature. A confederacy of ſoldiers and freemen, extending

tending their dominion over ignorant ſavages, or effeminate ſlaves, would continually exhibit the unequal combat of power, courage, and conduct on the one ſide, againſt weakneſs, ignorance, and timidity on the other. But amidſt the domeſtic diſſentions of Greece, the advantages of the contending parties were nicely balanced, and accurately adjuſted. Force was reſiſted by force, valour oppoſed by valour, and art encountered or eluded by ſimilar addreſs. The active powers of man, excited by emulation, inflamed by oppoſition, nouriſhed by intereſt, and at once ſtrengthened and elevated by a ſenſe of perſonal honour, and the hope of immortal fame, operated in every direction with awakened energy, and were diſplayed in the boldeſt exertions of the voice and arm. In every field where glory might be won, men recogniſed the proper objects of their ambition, and aſpired to the higheſt honours of their kind; and although the prizes were often ſmall, and the victory always indeciſive, yet the pertinacious efforts of the combatants (great beyond example, and almoſt beyond belief) furniſhes the moſt intereſting ſpectacle, that hiſtory can preſent to the rational wonder of poſterity.

Sparta, Thebes, and Argos, hoſtile to Athens.

The powerful cities of Sparta, Thebes, and Argos, which had long rivalled Athens and each other, could not behold, without much diſſatisfaction and anxiety, the rapid growth of a republic which already eclipſed their ſplendour, and might ſome time endanger their ſafety. The Spartans had particular cauſes of diſguſt. The immortal victories of Cimon made them deeply regret that *they*, who had ſhared the firſt and ſevereſt toils of the war, had too haſtily withdrawn from a field of action that afforded ſo many laurels. They were provoked at being denied the

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command of the maritime allies, and not leſs offended at being over-reached by Themiſtocles. All theſe reaſons had determined them, above twenty years before the peace with Perſia, to make war on the Athenians, expecting to be ſeconded in this deſign by the fears of the weak, and the jealouſy of the more powerful, ſtates, on both ſides the Corinthian iſthmus. But their animoſity, before it broke out into action, was diverted by a calamity equally ſudden and unforeſeen. In the year four hundred and ſixty-nine before Chriſt, Sparta was overwhelmed by an earthquake [42]. Taygetus and the neighbouring mountains were ſhaken to the foundation, and twenty thouſand Lacedæmonian citizens or ſubjects periſhed in this dreadful diſaſter. But, amidſt the ruins of Sparta, one deſcription of men beheld the public misfortunes not only without horror, but with a ſecret ſatisfaction.

Earthquake in Sparta; Olymp. lxxvii. 4. A.C. 469.

followed by the revolt of the Helots and Meſſenians;

The oppreſſed Spartan ſlaves, known by the appellations of Helots and Meſſenians, aſſembled in crowds from the villages in which they were cantoned, and took meaſures for delivering themſelves, during the cruelty of the elements, from the not leſs inexorable cruelty of their unfeeling tyrants. The prudent diſpoſitions of king Archidamus, who, foreſeeing the revolt, had ſummoned the citizens to arms, prevented them from getting immediate poſſeſſion of the capital; but they rendered themſelves maſters of the ancient and ſtrong fortreſs Ithomé, from which they continued many years to infeſt the Lacedæmonian territories. The Spartans in vain exerted their utmoſt endeavours to expel this dangerous inteſtine enemy;

[42] Thucydid. lib. i. cap. c. & ſeqq. Diodor. lib. xi. cap. lxiii.

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enemy; and in the third year of the war (for this revolt is dignified in history by the name of the Third Messenian War), they had recourse to the Athenians, who, of all the Greeks, were deemed the most skilful in sieges. The Athenians, either not sufficiently acquainted with the secret hostility of Sparta, or willing to dissemble their knowledge of it, as they were then totally bent on other projects and enterprises, sent them the required assistance. The besiegers, however, met with so little success, that the Spartans dismissed their Athenian auxiliaries, on pretence indeed that their help was no longer necessary; but, in reality, from a suspicion that they favoured the interest of the rebels; and, as they retained the troops of all the other allies, the Athenians were justly provoked by this instance of distrust [43]. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Pisa, who, for a reason that will be immediately explained, were highly incensed against Sparta, gave vigorous assistance to the besieged.

The place thus held out ten years: many sallies were made, several battles were fought, with the fury that might be expected from the cruelty of tyrants chastising the insolence of slaves. Both parties must have been reduced to extremity, since the Helots and Messenians, though obliged to surrender the place, obtained from the weakness, a condition which they would have vainly solicited from the mercy of Sparta, "that they should be allowed, with their wives, children, and effects, to depart, unmolested, from the Peloponnesus." The Athenians, deeply resenting the affront of suspected fidelity, determined to mortify the Spartans, by kindly receiving those needy fugitives,

part of whom are settled in Naupactus by the Atheuians. Olymp. lxxx. 2. A C. 459.

[43] Thucydid. l. i. cap. ci.

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gitives, whom they finally eſtabliſhed in Naupactus, a ſeaport on the Criſſean gulph, which their arms had juſtly wreſted from the Locri Ozolæ; a cruel and barbarous people, whoſe ſavage manners and rapacity diſgraced their Grecian extraction. The Helots and Meſſenians repaid, by ſignal gratitude, the humane protection of Athens. During the long courſe of the Peloponneſian war, while their neighbours on every ſide eſpouſed the oppoſite intereſt, the inhabitants of Naupactus alone invariably exerted themſelves, with zeal and vigour, in defence of the declining power of their magnanimous confederate and ancient benefactor.

Their ſignal gratitude.

The cauſe above alluded to, which had incenſed the Piſans againſt Sparta, dated beyond a century [44]. That people had long contended with Elis, the capital of their province, for the right of ſuperintending the Olympic games. The Spartans enabled the Elians to prevail in the conteſt, who continued, without oppoſition, to direct that auguſt ſolemnity, until the earthquake and ſubſequent calamities of Sparta emboldened the inſolent and wealthy Piſans to renew their pretenſions [45]. Their attempts, however, to maintain this bold claim, eſpecially after the removal of the Helots and Meſſenians, appear to have been alike feeble and unfortunate. Piſa was taken, plundered, and ſo thoroughly demoliſhed, that not a veſtige, and ſcarce the name, remained.

The war between the Elians and Piſans.

Sack of Piſa. Olymp. lxxi. 1. A.C. 456.

With the valuable booty acquired in this warfare, the Elians executed a memorable undertaking; having, in the courſe of ten years [46], enlarged and adorned the temple of Olympian Jupiter,

The temple of Olympian Jupiter.

[44] Pauſanias, l. vi. c. xxii.
[45] Strabo, l. viii. p. 545.
[46] Between the years 456 and 446, A. C.

Jupiter, and erected the celebrated ſtatue of that divinity; a work which no ſubſequent age could ever rival, and whoſe ſublimity is ſaid to have increaſed and fortified the popular ſuperſtition [47]. This famous temple was of the Doric order, encircled with a colonnade, and built of the ſtone of the country reſembling Parian marble. From the area, or ground, to the decoration over the gate, it reached ſixty-eight feet in height; it was ninety-five feet broad, and two hundred and thirty long: thus falling ſhort of the greateſt modern temples in magnitude, as much as it excelled them in beauty and the richneſs of material. It was covered with Pentelican marble, cut in the form of brick tiles. At each extremity of the roof ſtood a gilded vaſe; in the middle a golden victory; below which was a ſhield emboſſed with Meduſa's head, likewiſe of gold. Pelops and Oenomaus were repreſented, on the pediment, ready to begin the chariot-race before very illuſtrious ſpectators, ſince Jupiter himſelf was of the number. The vault was adorned with the battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. The labours of Hercules diſtinguiſhed the principal entrance [48].

Phidias's ſtatue of that divinity.

After paſſing the braſs gates, you diſcovered Iphitus crowned by his ſpouſe Echecheiria; from thence you proceeded, through a noble portico, to the majeſtic creation of Phidias the Athenian, which formed the principal ornament of the temple, and of Greece. The god was ſitting on a throne, and being ſixty feet high, touched the roof with his head; and threatened, if he moved himſelf, to ſhake in pieces that noble edifice, which lofty and ſpacious as it was, ſtill appeared unworthy

[47] Aliquid receptæ religioni adjeciſſe ſertur. PLIN.
[48] Pauſan. in Eliac. p. 303. & ſeqq.

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thy to contain him. This vaſt coloſſus was compoſed of gold, taken in the ſack of Piſa, and of ivory, then almoſt as precious as gold, which was brought from the Eaſt by Athenian merchantmen. The god had an enamelled crown of olive on his head, an image of victory in his right hand, a burniſhed ſceptre in his left. His robes and ſandals were variegated with golden flowers and animals. The throne was made of ivory and ebony, inlaid with precious ſtones. The feet which ſupported it, as well as the fillets which joined them, were adorned with innumerable figures; among which you perceived the Theban children torn by Sphinxes, together with Apollo and Diana ſhooting the beautiful and once flouriſhing family of Niobé. Upon the moſt conſpicuous part of the throne which met the eye in entering, you beheld eight ſtatues, repreſenting the gymnaſtic exerciſes; and the beautiful figure, whoſe head was encircled with a wreath, reſembled young Pantarces, the favourite ſcholar of Phidias, who, in the conteſt of the boys, had recently gained the Olympic prize. Beſides the four feet, mentioned above, the throne was ſupported by four pillars, placed between them, and painted by Panænus, the brother of Phidias. There that admirable artiſt had delineated the Heſperides guarding the golden apples; Atlas painfully ſuſtaining the heavens, with Hercules ready to aſſiſt him; Salamine with naval ornaments in her hand; and Achilles ſupporting the beautiful expiring Penthefilea.

The Olympic temple compared with other ſacred edifices in Greece.

It would be tedious to deſcribe the remaining ornaments of this celebrated ſtatue, and ſtill more of the ſacred edifice itſelf: yet the temple of Olympia was much inferior in ſize to that of Ceres and Proſerpine, at Eleuſis, in Attica. The latter

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latter was built by Ictinus, the contemporary and rival of Phidias; and ſufficiently capacious (could we believe the exaggerations of travellers) to contain thirty thouſand perſons[49]. This edifice was alſo of the Doric order; that of Diana at Epheſus, and of Apollo at Miletus, were both of the Ionic; and the celebrated temple of Jupiter at Athens, begun by Piſiſtratus, and enlarged by Pericles, was finiſhed in the Corinthian ſtyle, by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria. Theſe four temples were the richeſt and moſt beautiful in the world, and long regarded as models of the three Grecian orders of architecture[50].

Inteſtine diſſentions in Argolis. Olymp. lxxviii. 1. A. C. 468.

While the earthquake and the ſervile war confined within a domeſtic ſphere the activity of Sparta, Argos, the ſecond republic of the Peloponneſus, and long the moſt conſiderable principality in that peninſula, underwent ſuch revolutions and misfortunes, as left her neither inclination nor power to oppoſe the Athenian greatneſs. Ever rivals and enemies of Sparta, the Argives had jealouſly declined the danger and glory of the Perſian war, to the ſucceſs of which their adverſaries had ſo eminently contributed. This ungenerous dereliction paſſed not unpuniſhed. As deſerters of the common cauſe, the Argives incurred the hatred and contempt of their public-ſpirited neighbours. Mycenæ, once the proud reſidence of royal Agamemnon, Epidaurus, and Træzené, which formed reſpectively the greateſt ſtrength and ornament of the Argive territory, threw off the yoke of a capital, whoſe folly or baſeneſs rendered her unworthy to govern them. Sicyon, Nauplia, Heliæa, and other towns of leſs note, which were ſcattered at ſmall diſtances over the face

[49] Strabo, l. ix. p. 395.

[50] Vitruvius, l. vii.

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face of that delightful province, obeyed the ſummons to liberty, and aſſumed independence. The rebels (for as ſuch they were treated by the indignant magiſtrates of Argos) ſtrengthened themſelves by foreign alliance, and continued thenceforth to diſdain the authority of their ancient metropolis and ſovereign. At the commencement of the Peloponneſian war, they formed a reſpectable portion of the Lacedæmonian confederacy; while Argos alone, of all the cities in the Peloponneſus, openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Athenians.

Deſtruction of Mycenæ.

The ancient city of Mycenæ, which had firſt ſounded the trumpet of ſedition, was the only victim of Argive reſentment. The Argives ſeiſed a favourable opportunity, while the allies and adherents of Mycenæ were occupied with their domeſtic concerns, to lead their whole forces againſt the place; and having taken it by ſtorm, they decimated the inhabitants, and demoliſhed not only the walls, but the town [51] itſelf, which was never afterwards rebuilt.

The inferior cities in Bœotia reject the authority of Thebes.

The deſultory tranſactions of ſo many ſtates and cities as compoſed the name and nation of Greece, muſt appear a continual maze of perplexity and confuſion, unleſs we carefully follow the threads which ſhould direct us in this intricate, yet not inextricable, labyrinth. But if we ſeriouſly apply ourſelves to inveſtigate the hidden cauſes of events, and to trace revolutions to their ſource, we ſhall be ſurpriſed by the agreeable diſcovery, that the hiſtory of this celebrated people is not entirely that maſs of diſorder which it appears on a ſuperficial ſurvey. The ſame cauſes which repreſſed the activity, and humbled the pride of Argos, operated alike fatally on Thebes, the ſecond republic beyond

[51] Diodor. l. xi p. 276.

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yond the Iſthmus, and the only one that ever aſpired to rival the power of Athens. The Thebans, for ſimilar, or more odious reaſons, than thoſe which had reſtrained the Argives, had alſo withheld their aſſiſtance in the Perſian war; and by this mean ſelfiſhneſs or treachery had juſtly provoked the indignation of the ſubordinate cities of Bœotia. Not only Theſpiæ and Plataea, which had ever borne with impatience the Theban yoke, but the ſea-ports of Aulis, Anthemon, and Larymna; Aſchra, the beloved habitation of old Heſiod; Coronea, overſhadowed by Mount Helicon, a favourite ſeat of the Muſes; Labadea, famous for its oracle of Trophonius; Delium and Alalkomené, reſpectively ſacred to Apollo and Minerva, together with Leuctra and Chæronæa, the deſtined ſcenes of immortal victories; all theſe cities ſucceſſively rejected the juriſdiction and ſovereignty of Thebes, which, during the invaſion of Xerxes, had ſo ſhamefully betrayed the common intereſt and glory of the nation [52].

The Thebans obtain aſſiſtance from Sparta. Olymp. lxxx. 2. A.C. 459.

During ſeveral years, the Thebans patiently yielded to a ſtorm, which they found it impoſſible to reſiſt. But when the Spartans began to breathe after the recovery of Ithomé, and had made a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Phocians, in defence of their kinſmen in Doris, the Thebans warmly ſolicited them to take part in their domeſtic quarrels, and to enable them to regain their aſcendant in Bœotia; with aſſurance that they would employ the firſt moments of returning vigour to oppoſe the growing pretenſions of the Athenians. This propoſal was accepted, not only by the reſentment, but by the policy, of the Spartan ſenate, who perceived that it equally concerned

[52] Diodor. l. xi. p. 283, & ſeqq. & Thucydid. l. i. p. 273.

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cerned their intereſt, that the neighbouring city of Argos ſhould loſe her juriſdiction over Argolis; and that Thebes, the neighbour and rival of Athens, ſhould recover her authority in Bœotia.

Athens enables the Bœotians to maintain their independence. A.C. 458 456.

They were applying themſelves with vigour and ſucceſs to effect this ſalutary purpoſe, when the active vigilance of Athens diſpatched an army, fifteen thouſand ſtrong, to maintain the independence of Bœotia. The valour and conduct of Myronides, the Athenian general, obtained a deciſive victory near the walls of Tanagra, one of the few places in the province which had preſerved its fidelity to the capital. This memorable battle, which no antient writer has thought proper to deſcribe, although it is compared to the glorious trophies of Marathon and Platæa [53], confirmed the liberty of Bœotia; nor could the Thebans, notwithſtanding their partial ſucceſs againſt ſeveral of the revolted cities, recover their authority in that province, until, about fourſcore years afterwards, they emerged into ſudden ſplendor under the conduct of their heroic Epaminondas.

Ambitious meaſures of Athens.

The ambitious policy of Pericles, which will be fully explained in the ſequel, was eager to profit by every favourable turn of fortune. He took care to place Athenian garriſons in ſeveral Bœotian fortreſſes; he made the neighbouring republics of Corinth and Megara feel and acknowledge the ſuperiority of Athens; and after ſending Tolmidas, a commander endued rather with an impetuous than well regulated courage, to ravage the coaſt of the Peloponneſus, he ſailed thither next year in perſon, and made the Lacedæmonians and their allies

A.C. 455.

[53] Diodor. l. xi. p. 284.

allies deeply regret, that they had too ſoon diſco- CHAP. XII.
vered their animoſity againſt a republic, alike capable to protect its friends, and take vengeance on its enemies. The meaſures of this daring leader were actually uncontrouled by any oppoſition, ſince his eloquence had prevailed over the innocence and merit of Cimon, and procured the baniſhment of that illuſtrious commander. But Cimon was recalled in two years; and his return was ſignalized by a ſuſpenſion of arms in Greece, which that real patriot had been as zealous to promote, as he was ambitious to purſue his Aſiatic triumphs. This treaty, however, was ſoon broke; but an ill-concerted and unfortunate enterpriſe againſt A.C. 447.
Thebes (diſapproved by Pericles himſelf), in which the raſh Tolmidas loſt his army and his life, made the Athenians again liſten to terms of accommodation. They agreed to withdraw their garriſons A.C. 445.
from Bœotia; to diſavow all pretenſions againſt Corinth and Megara, pretenſions which had no other effect than to exaſperate thoſe little republics againſt their uſurping neighbour; and, on complying with theſe conditions, the Athenians recovered their citizens made captive in Bœotia, through the miſconduct of Tolmidas [54].

The truce of thirty years.

This was the famous truce of thirty years, concluded in the fourteenth year preceding the Peloponneſian war. The former treaty had been limited to a much ſhorter period; for, it is worthy of obſervation, that even in their agreements of peace, the Greeks diſcovered that perpetual propenſity to war, which was the unhappy effect of their political inſtitutions [55].

Olymp. lxxxiii. 4. A.C. 445.

The

[54] Diodor. l. xii. p. 293. Thucydid. l. i. p. 71, & ſeqq.
[55] Idem, p. 74.

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Motives of the Athenians for granting it. Between the years 470 and 440, A. C.

The terms of this accommodation, ſeemingly little favourable to the intereſt of Athens, were dictated, however, rather by the ambition than the equity of that republic; a concluſion that evidently reſults from examining the third ſeries of events, which (as obſerved above) completes the hiſtory of this memorable period. Amidſt the foreign expeditions of Cimon, and the domeſtic diſſentions of Greece, the Athenian arms and policy had been gradually, during thirty years, eſtabliſhing the ſovereignty of the republic over her diſtant colonies and confederates. This bold undertaking was finally accompliſhed by Pericles, whoſe character contributed, more than that of any one man, to the glory and greatneſs, as well as to the calamities and ruin of his country.

Character of Pericles;

His father Xanthippus, who gained the illuſtrious victory at Mycalé, rejoiced in a ſon endued with the happieſt natural talents, and an innate love of glory. His youth was entruſted to the learned and virtuous Damon, who concealed, under the uninvidious title of maſter of rhetoric, the art of animating his pupil with an ambition to deſerve the firſt rank in the republic, as well as of adorning him with the accompliſhments moſt neceſſary to attain it. From Ariſtagoras of Clazomené, denominated the philoſopher of mind, from his continual ſolicitude to confirm the moſt important and moſt pleaſing of all doctrines, that a benevolent intelligence preſides over the operations of nature, and the events of human life, Pericles early learned to controul the tempeſt of youthful paſſions, which ſo often blaſt the promiſing hopes of manhood; to preſerve an unſhaken conſtancy in all the viciſſitudes of fortune, ſince all are the varied diſpenſations of the ſame wiſe providence; and to trample, with generous contempt,

contempt, on the groveling ſuperſtition of the vulgar. Thus qualified by nature and education, he ſoon diſplayed, in the Athenian aſſembly, an eloquence, nouriſhed by the copious ſpring of philoſophy, and ennobled by the manly elevation of his character. His ſpeeches conſiſted not in the unpremeditated effuſions of a temporary enthuſiaſm; he was the firſt of his countrymen who, before pronouncing his diſcourſes, committed them to writing [56]: they were ſtudied and compoſed with the moſt laborious and patient care; and being poliſhed by repeated touches of correcting art, they roſe in admiration, in proportion as they were more cloſely examined by the piercing eye of criticiſm; and acquired the epithet of Olympian, to expreſs that permanent and ſteady luſtre which they reflected [57].

he is ſuſpected of uſurpation;

But the ſuperior talents of Pericles, which, in a well-regulated government, would have increaſed his influence, had well nigh occaſioned his ruin in a turbulent and ſuſpicious democracy. The memory of the oldeſt citizens faithfully recollected, and the envy or fears of the younger readily believed, that the figure, the countenance, and the voice, of the young orator, ſtrongly reſembled thoſe of the ambitious and artful Piſiſtratus, whoſe ſpecious virtues had ſubverted the liberty of his country. The alarmed jealouſy of freedom, which often deſtroyed, in an hour, the authority eſtabliſhed ſlowly, and with much labour, during many meritorious years, might be tempted to puniſh the imagined tyranny of Pericles; who, to eſcape the diſgrace of the oſtraciſm, ſhunned the dangerous admiration of the aſſembly.

The

[56] Suidas. [57] Plut. in Pericl.

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He courts and corrupts the Athenian populace;

The active vigour of his mind, thus withdrawn from politics, was totally directed to war; and his abilities, alike fitted to excel in every honourable purſuit, and gradually opening with every occaſion to diſplay them, carried off the palm of military renown from the moſt illuſtrious captains of the age. Cimon alone ſurpaſſed him in the object of his victories gained over Barbarians; but Pericles equalled Cimon in valour and conduct. A rivality in warlike fame was followed by a competition for civil honours. Cimon, who had been introduced on the theatre of public life by the virtuous Ariſtides, regarded, like that great man, a moderate ariſtocracy, as the government moſt conducive to public happineſs. The contrary opinion was warmly maintained by Pericles, who found an oſtentatious admiration of democracy the expedient for removing the prejudice excited againſt him, by his reſemblance to Piſiſtratus, of aſpiring, or at leaſt of being capable to aſpire, at royal power. On every occaſion he defended the privileges of the people againſt the pretenſions of the rich and noble; he embraced not only the intereſts, but adopted the capricious paſſions, of the multitude; cheriſhing their preſumption, flattering their vanity, indulging their rapacity, gratifying their taſte for pleaſure without expence, and fomenting their natural antipathy to the Spartans, who, as the patrons of rigid ariſtocracy, were peculiarly obnoxious to their reſentment.

encourages their ambitious pretenſions.

The condition of the times powerfully conſpired with the views and meaſures of Pericles, ſince the glory and wealth acquired in the Perſian war, procured not only allies and power to the ſtate, but induſtry and independence to the populace. The ſon of Xanthippus impelled this natural current, which ran ſo ſtrongly in favour of both, when he maintained,

maintained, that the citizens of Athens were entitled to enjoy equal advantages at home, to challenge a juſt pre-eminence in Greece, and to aſſume a legal dominion over their diſtant colonies and confederates. CHAP. XII.

Means by which he ſubdued the Athenian colonies and allies. A.C. 470. 440.

Theſe unfortunate communities had unwarily forged their own chains, when they conſented to raiſe an annual ſubſidy to maintain the guardian navy of Athens. They perceived not, that this temporary benevolence would be ſoon converted into a perpetual tribute, ſince, in proportion as they became unaccuſtomed to war, they laid themſelves at the mercy of that republic, to which they had tamely entruſted the care of their defence. When the rigorous exactions of Athens ſpeedily warned them of their error, the wide intervals at which they were ſeparated from each other, rendered it impoſſible for them to afford mutual aſſiſtance, and to act with united vigour. Naxos, Thaſos, Ægina, Eubœa, Samos, and other iſlands or cities of leſs importance, boldly ſtruggled to repel uſurpation; but fighting ſingly, were ſucceſſively ſubdued; while new, and more grievous, burdens were cruelly impoſed on them. The leaſt patient again murmured, petitioned, rebelled, and taking arms to reſiſt oppreſſion, were treated with the ſeverity due to unprovoked ſedition. The puniſhment inflicted on them was uniformly rigorous. They were compelled to deliver up the authors of the revolt, to ſurrender their ſhipping, to demoliſh their walls, or receive an Athenian garriſon, to pay the expences of the war, and give hoſtages for their future obedience [56]. It is not the buſineſs of general hiſtory to deſcribe minutely the events of this ſocial

[56] Thucydid. & Diodor. loc. citat.

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ſocial war, which was carried on chiefly by Pericles, and finiſhed in the courſe of thirty years with every ſucceſs the moſt preſumptuous ambition of Athens could either expect or deſire. Samos, the capital of the iſland of that name, made the moſt vigorous reſiſtance; but at length ſurrendered to Pericles, after a ſiege of nine months, in the ninth year before the war of Peloponneſus [57].

Spirit of the Athenian government;

Hiſtorians, partial or credulous, have handed down ſome atrocious cruelties committed after the taking of Samos, which may be confidently rejected as fictions, injurious to the fame of Pericles, who, though he approved and animated the aſpiring genius of his country, and vainly flattered himſelf that he could juſtify, by reaſons of ſtate, its moſt ambitious uſurpations, uniformly ſhewed himſelf incapable of any deliberate wickedneſs. It may be obſerved, however, that as the moderate peace with Sparta had been concluded chiefly with a view to allow the Athenians to apply their undivided attention to the affairs of their tributaries, the ſeverities exerciſed over theſe unfortunate ſtates were, in conſequence of that event, rather increaſed than mitigated. Athenian magiſtrates and garriſons were ſent to govern and command them. They were burdened with new impoſitions, and diſhonoured by new badges of ſervitude. The lands, which the labour of their anceſtors had cultivated, were ſeized and appropriated by ſtrangers, who claimed the diſtinction of Athenian colonies; and all theſe once independent and flouriſhing republics were thenceforth compelled to ſubmit their mutual conteſts, their domeſtic differences, and even their private litigations, to the cogniſance and deciſion of Athenian aſſemblies and

its exceſſive ſeverity towards its dependencies.

[57] Thucydid. l. i. p. 75.

and tribunals [58]. By drawing thus closely the reins of government, Pericles, in the course of ten years, brought into the treasury of Athens the sum of near two millions sterling [59]. His vigilance seasonably displayed the terrors of the Athenian navy before the most distant enemies or allies of the republic; by alternate pliancy and firmness, by successive promises, bribes, and threats, he repressed the jealous hostility of neighbouring powers; and while his ambition and magnificence fortified and adorned the capital with external strength and splendour, they also laid the foundations of those internal disorders, which rendered his long administration glorious for his contemporaries, fatal to the succeeding generation, and ever memorable with posterity.

[58] Isocrat. de Pace; & Xenoph. de Repub. Athen.
[59] Thucyd. Diodor. Isocrat. Plut. &c.

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Tranſition to the internal State of Athens.—Laws of Draco— Solon—Piſiſtratus—Cliſthenes—Ariſtides —Pericles.—Final Settlement of the Athenian Government —View of the Athenian Empire.—The combined Effect of external Proſperity and Democratic Government on Manners—Arts—Luxury. —Hiſtory of Grecian Literature and Philoſophy.— Singular Contraſt and Balance of Virtues and Vices. —The ſublime Philoſophy of Anaxagoras and Socrates.—The unprincipled Captiouſneſs of the Sophiſts.— The moral Tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides.—The licentious Buffoonery of Ariſtophanes.—The imitative Arts employed to the nobleſt Purpoſes—and abuſed to the moſt infamous.— Magnificence of public Feſtivals.—Simplicity in private Life.—Modeſt Reſerve of Athenian Women.—Voluptuouſneſs, Impudence, and Artifices, of the School of Aſpaſia.

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Tranſition to the internal ſtate of Athens.

THE taking of Samos cloſed the long ſeries of Athenian conqueſts. During the nine ſubſequent years, that once fortunate people enjoyed and abuſed the bleſſings of peace and proſperity. Their oſtentatious diſplay of power increaſed the envy and terror of Greeks and Barbarians, and excited the obſtinate and bloody war of twenty-ſeven years, during which the force of the whole Grecian nation was exerted to demoliſh or uphold the ſtately edifice of empire that had been reared by the ambitious patriotiſm of Pericles. Aſſiſted by feeble or reluctant allies, Athens long ſtruggled againſt the combined ſtrength of Peloponneſus,

ponneſus, Bœotia, Macedon, Sicily, and Perſia; and our curioſity muſt deſervedly be attracted towards the internal reſources and moral condition of a people, who, with few natural advantages, could make ſuch memorable and pertinacious efforts, and who, amidſt the din of arms, ſtill cultivating and improving their favourite arts, produced thoſe immortal monuments of taſte and genius, which, ſurviving the deſtruction of their walls, navy, and harbours, have ever atteſted the glory of Athens, and the impotent vengeance of her enemies. In an inquiry of this kind, the ſcience of government and laws, which gives ſecurity to all other ſciences, merits the firſt place in our attention; nor, at this diſtance of time, will the enlightened reader contemplate with indifference the laws of Athens, which having been incorporated [1] into the Roman juriſprudence about the middle of the fifth century before Chriſt, ſerved after an interval of above ſixteen hundred years, to aboliſh the barbarous practices of the Gothic nations, and to introduce juſtice, ſecurity, and

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[1] The Romans ſent deputies to Athens, to obtain a copy of Solon's laws, four hundred and fifty-four years before Chriſt. The benefits derived from theſe ſalutary inſtitutions were gratefully acknowledged by the liberal candour of a people, who knew how to appretiate the merit of enemies and ſubjects. Hear the language of Pliny (l. viii. ep. 24.) to Maximus, who in the reign of Trajan was appointed governor of the province of Achaia, or Greece: "Remember that you go to a country, where letters, politeneſs, and agriculture itſelf (if we believe common report) were invented . . . . . Revere the gods and heroes, the antient virtue and glory of the nation. Reſpect even its fables and its vanity; remembering that from Greece we derived our laws. The right of conqueſt, indeed, hath enabled us to impoſe our laws on the Greeks; but that people had firſt given us their laws, at our ſolicitation, and when they had nothing to fear from the power of our arms. It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive them of the ſmall remnant of liberty which they ſtill poſſeſs."

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and refinement, among the modern inhabitants of Europe [z].

Laws and government.

The admirable inſtitutions of the heroic ages were built on religion; which, as we have fully explained above, aſcertained and enforced the rights and obligations of public and private life. But the abuſed authority of prieſts and oracles, and the natural depravity of man, ever ſolicitous to obtain the partial favour of his heavenly protectors on eaſier terms than the faithful diſcharge of his duty, gradually ſevered, by fraud or violence, the natural and moſt ſalutary union between religion

[z] Juſtinian's Pandects, it is well known, was diſcovered at Amalfi, in Italy, A. D. 1130. In leſs than half a century afterwards, the civil law was ſtudied and underſtood in all the great provinces of Europe; and this ſtudy (as Mr. Hume obſerves, Reign of Richard III.), tended to ſharpen the wits of men, to give ſolidity to their judgment, to improve their taſte, and to aboliſh the barbarous juriſprudence which univerſally prevailed among the Gothic nations. To this law we owe the abolition of the mode of proof by the ordeal, the corſnet, the duel, and other methods equally ridiculous and abſurd. Pecuniary commutations ceaſed to be admitted for crimes; private revenge was no longer authoriſed by the magiſtrate; and the community was made to feel its intereſt in maintaining the rights, and avenging the wrongs, of all its members. See more in the admirable diſcourſe annexed to the Reign of Richard the Third. I ſhall add but one obſervation, in Mr. Hume's own words: "The ſenſible utility of the Roman law, both to public and private intereſt, recommended the ſtudy of it, at a time when the more exalted and ſpeculative ſciences carried no charms with them; and thus the laſt branch of ancient literature which remained uncorrupted, was happily the firſt tranſmitted to the modern world: for it is remarkable, that in the decline of Roman learning, when the philoſophers were univerſally infected with ſuperſtition and ſophiſtry, and the poets and hiſtorians with barbariſm, the lawyers, who, in other countries, are ſeldom models of ſcience of politeneſs, were yet able, by the conſtant ſtudy and cloſe imitation of their predeceſſors, to maintain the ſame good ſenſe in their deciſions and reaſonings, and the ſame purity in their language and expreſſion." Hume's Hiſt. 3d vol. 8vo, p. 300.

religion and morality; in conſequence of which ſeparation, the former degenerated into an illiberal ſuperſtition, and the latter relaxed into licentiouſneſs, or ſtiffened into pedantry. The ſtriking compariſon, or rather contraſt, between the genius and character, the virtues and vices, of the Greeks, as variouſly deſcribed by Homer and by Solon, and which is ſo much to the advantage of the earlier period, muſt, in the progreſs of this diſcourſe, naturally preſent itſelf to the reflection of the attentive reader, and will ſet in the cleareſt point of view the unhappy revolution of manners, which time and accident had produced in the wide interval between the poet and the legiſlator.

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Legiſlation of Draco; Olymp. xxxix. 1. A.C. 644.

The very imperfect legiſlation of Draco [3], who flouriſhed thirty years before Solon [4], proved that the Athenians felt the want of a ſcience, which they knew not how to acquire or eſtabliſh. The auſtere gravity of that magiſtrate ſeems to have impoſed on the eaſy credulity of the multitude; for his ignorance or ſeverity were alike unworthy of the important office with which he was entruſted. He gave laws, which, according to the lively expreſſion of an orator, ſeemed to be written [5], not with ink, but with blood; ſince death or baniſhment were his ordinary penalties for the moſt trivial offences, as well as for the moſt dangerous crimes: and he juſtified this rigour, by abſurdly obſerving, that the ſmalleſt diſorders deſerved death, and no ſeverer puniſhment could be inflicted on the greateſt. The laws of Draco, therefore,

[3] Suidas in voce Draco. Pollux, l. viii. c. vi.

[4] Meurſius, Solon.

[5] The orator Demades, of whom more hereafter. The obſervation has been always repeated in ſpeaking of Draco, though his laws were certainly written neither with blood nor ink. Even thoſe of Solon were only engraved on tables kept in the citadel.

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fore, tended only to encreaſe the evils which they were deſigned to remedy [6]; and no people ever preſented a ſcene of greater confuſion and miſery, than did the unhappy Athenians, when the abilities and virtues of Solon were ſeaſonably called to their relief.

of Solon. Olymp xlvi. 3 A.C 594.

In relating the general revolutions of Greece, we had occaſion to deſcribe the important ſervices, and illuſtrious merit, of this extraordinary man, whoſe diſintereſtedneſs, patriotiſm, and humanity, equalled his military conduct and ſucceſs. His royal extraction (for he ſprang from the race of the Codridæ), his experienced abilities, above all, his approved wiſdom and equity, pointed him out for the nobleſt and moſt ſublime employment of humanity, that of regulating the laws and government of a free people. Such, at leaſt, the Athenians may be conſidered, when their unanimous ſuffrage rendered Solon the abſolute umpire of their whole conſtitution and policy; although, prior to this period, they ſuffered the combined evils of anarchy and oppreſſion [7]. The magiſtrates plundered the treaſury and the temples; and often betrayed, for bribes, the intereſts of their country. The rich tyranniſed over the poor, the poor continually alarmed the ſafety of the rich. The rapacity of creditors knew no bounds. They compelled the inſolvent debtors to cultivate their lands, like cattle; to perform the ſervice of beaſts of burden; and to transfer to them their ſons and daughters, whom they exported as ſlaves to foreign countries. Solon boaſts, with a laudable vanity, of having recovered and reſtored to their native rights many of thoſe unhappy men, whoſe ſentiments had been debaſed, and language corrupted,

State of Athens in the time of Solon

[6] Ariſtot. de Civ. l. ii. & Plut. in Solon.

[7] Fragm. Solonis apud Demoſth. p. 234. Edit. Wol.

ed, by the infamy of Barbarian ſervitude [8]. The wretched populace, deriving courage from deſpair, had determined no longer to ſubmit to ſuch multiplied rigours; and before the wiſdom of the lawgiver interpoſed, they had taken the reſolution to elect and follow ſome warlike leader, to attack and butcher their oppreſſors, to eſtabliſh an equal partition of lands, and to inſtitute a new form of government [9]. But the numerous clients and retainers, who, in a country little acquainted with arts and manufactures, depended on the wealthy proprietors of the lands and mines of Attica, muſt have rendered this undertaking alike dangerous to both parties; ſo that both became willing rather to ſubmit their differences to the law, than to decide them by the ſword. CHAP. XIII.

His regulations concerning property.

The impartiality of Solon merited the unlimited confidence of his country. He maintained the ancient diviſion of property, but aboliſhed debts. He eſtabliſhed the rate of intereſt at 12 per cent. at which it afterwards remained; but forbade, that the inſolvent debtor ſhould become the ſlave of his creditor, or be compelled to ſell his children into ſervitude. After theſe preliminary regulations, which ſeemed immediately neceſſary to the public peace, Solon proceeded, with an impartial and ſteady hand, to new model the government [10]; on

New models the government.

[8] Idem. ibid. [9] Plut. in Solon.

[10] The moſt correct information concerning the ancient republic of Athens, and the laws of Solon, is contained in Ariſtot. fragm. de civit. Athen. and in various parts of his ſecond, fourth, and ſix books of Politics. 2. In Iſocrat. Areopagit. Panathen. & Panegyr. And 3. In Plut. in Vit. Solon. Xenophon's Treatiſe concerning the Athenian republic relates to later times, when many corruptions had crept in, as will be afterwards explained. It is remarkable, that Polybius, l. vi. has confounded the moderate inſtitutions of Solon with the democratical licentiouſneſs and tyranny introduced by Pericles and

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on this generous, but equitable principle, that the few ought not, as hitherto, to command, and the many to obey; but that the collective body of the people, legally convened in a national aſſembly, were entitled to decide, by a plurality of voices, the alternatives of peace and war; to contract or diſſolve alliances with foreign ſtates; to enjoy all the branches of legiſlative or ſovereign power [11]; and to elect, approve, and judge the magiſtrates or miniſters entruſted, for a limited time, with the executive authority.

His inſtitutions ſuited the condition of the times.

In the actual ſtate of moſt countries of Europe, ſuch a form of government, as only takes place in ſome ſmall cantons of Switzerland, would be attended with the inconvenience of withdrawing the citizens too much from their private affairs. But in ancient Greece, and particularly in Attica, the ſlaves were four times more numerous than the freemen [12]; and of the latter we may compute that little

and his ſucceſſors in the adminiſtration. The palpable errors of ſo judicious an author prove how little accurate knowledge the Greeks poſſeſſed on the ſubject of their own hiſtory: and how impoſſible it is for a modern writer, who blindly follows ſuch guides, not to fall into innumerable errors and contradictions. The treatiſe of Ariſtotle (de Civitate) above-mentioned, deſerves particular attention from thoſe who write or ſtudy the hiſtory of republics. In it we ſee the germ, and often more than the germ, of the political works of Machiavel, which Monteſquieu has ſo often copied, without once acknowledging his obligation.

[11] The election contained a mixture of chance, ſince thoſe who were named by the people caſt lots to decide on whom the office ſhould be conferred. The ſame practice prevails in chuſing the ſenators of the republic of Berne. But Solon enacted, that the fortunate candidate ſhould undergo what is called a probation; his character and merits were thus expoſed to a ſecond examination; and it ſeemed ſcarcely poſſible, after this ſevere ſcrutiny, that any man ſhould attain power, who was altogether unworthy of public confidence.

[12] See my Introductory Diſcourſe to the Orations of Lyſias and Iſocrates, p. 5, & ſeqq.

little more than one half were entitled to any ſhare in the ſovereignty. Strangers, and all thoſe who could not aſcertain their Athenian deſcent, both in the male and female line, were totally excluded from the aſſembly and courts of juſtice. The regulations of Solon marked the utmoſt attention to preſerve the pure blood of Athens unmixed and uncorrupted; nor could any foreigner, whatever merit he might claim with the public, be admitted to the rank of citizen, unleſs he for ever abandoned his native country, profeſſed the knowledge of ſome highly uſeful or ingenious art, and, in both caſes, had been choſen by ballot, in a full aſſembly of ſix thouſand Athenians. Theſe circumſtances (eſpecially as the Athenian people were uſually convened only four times in thirty-five days) prevented their aſſemblies from being either ſo inconvenient and burdenſome, or ſo numerous and tumultuary, as might at firſt ſight be ſuppoſed. Yet their numbers, and ſtill more their impetuoſity and ignorance, muſt have proved inconſiſtent with good government, if Solon had not ſecured the veſſel of the republic from the waves of popular frenzy, by the two firm anchors of the Senate and the Areopagus; tribunals originally of great dignity, and very extenſive power, into which men of a certain deſcription only could be received as members.

His diviſion of the citizens.

Solon divided the Athenians into four claſſes, according to the produce of their eſtates. The firſt claſs conſiſted of thoſe whoſe lands annually yielded five hundred meaſures of liquid, as well as dry commodities; and the minimum of whoſe yearly income may be calculated at ſixty pounds ſterl. which is equivalent, if we eſtimate the relative value of money by the price of labour, and of the things moſt neceſſary to life, to about ſix hundred pounds

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pounds ſterling in the preſent age [12]. The ſecond claſs conſiſted of thoſe whoſe eſtates produced three hundred meaſures; the third of thoſe whoſe eſtates produced two hundred; the fourth, and by far the moſt numerous claſs of Athenians, either poſſeſſed no landed property, or at leaſt enjoyed not a revenue in land equal to twenty-four pounds ſterling, or, agreeably to the above proportion, two hundred and forty pounds of our preſent currency.

Prerogatives of the firſt claſſes.

All ranks of citizens were alike admitted to vote in the public aſſembly, and to judge in the courts of juſtice, whether civil or criminal, which were properly ſo many committees of the aſſembly [13]. But the three firſt claſſes were excluſively entitled to ſit in the ſenate, to decide in the Areopagus, or to hold any other office of magiſtracy. To theſe dignities they were elected by the free ſuffrages of the people, to whom they were accountable for their adminiſtration, and by whom they might be puniſhed for malverſation or negligence. although they derived no emolument from the diligent diſcharge of their duty.

Of the ſenate of the 500.

The ſenate of four hundred, which, eighty-ſix years after its inſtitution, was augmented to five hundred by Cliſthenes, enjoyed the important prerogatives of convoking the popular aſſembly; of previouſly examining all matters before they came to

[12] See Introduction to Lyſis, &c. p. 14.

[13] In my Introductory Diſcourſes to the Orations of Lyſias, &c. I had occaſion to explain the nature of the Athenian tribunals. Since the publication of that work, the ſame ſubject, and particularly the form of civil proceſs, has been accurately explained by Sir William Jones, in his Diſſertations annexed to the tranſlation of Iſæus. Mr. Pettingal's learned work upon the uſe and practice of *juries* among the ancients, lately fell into my hands. Wherein my ideas and his differ, will eaſily appear from the text, and needs not be pointed out.

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to be decided by the people, which gave them a negative before debate in all public reſolutions; and of making laws which had force during a year, without requiring the conſent of the populace. Beſides this general ſuperintendance and authority, the ſenate was excluſively inveſted with many particular branches of the executive power. The preſident of that council had the cuſtody of the public archives and treaſury. The ſenate alone built ſhips, equipped fleets and armies; ſeized and confined ſtate criminals; examined and puniſhed ſeveral offences, which were not expreſsly forbidden by any poſitive law. The weight of ſuch a council, which aſſembled every day, except feſtivals, infuſed a large mixture of ariſtocracy into the Athenian conſtitution. This, as we ſhall immediately explain, was ſtill farther increaſed by the authority of the Areopagus, a court ſo named from the place where it was held; a hill ſacred to to Mars, adjoining to the citadel.

The nine archons.

The principal magiſtrates in Athens were the nine archons, the firſt of whom gave his name to the year, and preſided in the civil courts of juſtice, where a committee of the people, choſen promiſcuouſly from all claſſes by lot [14], ſat as judges and jury; but where it belonged to the archon and his aſſeſſors, men appointed by ſuffrage, and acquainted with forms, to take what in Scotland is called a precognition, to preſcribe the form of action,

[14] The eſſential difference between the Roman and Athenian government, conſiſted in the different placing of the judicial power; which at Rome remained 300 years in the hands of the ſenate. The ſeditions of the Gracchi, and moſt of the civil diſſentions which happened before the time of Auguſtus, had for their object or pretence, the altering of this order of things, and bringing the Roman conſtitution nearer the Athenian.

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action, to give the ballot [15], and to receive and declare the verdict and ſentence of the court. The archon next in dignity, who had the appellation of king, preſided in cauſes reſpecting religion and things ſacred, which formed the object of an important and dangerous branch of Athenian juriſprudence. The archon, third in dignity with his aſſeſſors the generals [16], preſided in military matters; and the ſix remaining, who were known by the general appellation of theſmothetæ, heard criminal pleas of various kinds, or rather directed the proceedings of the ſix courts where criminal cauſes were examined and determined. Theſe nine archons, or preſidents of the ſeveral courts of juſtice, like all other Athenian magiſtrates, were, at the expiration of their annual office, accountable to the people; and when their conduct, after a ſevere ſcrutiny, was found to merit public approbation and gratitude, they were received, and remained for life, members of the Areopagus, which was inveſted with a general inſpection over the laws and religion, as well as over the lives and manners of the citizens; and which, in dangerous emergencies, was entitled to aſſume a ſort of dictatorial power [17].

The Areopagus.

Happy tendency of Solon's plan of government.

Such is the great outline of the conſtitution eſtabliſhed by Solon, according to which every Athenian citizen enjoyed the ineſtimable privilege of being judged by his peers, and tried by laws to which he himſelf had conſented. Although the legiſlative and judicial powers were thus lodged with

[15] Οἱ τιθεντες τον αγωνα ϗ την ψηφον διδοντις, are the words of Lyſias. The ſame writer mentions the παρεδροι, συνδικαι, aſſeſſors, ſyndics.

[16] Lyſias, in the ſecond oration againſt Alcibiades (a military cauſe), not only mentions the στρατηγοι, or generals, but addreſſes them ſeparately from the ανδρες δικαστα, or judges.

[17] Iſocrat. Oratio Areopagit.

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with the people, men of property and ability were alone entruſted with the adminiſtration of government; and as power in ſome meaſure followed property, the ſame expedient which ſerved to maintain a due diſtinction of ranks in the ſociety, tended alſo to promote the induſtry and frugality of the multitude, that they might thereby become entitled to ſhare thoſe honours and offices, to which perſons of a certain eſtate only could aſpire.

Extenſive nature of his laws.

The laws of Solon were of the moſt extenſive nature, comprehending not only rules of right, but maxims of morality, regulations of commerce, and precepts of agriculture. To deſcribe his inſtitutions reſpecting ſuch matters as are properly the objects of law, would be explaining thoſe great, but familiar principles, concerning marriage, ſucceſſion, teſtaments, the rights of perſons and of things, which, through the medium of the civil law, have been conveyed into the juriſprudence of all the civiliſed nations of Europe. His laws concerning education and manners prove that drunkenneſs and unnatural love were the predominant vices of that early age. It was a particular duty of the archons, to prevent or puniſh offences committed in conſequence of intoxication; and the regulations concerning ſchools [18], which were not to be opened till ſun-riſe, which were ordered to be ſhut before night, and into which none but ſuch relations of the maſter, as were particularly ſpecified by law, could on any pretence be admitted, marked the utmoſt ſolicitude to root out an evil which already infected and diſgraced the manners of Greece.

His ſyſtem of education.

The education recommended by Solon nearly reſembled that above deſcribed, which generally prevailed

[18] Æſchin. in Timarchum.

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prevailed in Greece [18]. The children of Athenian citizens, when taken from the hands of the women, were delivered to two maſters, of whom the one formed the body, and the other the mind. Swimming, and the eaſier exerciſes, prepared them for the harder toils of the gymnaſtic. Reading, and learning by heart the leſſons and examples of the poets, made way for the ſeverer ſtudies of eloquence and philoſophy. In proceſs of time, muſic, geometry, and drawing, ſeem to have entered into the plan of a liberal education [19]. At the age of twenty, the youth of all ranks took an oath in the temple of Agraulos (an appellation of Minerva), to obey and to maintain the laws of their country; to uſe their beſt endeavours to promote its proſperity; to follow the ſtandard of whatever commanders might be appointed to conduct them; to ſail to every part of the world, when ſummoned by the public ſervice; to fight to death for their native land; and to regard wheat, barley, vines, and olives, as the only boundaries of Attica [20]: a prepoſterous arrogance in that little republic, which already betrayed an ambition to conquer and appropriate all the cultivated parts of the world. When the Athenian youth were not, in conſequence of this oath, engaged in military ſervice, they were obliged by law to follow ſuch employments as ſuited their reſpective fortunes. Agriculture, commerce, and mechanic arts, fell to the ſhare of the poor; the rich ſtill continued their application to gymnaſtic and philoſophy, carefully ſtudied the laws of the republic, examined the ancient and actual condition of their own and neighbouring ſtates; and, at the age of thirty, appeared as candidates in

Duties and employments of the youth.

[18] See Chapters V. and VI. [19] Ariſt. Polit. l. vii c. iii.
[20] See Introduction to Lyſias, &c. p. 16.

in the aſſembly for ſuch offices of truſt and honour as their regular manners, inoffenſive and dutiful behaviour in all the relations of private life, temperance, œconomy, public ſpirit and abilities[21], might obtain from the voluntary ſuffrage of the people.

Uſurpation of Piſiſtratus.

The uſurpation of Piſiſtratus, though it deſtroyed, for a time, the political liberty of Athens, gave ſtability to moſt of the laws and forms introduced by Solon. That extraordinary *tyrant*, for ſo the Geeeks ſtyled him, was not more diſtinguiſhed by the loftineſs of his genius than the humanity of his diſpoſition, and had not the violence of contending factions, and the fury of his enemies inflamed his natural love of power, the name of Piſiſtratus would ſtand the foremoſt in the liſt of Grecian patriots and heroes. His valour and conduct were ſignalized in the conqueſt of Niſæa, Salamis, Naxos, Delos and Sigæum; and if he diſplayed boldneſs and addreſs in acquiring ſovereignty, he diſplayed ſtill more moderation and virtue in adminiſtering it. He aſſumed, indeed, the royal dignities of prieſt and general, and took care that the chief offices of magiſtracy ſhould be filled by his partiſans. But he maintained the regular courſe of law and juſtice, not only by his authority, but by his example; having appeared in perſon to anſwer an accuſation in the Areopagus. He not only enforced the laws of Solon againſt idleneſs, but endeavoured to give them more efficacy by introducing new arts and manufactories into Attica. He was the firſt who brought into that country the complete collection of Homer's poems, which he commanded to be ſung

His moderate and wiſe adminiſtration;

[21] Lyſias, paſſim.

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ſung at the Panathenæan feſtival; nor can we ſuppoſe that he ſhould have been zealous to diffuſe the liberal and manly ſentiments of that divine poet, if his govrnment had not reſembled the moderation and equity of the heroic ages, rather than the deſpotiſm of tyrants.

ſurpaſſed by that of his ſon Hipparchus.

His ſon Hipparchus imitated and ſurpaſſed the mild virtues of his father; and, amidſt the turbulence of the later democracy, it was acknowledged with a ſigh by the Athenians, that their anceſtors were indeed happy under Solon and Piſiſtratus, but that the reign of the tyrant Hipparchus brought back on earth the golden days of Saturn. The father had required a tenth part of the produce of Attica to ſupport his guards, and the other appendages of royalty: his more generous ſon remitted one-half of this impoſition. While he alleviated the burdens, yet encouraged the induſtry of his ſubjects, by building the temple of Olympian Jupiter, he was ſolicitous to diſpel their ignorance and barbarity by erecting pillars in every part of the city, engraved with elegiac verſes, containing leſſons of wiſdom, and precepts of morality. He collected the firſt library in Athens; and his liberal rewards, and ſtill more his agreeable manners and winning affability, attracted to that city the moſt diſtinguiſhed poets of the age.

His murder exaſperates Hippias.

The murder of Hipparchus exaſperated the temper of his brother and ſucceſſor Hippias; but notwithſtanding the calamities which the latter inflicted and ſuffered, it muſt be allowed that the government of Piſiſtratus and his, which, with various interruptions, laſted ſixty-eight years [21], increaſed

[21] Between 578 and 510. B. C.

increaſed the ſtrength and promoted the refinement of Athens [22].

The government changed by Cliſthenes. Olymp. lxvii. 3. A.C. 510.

Yet in nothing was that uſurpation more advantageous than in the animating ſenſe of liberty which the memory of paſt ſervitude, under Hippias, excited and kept alive in Athens, after the popular government had been reſtored by Cliſthenes and Alcibiades. We have already had occaſion to relate the foreign victories of the republic, which immediately followed that event; but at the ſame time the conſtitution of government underwent a conſiderable change. By admitting to the rank of citizens a promiſcuous crowd of ſtrangers, fugitives, Athenians of half blood, and perhaps ſlaves, the tribes were augmented from four to ten; and the ſenators from four to five hundred. The oſtraciſm was likewiſe eſtabliſhed; a law by which any citizen, whoſe influence or abilities ſeemed dangerous to liberty, might be baniſhed ten years, without the proof or allegation of any poſitive crime.

Important alteration made by Ariſtides. Olymp. lxxv. 2. A.C. 479.

In this condition the republic continued thirty years, until the glorious victories of Salamis, Platæa, and Mycalé, encouraged the loweſt but moſt numerous claſs of citizens, by whoſe valour thoſe memorable exploits had been atchieved, to make further invaſions on the prerogatives of their ſuperiors. The ſudden wealth, which the rich ſpoils of the Barbarians had diffuſed among all ranks of men, increaſed the *cenſus* of individuals, and deſtroyed the balance of the conſtitution. Ariſtides, who perceived it to be impoſſible to reſiſt the natural progreſs of democracy, ſeaſonably

[22] See the treatiſe of Meurſius, entitled, Piſiſtratus, one of the few ſatisfactory performances in the immenſe collection of Gronovius.

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bly yielded to men who had arms in their hands and firmneſs in their hearts; and propoſed, with apparent ſatisfaction, but much ſecret reluctance [22], a law by which the Athenian magiſtrates ſhould be thenceforth promiſcuouſly elected from the four claſſes of citizens. This innovation paved the way for the ſtill greater changes begun twenty years afterwards, and gradually completed by Pericles; a revolution of which the conſequences were not immediately felt, but which continually became more ſenſible, and finally terminated in the ruin of Athens and of Greece.

The democracy completed by Pericles. Olymp. lxxxii. 4. A.C. 449.

The general reaſons which prevailed on the equity and diſcernment of Pericles to eſpouſe, with undue warmth, the cauſe of the populace, have in the preceding chapter been ſufficiently explained. Yet whatever partial motives of intereſt and ambition [23] might warp the views of this illuſtrious ſtateſman, it muſt be acknowledged, that the foreign tranſactions and ſucceſs of the republic, and particularly the new ſituation in which the Athenians found themſelves placed with regard to their diſtant allies and colonies, might naturally ſuggeſt and occaſion very important alterations in the Athenian conſtitution. The ancient and ſacred law which obliged every citizen, without fee

Introduction of pay to the troops;

[22] Ἐκων ακοντι δε θυμω, cited on this occaſion by Plutarch, well expreſſes the forced generoſity of Ariſtides to the populace

[23] Plutarch (in Pericle) mentions a particular reaſon which engaged Pericles to counteract the ariſtocracy, and to abridge the power of the Areopagus. Although he had been often *named* for the office of Archon, the *lot* had never fallen on him, ſo that he could not be received as member of that reſpected court. If this obſervation be well founded it ſhews how little real weight the annual magiſtracies had at Athens; ſince Pericles, though he never attained the dignity of Archon, governed the republic many years with unrivalled authority.

fee or reward, to take arms in defence of his country, could not eaſily be extended to the obligation of protecting, without a proper recompence, the intereſt of foreign communities. The ſcanty population of Attica ſufficed not to anſwer the demands of ſo many diſtant expeditions. It became neceſſary to hire troops wherever they might be found; and, as this neceſſity introduced pay into the Athenian armies, a ſimilar, though not equally cogent, reaſon eſtabliſhed fees and ſalaries for all the different orders of judges and magiſtrates. The ſame principle of duty and public ſpirit, which obliged every freeman to fight without pay, likewiſe obliged him gratuitiouſly to judge, conſult, and deliberate, for the benefit of his country. But when the conteſted intereſts of foreign, though dependent, communities, were agitated and adjuſted in the tribunals of Athens, it ſeemed reaſonable for thoſe who ſpent their time in an employment to which no natural obligation called them, to demand a proper reward for their uſeful ſervices. At firſt, therefore, a *ſmall* ſum, but which gradually increaſed with the power of the people, was regularly diſtributed among the citizens, for every deliberation which they held, and for every cauſe which they determined.

of fees and ſalaries to the magiſtrates.

The deſire of reaping this profit made the populace anxious to draw all cauſes and deliberations before their own tribunals and aſſemblies. This deſign was ſucceſsfully accompliſhed by Ephialtes [24], an artful and daring demagogue, whom Pericles employed as a proper inſtrument to effect ſuch invidious meaſures as were moſt obnoxious to the rich and noble. While his patron extend-

These circumſtances totally unhinge the government eſtabliſhed by Solon.

[24] Plut. in Pericle.

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ed the renown of Athens by his foreign victories, and gradually reduced into ſubjection the colonies and allies of the republic, the obſequious Ephialtes zealouſly promoted his domeſtic meaſures; and by undermining the authority of the ſenate and of the Areopagus [25], the firmeſt bulwarks of the ariſtocracy, obtained a ſignal victory over the laws of Solon. The aſſaſſination of Ephialtes proved only the weakneſs of his enemies; and we ſhall find in the ſubſequent hiſtory of Athens, that moſt matters of deliberation came, thenceforth in the firſt inſtance, before the popular aſſembly; that the wiſe inſtitutions of Solon were reduced to an empty form; and that the magnanimity of Pericles, the extravagance of his immediate ſucceſſors, the patriotiſm of Thraſybulus and Conon, the integrity of Phocion, the artifices of Æſchines, and the eloquence of Demoſthenes, ſucceſſively ſwayed, at will, a wild and capricious democracy.

External and domeſtic

The revolution which immediately followed, in the manners, character, and conduct of the Athenians

[25] Authors have not deſcribed in what particular reſpects, or by what particular means, Ephialtes effected his purpoſe: yet we may collect, from obſcure hints on this ſubject, that he not only brought before the inferior tribunals cauſes hitherto confined to the Areopagus, but took from that court its general inſpection and ſuperintendence over the religion and laws; which offices he beſtowed on the popular court of the ἡλιαία, and the νομοφύλακες, who were appointed, and diſmiſſed, at the will of the people. He likewiſe rendered the *probation* for becoming an *areopagite* leſs ſevere than formerly. Perſons crept into this order, whoſe characters diſgraced it. The Areopagites became equally acceſſible to preſents and to beauty; and their deciſions fell into contempt. See the diſcourſe of Iſocrates upon reforming the government of Athens, and Athenæus, l. ix. That Ephialtes, or Pericles himſelf, likewiſe weakened the authority of the ſenate (although it is not remarked by any ancient author) appears from all the ſubſequent hiſtory of Athens.

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Athenians, was the natural conſequence of the change of government, combined with other circumſtances inſeparably connected with their domeſtic and external proſperity. In the courſe of a few years the ſucceſs of Ariſtides, Cimon, and Pericles had tripled the revenues, and increaſed, in a far greater proportion, the dominions of the republic. The Athenian gallies commanded the eaſtern coaſts of the Mediterranean; their merchantmen had engroſſed the traffic of the adjacent countries; the magazines of Athens abounded with wood, metal, ebony, ivory, and all the materials of the uſeful as well as of the agreeable arts; they imported the luxuries of Italy, Sicily, Cyprus, Lydia, Pontus, and Peloponneſus; experience had improved their ſkill in working the ſilver mines of Mount Laurium; they had lately opened the valuable marble veins in Mount Pentelicus; the honey of Hymettus was more eſteemed, in proportion as it became better known to their neighbours; the culture of their olives (oil being long their ſtaple commodity, and the only production of Attica, which Solon allowed them to export), muſt have improved with the general improvement of the country in arts and agriculture, eſpecially under the active adminiſtration of Pericles, who liberally let looſe the public treaſure to encourage every ſpecies of induſtry [26].

proſperity of the republic. Olymp. lxxxv. 1. A.C. 440.

But if that miniſter promoted the love of action, he found it neceſſary at leaſt to comply with, if not to excite, the extreme paſſion for pleaſure, which then began to diſtinguiſh his countrymen. The people of Athens, ſucceſsful in every enterpriſe againſt their foreign as well as domeſtic enemies,

Effect of this, combined with the change of government, on manners and arts.

[26] Iſocrat. Areop. de Pace, & Panegyr. Xenoph. & Ariſtot. de Repub. Athen.

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mies, ſeemed entitled to reap the fruits of their dangers and victories. For the ſpace of at leaſt twelve years preceding the war of Peloponneſus, their city afforded a perpetual ſcene of triumph and feſtivity. Dramatic entertainments, to which they were paſſionately addicted, were no longer performed in ſlight unadorned edifices, but in ſtone or marble theatres, erected at great expence, and embelliſhed with the moſt precious productions of nature and of art. The treaſury was opened, not only to ſupply the decorations of this favourite amuſement, but to enable the poorer citizens to enjoy it, without incurring any private expence; and thus, at the coſt of the ſtate, or rather of its tributary allies and colonies, to feaſt and delight their ears and fancy with the combined charms of muſic and poetry. The pleaſure of the eye was peculiarly conſulted and gratified in the architecture of the theatres and other ornamental buildings; for as Themiſtocles had ſtrengthened, Pericles adorned his native city; and unleſs we had the concurring teſtimony of antiquity, as well as the immortal remains of the Parthenon, or temple of Minerva, which ſtill excite the admiration of travellers, it would be difficult to believe that in the ſpace of a few years, there could have been created thoſe ineſtimable wonders of art, thoſe innumerable temples, theatres, ſtatues, altars, baths, gymnaſia and porticos, which, in the language of ancient panegyric, rendered Athens the eye and light of Greece [27].

Luxury and vices of Athens.

Pericles was blamed for thus decking one favourite city, like a vain, voluptuous harlot, at the expence of plundered provinces [28]; but it would

[27] Iſocrat. & Ariſtid.

[28] Plutarch in Pericle.

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would have been fortunate for the Athenians if their extorted wealth had not been employed in more periſhing, as well as more criminal, luxury. The pomp of religious ſolemnities, which were twice as numerous and as coſtly in Athens as in any other city of Greece; the extravagance of entertainments and banquets, which on ſuch occaſions always followed the ſacrifices; the increaſe of private luxury, which naturally accompanied this public profuſion, exhauſted the reſources, without augmenting the glory, of the republic. Inſtead of the bread, herbs, and ſimple fare recommended by the laws of Solon, the Athenians, ſoon after the eightieth Olympiad, availed themſelves of their extenſive commerce to import the delicacies of diſtant countries, which were prepared with all the refinements of cookery [29]. The wines of Cyprus were cooled with ſnow in ſummer; in winter [30] the moſt delightful flowers adorned the tables and perſons of the wealthy Athenians. Nor was it ſufficient to be crowned with roſes, unleſs they were likewiſe anointed with the moſt precious perfumes [31]. Paraſites, dancers, and buffoons, were an uſual appendage of every entertainment [32]. Among the weaker ſex, the paſſion for delicate birds, diſtinguiſhed by their voice or plumage, was carried to ſuch exceſs as merited the name of madneſs [33]. The bodies of ſuch youths as were peculiarly addicted to hunting and horſes, which began to be a prevailing taſte [34], were corrupted by the commerce of harlots, who had reduced their profeſſion

[29] Ariſtoph. Nubes, ver. 50. & Lyſiſtrat. paſſim.
[30] Athen. l. xi. 3. & Xenoph. Memorabilia, l. ii.
[31] Xenoph. Ibid.
[32] Athenæus, l. i. & Xenoph. Symp.
[33] Ορνιθομανια. Athen. l. xi. 3.
[34] Ariſtoph. Nubes, paſſim.

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feſſion into ſyſtem [35]; while their minds were ſtill more polluted by the licentious philoſophy of the ſophiſts. It is unneceſſary to crowd the picture, ſince it may be obſerved, in one word, that the vices and extravagancies, which are ſuppoſed to characteriſe the declining ages of Greece and Rome, took root in Athens during the adminiſtration of Pericles, the moſt ſplendid and moſt proſperous in the Grecian annals.

Contraſt and balance of virtues and vices, advantages and diſadvantages.

This paradox, for ſuch it muſt appear, may be explained by conſidering the ſingular combination of circumſtances, which, in the time of that ſtateſman, gave every poiſon its antidote, and rendered the partial evils, already deſcribed, only the thorn that ever accompanies the roſe. The Grecian hiſtory of thoſe times affords a more ſtriking contraſt than ever appeared in any other age or country, of wiſdom and folly, of magnanimity and meanneſs, of liberty and tyranny, of ſimplicity and refinement, of auſterity and voluptuouſneſs. The ſublime philoſophy of Anaxagoras and Socrates was accompanied, as with a ſhadow, by the dark unprincipled captiouſneſs of the ſophiſts; the pathetic and moral ſtrains of Sophocles and Euripides were parodied by the licentious buffoonery of Ariſtophanes; painting and ſculpture, which, under geniuſes of the firſt order like Phidias, ſerved as handmaids to religion and virtue, degenerated under inferior artiſts into mean hirelings of vice and diſorder; the modeſty of Athenian matrons was ſet off as by a foil, when compared with the diſſoluteneſs of the ſchool of Aſpaſia; and the ſimple frugality of manners, which commonly prevailed in private families, even of the firſt diſtinction, was contraſted with the extravagant

[35] Alexis apud Athenæum, l. xiii.

vagant diſſipation of public entertainments and feſtivals. To examine the parallel links of this complicated chain will illuſtrate the character of a people whoſe ſubſequent tranſactions form one principal object of Grecian hiſtory. CHAP. XIII.

Philoſophy, which in Greece alone deſerves the peculiar attention of the hiſtorian, aroſe about the beginning of the ſixth century before Chriſt, and in an hundred and fifty years attained the higheſt degree of perfection, and ſunk into the loweſt degeneracy and corruption, to which the uſe or abuſe of the human intellect could raiſe or plunge it. Leſſer Aſia, to which Europe and America owe the ineſtimable benefits of their religion and letters, produced and nouriſhed the tender plant of philoſophy; and the flouriſhing Greek colonies on that delightful coaſt, communicated to their mother country this precious offspring of their ſoil. Thales of Miletus, Pyttacus of Mitylene, Bias of Priene, Cleobulus of Lindus in the iſle of Rhodes, and the other wiſe men, as they were emphatically ſtyled, who lived in that age, not only gave advice and aſſiſtance to their countrymen in particular emergencies, but reſtrained their vices by wholeſome laws, improved their manners by uſeful leſſons of morality, and extended their knowledge by important and difficult diſcoveries [36]. But the firſt attempt towards moral philoſophy, as independent on, and unconnected with religion, ſeems to have been the fables of Æſop, which, to men in an early period of ſociety, muſt have appeared a very ſerious and important ſpecies of compoſition. The ſphere of hiſtory was narrow; the examples of the gods, amidſt the continual corruptions of ſuperſtition,

Parallel links of this chain examined.

Hiſtory of Greek philoſophy.

The ſeven Sages.

Æſop the fabuliſt.

[36] Plutarch. Sympos. & de placit. Philoſoph. Plato in Protagor. Diogen. Laert. paſſim.

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ſuperſtition, had become too flagitious for imitation; and men, whoſe ruſtic ſimplicity of life afforded them continual opportunities to obſerve the inſtinctive ſagacity of certain animals, might derive many uſeful leſſons from thoſe humble inſtructors. In the early ages of Greece and Rome, and of all other nations whoſe hiſtory is recorded, fables were told, and in ſome degree believed, in the aſſembly and ſenate-houſe, on the moſt important occaſions; for in the infancy of ſociety men are children; and the deluſion, which the belief of a fable ſuppoſes, is not more groſs and improbable than many of thoſe errors into which (as we have already proved [37]) their lively fancy had often hurried them. The ſame romantic caſt of imagination which had animated woods and winds, mountains and rivers, which had changed heroes into gods, and gods into frail men, might endow animals with reaſon, and even ſpeech.

The gnomonic poets.

The next ſtep towards moral ſcience was of a more refined and abſtract kind, conſiſting of the ſentences of the gnomonic poets [38], and in thoſe detached precepts or proverbs which, in all countries, have preceded any ſyſtematic account of morality. Each of the ſeven ſages, as they were called, had his favourite maxims [39], which he engraved in temples and other places of public reſort; but at this diſtance of time it is impoſſible, amidſt the differences of authors, to diſcover what belongs to each; nor is the ſearch important, ſince all their maxims or proverbs, whatever efforts of generalization they might coſt their inventors,

[37] See above, Chapter II.

[38] See the Sentences of Theognis, which are evidently a collection, not the work of one man.

[39] Ariſtot. Rhet. ii. 21. Stobæus. Serm. p. 44, &c.

tors, now appear extremely ſimple and familiar. CHAP. XIII.

Theſe reſpectable fathers of Grecian philoſophy, who ſilently diffuſed light through the gloom of a barbarous age, are ſaid to have maintained a correſpondence [40] with each other, as well as with Solon of Athens, Chilon of Sparta, and Periander of Corinth; men who, in imitation of their eaſtern brethren, chiefly cultivated ſuch practical knowledge as qualified them to be the legiſlators, magiſtrates, and generals of their reſpective countries.

The diſcoveries of Thales the Mileſian.

Thales, the Mileſian, alone, quitted the ordinary purſuits of civil and military renown; and although he compoſed verſes, promulgated moral ſentences, and, on ſome particular emergencies, gave ſeaſonable advice to his countrymen, yet he eſtabliſhed his fame on a baſis more broad and permanent than the fluctuating intereſts of periſhing communities. Many of the elementary propoſitions of geometry, afterwards collected by Euclid [41] were firſt diſcovered by Thales, who directed the acuteneſs of his mind with equal ſucceſs to aſtronomy. He divided the heavens into five zones, diſcovered the equinoxes and ſolſtices, remarked the Urſa Minor, obſerved, and nearly predicted, eclipſes. The diviſion of the year into three hundred and ſixty-five days was already known to the Egyptians; but although Thales might borrow this, and perhaps other diſcoveries, from that ancient people, among whom he ſometimes reſided, it appears, even from thoſe authors who are ever prone to exaggerate the wiſdom of Egypt, that he owed much leſs to that country, than to the native

[40] Plut. Symp.

[41] Proclus in Euclid.

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native ſagacity and penetration of his clear comprehenſive mind [42].

His ſchool and ſucceſſors,

Thales founded the Ionic ſchool, in which he was ſucceeded by Anaximander and Anaximenes, who were followed by Anaxagoras, the inſtructor of Pericles, and Archelaus, who is called by the ancient writers the maſter of Socrates. About fifty years after Thales, the ſame ſpeculations which he had introduced were purſued by Xenophanes of Colophon, Leucippus and Parmenides of Elea, and Heraclitus of Epheſus. Theſe ingenious men diſcovered many uſeful truths; yet all of them, not excepting Thales himſelf, likewiſe buſied themſelves with ſubjects that will for ever excite and elude human curioſity. Their doctrines were equally liable to objection, whichever of the elements they aſſumed, as the firſt principle of nature; they univerſally agreed in aſſerting the fallacy of the ſenſes, and the unworthineſs of the vulgar ſuperſtition; but their various opinions concerning the origin and deſtruction of worlds, the magnitudes and diſtances of heavenly bodies, the eſſence of matter and ſpirit [43], deſerve only to be conſidered as the dreams of inquiſitive men whoſe ambition of knowledge carried them beyond the ſphere of experience, and the clear deductions of reaſon. The ſyſtem of Leucippus, the moſt famous of them all, was improved by Democritus of Abdera [44], and afterwards adopted by Epicurus, whoſe philoſophy is ſufficiently explained in the extraordinary work of Lucretius, the boldeſt monument

degenerate into Atheiſm.

[42] Hieronym. apud Laert. l. i. c. xxvii. Plin. l. xxxviii. c. xvii.

[43] See Diogen. Laert. l. i. Ariſtot. Metaph. paſſim. & Plut. de Placit. Philoſoph.

[44] Laert. l. ix. Ariſtot. Phyſic. l. viii.

monument which the world is ever likely to behold, of learning, genius, and impiety.

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The ſublime philoſophy of Anaxagoras.

But it is particularly worthy of obſervation, that at the ſame time Democritus aſſailed the celeſtial manſions, and unveiled, with a daring hand, the feeble majeſty of Grecian ſuperſtition, Anaxagoras of Clazomené revealed a new and infinitely more auguſt ſpectacle, by firſt announcing to the heathen world, a ſelf-exiſtent, all perfect mind, as the greateſt cauſe and author of the material world. Thales and Pythagoras, with ſuch of their diſciples as faithfully adhered to their tenets, had indeed admitted ſpirit as a conſtituent principle of the univerſe; but they had ſo intimately blended mind and matter, that theſe diſſimilar ſubſtances ſeemed to make an indiſſoluble compound, as the ſoul and body conſtitute but one man. According to Anaxagoras, on the other hand, the creating and ſovereign intelligence was carefully diſtinguiſhed from the ſoul of the world, which he ſeems to have regarded merely as a poetical expreſſion for the laws which the Deity had impreſſed on his works. The great Ruler of the world did not animate, but impel matter; he could not be included within its limited and periſhing terms; his nature was pure and ſpiritual, and totally incapable of pollution by any corporeal admixture [45].

The diſcovery and diffuſion of this luminous and ſublime principle, which was naturally followed by an inveſtigation of the moral attributes of the Deity, and the deducing from thence the great duties of morality, might have produced a general

[45] Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. l. i. c. iii. Plato in Cratylo, & Plut. in Pericle.

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general and happy revolution in Greece, under the zealous and perſevering labours of Socrates and his followers, if the tendency of this divine philoſophy had not been counteracted, not only by the groſs prejudices of the vulgar, but by the more dangerous refinements of incredulous Sophiſts.

Its tendency counteracted by the Sophiſts.

The ſame ſpirit of inquiry, which leads to the diſcovery of truth, will ever promote the propagation of error; and unfortunately for Greece, in the middle of the fifth century before Chriſt, errors were propagated, ſo congenial to the condition of the times, that they could not fail to take deep root, and flouriſh in a ſoil which was peculiarly well prepared to receive them. The glorious victories over the Carthaginians and Perſians had increaſed the wealth and ſecurity, called forth the invention and induſtry, but, at the ſame time, multiplied the wants, and inflamed the paſſions of the Greeks. The more powerful cities, and particularly Athens and Syracuſe, had attained a pitch of proſperity which exceeded their moſt ſanguine hopes; elated by the bloom of health and the pride of riches, they continually ſighed for new and unknown enjoyments, while both individuals and communities were ever ready to liſten to ſuch inſtructors as juſtified their vices, and taught them to abuſe the gifts of fortune.

Hiſtory of the Sophiſts. Olymp. lxxxv. 1. A. C. 440.

In this ſituation of affairs appeared the Sophiſts [46], whoſe name, ſtill familiar in the languages of Europe, pretty faithfully expreſſes their character. Hippias of Elis, Protagoras of Abdera, Prodicus of Ceos, Gorgias of Leontium, with many inferior names, preſerved in the writings of Xenophon, Plato, and Iſocrates, ſtarted up

[46] Vid. Philoſtrat. de Vit. Sophiſt.

up about the ſame time, and exhibited a new phænomenon in Greece. The Olympic, and other public aſſemblies, furniſhed them with an opportunity to diſplay their ſpecious accompliſhments to the admiring ſpectators. They frequented the great cities, particularly Athens, and acquired the friendſhip of the rich, and the applauſe of the multitude. They profeſſed the knowledge of every ſcience, and of every art, which they taught publicly, for a ſtipulated price; and, as they really poſſeſſed the art of perſuaſion, their diſciples continually increaſed among the rich and the voluptuous, the idle and the vain.

Their character and views.

Their language was glowing and harmonious, their manners elegant, their life ſplendid. When it ſerved their intereſt, and pleaſed the taſte of their hearers, they could paint virtue in the the warmeſt and moſt alluring colours; but the capricious will of their ſcholars, whoſe paſſions they were ever careful to gratify, ſerved as the only ſtandard of their principles; and engaged them, for the moſt part, to deck out the barren doctrines of Leucippus and Democritus with the meretricious arts of the rhetorician. Their morality ſupplied the ſprings with which Epicurus watered his gardens; and their captious logic furniſhed the arguments by which Pyrrho attempted to juſtify his ſcepticiſm [47]. It would be eaſy to trace up to the Sophiſts that quibbling metaphyſic, which being embodied in the Greek language, thenceforth adhered too cloſely to the philoſophical writings of that people, and which totally diſfigures many otherwiſe valuable compoſitions of antiquity. But our preſent buſineſs is only to remark the deſtructive effects immediately reſulting from

Their influence on philoſophy and manners.

[47] See the Note on the Sophiſts, in my Tranſlation of Iſocrates's Panegyric of Athens, p. 1. & ſeqq.

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from their tenets, which, while they undermined, without openly oppoſing, the ancient and popular ſuperſtition, boldly ſet at defiance all thoſe uſeful maxims of conduct, and all thoſe ſalutary diſcoveries of reaſon, which, amidſt the inſolence of the Greek democracies, fomented by proſperity, appeared eſſentially requiſite to reſtrain the intemperance, injuſtice, and violence, of individuals and communities.

Oppoſed by Socrates.

In ſeveral republics of Greece, the Sophiſts enjoyed a free career to diſplay their talents, practiſe their artifices, and to promote their fame and intereſt. But in Athens their frauds were detected, and their characters unmaſked, by Socrates [48], whoſe philoſophy forms an important æra in the hiſtory of the human mind. The ſon of Sophroniſcus was born at Athens, forty years before the commencement of the Peloponneſian war. The ſmallneſs of his patrimony, amounting only to three hundred pounds, and his original profeſſion of a ſtatuary [49], have encouraged an opinion of the obſcurity of his birth, among writers who did not reflect on the narrowneſs of Athenian fortunes, and who forgot to conſider, that as hereditary diſtinctions were little known or regarded in the Grecian republics, a ſolid and permanent luſtre was naturally derived from the practice of ingenious arts, which could not be cultivated, as in ancient Rome, and ſometimes in modern Europe, by ſervile or mercenary hands, but only by the firſt claſs of freemen and citizens. Whatever reputation or advantage Socrates might have

[48] To avoid prolixity in the account of Socrates and his philoſophy, I cite not particular paſſages, but give the general reſult of my reading in Plato and Xenophon.

[49] Laert. l. ii. Art. Socrat.

have acquired by the exerciſe of a profeſſion, which was peculiarly encouraged by the taſte of the times, and the magnificent ſpirit of Pericles, he readily ſacrificed them to the natural bent of his mind, which concealed, under an external form worthy to repreſent the voluptuous Silenus [50], the fruitful ſeeds of every amiable and manly ſentiment, and determined him, by an irreſiſtible impulſe, to the ſtudy of wiſdom and virtue.

His education and character.

In his early youth he heard the phyſics of Archelaus, and learned the geometry of Theodorus [51]; and from theſe, and other teachers, acquired ſuch an acquaintance with the faſhionable theories concerning the formation of the univerſe, the original principles of things, the hidden powers of matter, as enabled him to regard with juſt contempt, and occaſionally to deride with inimitable humour, the vanity of thoſe uſeleſs and ſhadowy ſpeculations. He acknowledged with the pious Anaxagoras, the ſuperintending mind, whoſe providence regulated the operations of nature, as well as the affairs of human life. He denied not the exiſtence of thoſe inferior intelligences, which formed the only objects of popular adoration: he allowed the divine origin of dreams and omens; he was exemplary in all the religious duties of his country; and were we to judge the Athenian ſage by the ſtandard of ordinary men, we ſhould be inclined to believe that he had not entirely eſcaped the contagion of ſuperſtition; ſince he profeſſed to be accompanied by a dæmon, or inviſible conductor, who often reſtrained his paſſions, and influenced his behaviour [52]. If this aſſertion was not an effect of that refined *irony* familiar to Socrates, we muſt allow his tem-

[50] Plato & Xenoph. in Symp.
[51] Plato in Thætet. & in Menon.
[52] Plut. de Genio Socratis.

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per to have been tinged with credulity: yet, whoever ſeriouſly reflects on a life of ſeventy years, ſpent in the ſervice of mankind, uniformly blameleſs, and terminated by a voluntary death, in obedience to the unjuſt laws of his country; whoever conſiders attentively the habitual temperance, the unſhaken probity, the active uſefulneſs, the diffuſive benevolence, the conſtant equanimity and cheerfulneſs of this ſingular man, will admit a degree of enthuſiaſm, rather as the ornament, than defect, of ſuch an extraordinary character. Men of learning and genius, who, examining the matter ſtill more deeply, have obſerved the important revolution produced by the life and death of Socrates, on the principles and ſentiments of his contemporaries, and of poſterity, are diſpoſed to believe that ſuch an extraordinary phænomenon could not have appeared in the moral world, without the particular interpoſition of heaven. The cheerful ſerenity of his laſt moments [53], and ſtill more, the undeviating tenor of his active virtue, juſtified the hardeſt maxims of Lycurgus and Pythagoras; while the main aim of his ſpeculations was to eſtabliſh the ſublime morality of thoſe ſages on the cleareſt deductions of reaſon and experience.

His philoſophy.

From the perfections of the ſupreme intelligence he deduced his juſt government of the univerſe, which implied the immortality of the human ſoul. But the great object of his reſearch was to diſcover the general laws by which, even in this life, the ſuperintending providence had variouſly diſpenſed to men good and evil, happineſs and miſery. Theſe laws he regarded as the promulgated will of God, with which, when clearly aſcertained,

[53] This ſubject will be treated hereafter.

certained, it became our duty invariably to comply; ſince nothing but the moſt ſhort-ſighted folly could riſk incurring the divine diſpleaſure, in order to avoid pain or poverty, ſickneſs or death; far leſs to acquire periſhing gratifications, which leave a ſting behind them. Reaſoning on ſuch principles, and taking experience only for his guide, he deduced, with admirable perſpicuity, the intereſts and duties of nations and individuals, in all the complicated relations of ſociety. The actions of men furniſhed the materials, their inſtruction formed the object, their happineſs was the end, of his diſcourſe. Wherever his leſſons might be moſt generally uſeful, there he was always to be found; frequenting, at an early hour, the Academy, Lyceum, and other public *Gymnaſia*; punctually attending the Forum at midday, the hour of full aſſembly, and in the evening joining, without the affectation of auſterity, in the convivial entertainments of his friends, or accompanying them in the delightful walks which adorned the banks of the Ilyſſus. As a huſband, a father, a citizen, and a ſoldier, the ſteady practice of his duty continually illuſtrated his doctrines. The converſation and example of this truly practical philoſopher (and this is his higheſt panegyric) perſuaded many of his fellow-citizens ſincerely to embrace a virtuous courſe of life; and even thoſe who, like Critias and Alcibiades, allowed the current of their paſſions to prevail over the conviction of their ſober hours, were ſtill charmed with the wonderful extent, as well as the ſingular accuracy, of his various knowledge; with the acuteneſs and penetration of his arguments; the beauty, vivacity, and perſuaſiveneſs of his ſtyle; which, whether he aſſumed the

Its influence.

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tone of reaſon or of ridicule, ſurpaſſed whatever had been deemed moſt eloquent [54].

Aſſiſted by the tragic poets;

Yet, how great ſoever might be the perſonal influence of Socrates, the triumph of his philoſophy became more illuſtrious and complete, after his principles were embraced by thoſe who cultivated the imitative arts, and directed the public amuſements, which in all countries, but particularly in Greece, have ever produced immediate and powerful effects on the national opinions and character. In Greece alone, the theatre was regarded as an object of the firſt importance and magnitude; it formed an eſſential, and by far the moſt ſplendid, part of religious worſhip; the expence of ſupporting it exceeded that of the army and navy together; and this celebrated entertainment, which united the tragedy and opera of the moderns, was carried to perfection by a favourite

particularly Euripides;

diſciple of Socrates, whoſe works were ſo univerſally admired in Greece, that (as we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the Sicilian war) the Syracuſans releaſed from captivity thoſe Athenians, and thoſe only who had learned to repeat the verſes of Euripides. This admired poet rendered the Grecian tragedy complete, by perfecting the chorus [55], the

[54] Xenoph. Memor l. iv. c. xv. Laert. l. ii. c. xix. & ſeqq. & Cicero de Orat. iii. 16.

[55] In this part of the drama, the philoſophy of Euripides excels the loftineſs of Æſchylus, and the richneſs of Sophocles. It is ſufficient to compare the works of the three rivals, to perceive that the chorus in Euripides moſt faithfully anſwers the deſcription of Horace.

Ille bonis faveatque, & conſilietur amicis,
Et regat iratos, & amet peccare timentes.
Ille dapes laudet menſæ brevis, ille ſalubrem
Juſtitiam, legeſque, & apertis otia portis;
Ille tegat commiſſa; deoſque precetur & oret,
Ut redeat miſeris, abeat fortuna ſuperbis.

the principal diſtinction between the ancient and the modern drama, and which, when properly conducted, rendered the former more regular, yet more varied; more magnificent, and at the ſame time more affecting; above all, more intereſting and inſtructive. CHAP. XIII.

From the prevailing manners of the times, when the principal citizens lived together in crowds, and daily frequented the public halls, the *gymnaſia*, the forums, and temples, it was natural to expect that the action of a Grecian tragedy ſhould conſiſt in ſome great public event, which intereſted the whole body of the people. The ſcene was uſually the portico of a temple, the gate of a palace, the wide expanſe of a forum, or market-place. In ſuch places many ſpectators muſt be ſuppoſed preſent, who would naturally take part in an action which concerned the public intereſt and happineſs [56]. On this principle was introduced the ancient chorus, conſiſting of ſuch perſons as moſt properly ſuited the occaſion, and who, though not immediately or principally concerned in the cataſtrophé, had ſuch general and indirect intereſt, as kept them continually on the ſcene, and made them approve or condemn, promote or oppoſe, the ſentiments and meaſures of the actors. The chorus, who perfected the chorus.

[56] In the Oedipus Tyrannus, the chorus is compoſed of prieſts, ſenators, Theban youths, &c. Creon ſays to Oedipus,

Ει τυνδε χρυζις πλησιαζοντων κλυειν
Ετοιμος ειμιν, ειτε και στειχειν εσω.

The anſwer is,

Ες παντας αυδα τυνδε γας πλεον φερω
Πενθος η και της εμης ψυχης περι.

CREON. Shall I ſpeak in preſence of this numerous aſſembly? or ſhall we retire?

OEDIPUS. Speak before all preſent; for the public diſtreſs afflicts me more than my own danger.

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chorus, never quitting the ſtage, neceſſarily introduced the unity of place; and as their ſongs and dances between the acts expreſſed the feelings excited by the repreſentation, they connected the preceding act with that which immediately followed it, and rendered the whole ſpectacle uninterrupted and continuous. The muſic of the chorus was more rich and various, and the poetry more elevated and glowing, than what could be admitted into the acts, or ordinary dialogue, which was confined to the iambic meaſure; circumſtances which, together with the numbers, the dreſſes, the dances, and geſtures, of theſe fancied ſpectators, equally increaſed the magnificence and variety of the entertainment. They likewiſe rendered it more affecting; ſince nothing is more proper to intereſt us in any ſcene, than the beholding a great number of perſons deeply engaged by it, and expreſſing their feelings by natural tones and movements. But the principal advantage of the chorus was to furniſh the poet with an opportunity (without loading the dialogue, and rendering it too ſententious) of enforcing, by all the power of fancy and of numbers, that moral inſtruction, which was occaſionally attempted by Æſchylus and Sophocles, but which forms the continual end and aim of Euripides, who had a ſoul to feel, and a genius to expreſs, whatever is moſt lovely, and moſt excellent, in ſentiment and character. It is unneceſſary to mention the affecting delicacy of Admetus and his attendants towards his gueſt Hercules; the lively emotions of gratitude in that hero; the friendſhip of Pylades and Oreſtes; the amiable picture of conjugal affection in the character of Alceſtis; ſince the whole remains of that ineſtimable writer prove his unceaſing labours to warm his countrymen with all the virtues and charities

charities that adorn private life, as well as to keep alive an ardent love of the republic, and a generous paſſion for its glory and liberty; while, in ſeveral paſſages, he deſcribes and refutes the philoſophy of Epicurus [58] (which, as we have already obſerved, was chiefly borrowed from the licentious maxims of the Sophiſts), with ſuch fulneſs and accuracy as entitled him to the appellation of the Philoſophic Tragedian. CHAP. XIII.

His views counteracted by the authors of the old comedy.

That Euripides, though ten years older than Socrates, owed the characteriſtic excellencies of his works to the converſation and friendſhip of that unrivalled moraliſt, is univerſally acknowledged by antiquity [59]; though the character and intentions both of the poet and the philoſopher were groſsly

[58] See particularly Alceſt. ver. 782, &c. and ver. 960, &c. Euripides flouriſhed near an hundred years before Epicurus and Zeno, the reſpective founders of the Epicurean and Stoical philoſophy. Yet we find the tenets of both ſects in the tragedian; which may be eaſily explained, by conſidering that thoſe oppoſite kinds of philoſophy aroſe from different aſpects of nature, which muſt often preſent themſelves to an obſerving eye; and as the doctrines of the Sophiſts laid the foundation for the moral ſyſtem of Epicurus, ſo the moderate doubt of Socrates, and the old academy, was corrupted into different degrees of ſcepticiſm, according to the fancy of their ſucceſſors; and his rational preference of virtue to all other objects, degenerated into a pretended contempt for theſe objects, as things totally indifferent, the inſenſibility and pedantry of the Stoics.

[59] Εδοκει συμπαιειν Ευριπιδη. Diogen. Laert. in Vit. Socrat. The comic poets, who envied and hated Euripides, as the darling of the public, pretended that Socrates had even compoſed all the fineſt paſſages in his tragedies. Soon after the repreſentation of the Troes, Mneſilochus parodied it in a farce, which he called Φρυγες, Phrygians, probably to have an opportunity of playing on the word Φρυγανον, fewel.

Φρυγες εϛι καινον δραμα του Ευριπιδη
Ω και Σωκρατης τα Φρυγανα υπεπιβαϛ.

" The

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groſsly miſrepreſented by ſome of their contemporaries. Before the commencement, and during the continuance of the Peloponneſian war, there flouriſhed at Athens a claſs of men who were the declared enemies, not only of Socrates and his diſciples, but of all order and decency. The reader will eaſily perceive, that I allude to Ariſtophanes, and the other writers of the old licentious comedy; an entertainment which was never carried to the ſame vicious exceſs in any other age or country. Yet this hideous ſpectre was the ſiſter of Tragedy, whoſe angelic ſweetneſs and dignity were long accompanied by this odious and diſguſting form; but to underſtand the natural connection between objects ſeemingly ſo different, it is neceſſary to remount to their ſource.

Hiſtory of that licentious entertainment.

Tragedy, the ſong of the goat [60], and Comedy, the ſong of the village, ſufficiently indicate, by the meanneſs of their ancient names, the humility of their firſt original. They aroſe amidſt the ſacrifices and joyous feſtivity of the vintage, in a country which ſeldom adopted the amuſements, any more than the arts and inſtitutions, of others, but which was deſtined to communicate her own to all the civiliſed portion of mankind. During the

" The Phrygians is a new play of Euripides, to whom Socrates furniſhes the ſewel." But the pun cannot be tranſlated. The ſame Mneſilochus calls Euripides a ſort of hammerman to Socrates.

Ευριπιδης Σωκρατογομφιος.

[60] A goat, as the particular enemy of the vine, was very properly ſacrificed to Bacchus, whoſe praiſes compoſed the ſong. In the Antegonè of Sophocles, v. 1127.

Πολυωνυμε Καδμειας
Νυμφης αγαλμα, και Διο-
Βαρυβρεμετα γενε, &c.

we have a ſpecimen of what formed the firſt buſineſs of tragedy.

the entertainments of a ſeaſon peculiarly dedicated to recreation and pleaſure, the ſuſceptible minds of the Greeks naturally yielded to two propenſities congenial to men in ſuch circumſtances, a diſpoſition to exerciſe their ſenſibility, and a deſire to amuſe their fancy. Availing himſelf of the former, the ſublime genius of Æſchylus [61] improved the ſong of the goat into a regular dramatic poem, agreeing with the Iliad and Odyſſey in thoſe unalterable rules of deſign and execution which are eſſential to the perfection of every literary performance, yet differing from thoſe immortal archetypes of art, in a circumſtance naturally ſuggeſted by the occaſion for which tragedies were compoſed. It had been uſual with the Athenians, when they celebrated in the ſpring and autumn the great feſtivals of Bacchus, to perſonate the exploits and fables handed down by immemorial tradition concerning that bountiful divinity; this imitation was conſidered as a mark of gratitude due to the beneficence of the god, to whoſe honours they aſſociated the kindred worſhip of Pan, Silenus, and their attendant fawns and ſatyrs. When Æſchylus repreſented, therefore, inſtead of ſimply reciting, the real hiſtory, or agreeable fictions of antiquity, he only adopted a mode of imitation already practiſed in the religious ceremonies of his country; a mode of imitation more powerful than the epic, ſince, inſtead of barely deſcribing the deeds of gods and heroes, it ſhews thoſe diſtinguiſhed perſonages

[61] Æſchylus is ſaid by Ariſtotle (De Arte Poetica) to have introduced interlocutors, dialogue, &c. which is acknowledging him the father of tragedy. We know little of Theſpis, but from Horace.

Ignotum tragicæ genus inveniſſe camœnæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poemata Theſpis.

The plauſtrum, however, has a more direct reference to comedy; ſince λαλεω ὡς ἐξ ἁμαξης, to ſpeak as from a cart, was a common Greek expreſſion for reviling with groſs indecent inſolence.

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ſonages on the ſcene, makes them ſpeak and act for themſelves, and thus approaching nearer to reality, is ſtill more forcible and affecting.

Its characteriſtics, as diſtinguiſhed from tragedy;

As tragedy was introduced in imitation of the more ſerious ſpectacles of the Dionyſian feſtival, ſo comedy, which ſoon followed it, was owing to the more light and ludicrous parts of that ſolemnity [62]. Tragedy is the imitation of an important and ſerious action, adapted to affect the ſenſibility of the ſpectators, and to gratify their natural propenſity to fear, to weep, and to wonder. Comedy is the imitation of a light and ludicrous action, adapted to amuſe the fancy, and to gratify the natural diſpoſition of men to laughter and merriment. Terror and pity have in all ages been regarded as the main ſprings of tragedy, becauſe the laws of ſenſibility, founded ſolely in nature, are always the ſame. Comedy has been infinitely varied by the innumerable modes of wit, humour, and ridicule, which prevail in different ages and countries, and which agree ſcarcely in any one particular, unleſs it may be reckoned an agreement, that men have ſeldom indulged them, except at the expence of their good-nature, and often of their virtue. The Grecian comedy was uncommonly licentious; the profligate characters of Ariſtophanes and his contemporaries, Mneſilochus, Callias, Eupolis, and Cratinus, contributed,

[62] Horace is authentic, and the moſt agreeable authority.

Agricolæ priſci, fortes, parvoque beati
Condita poſt frumenta, levantes tempore feſto
Corpus, & ipſum animum ſpe finis dura ferentem,
Cum ſociis operum, pueris, & conjuge fidâ,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
Floribus & vino Genium, memorem brevis ævi.
Feſcennina per hunc invecta licentia morem
Verſibus alternis opprobria ruſtica fudit, &c. &c.

and ſtill more directly, Ars Poetic. v. 220, &c.

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buted, doubtleſs, to this deformity; yet theſe poets could not eaſily have rendered their new entertainment agreeable to the taſte [63] and prejudices of the public, without incorporating in them the ſubſtance of the *phallic* ſongs [64], which conſtituted an ancient and eſſential part of the amuſements of the vintage. The fond admirers of antiquity have defended the abominable ſtrains of theſe licentious poets, by pretending, that their intention was to reform vice, not to recommend it; an apology, which, if admitted, might tend to exculpate the writers, but could never juſtify their performances, ſince it is known by experience, that lewd deſcriptions prove a poiſon rather than a remedy; and inſtead of correcting manners, tend only to corrupt them.

and from modern comedy.

Beſides the general licentiouſneſs of the ancient comedy, its more particular characteriſtics reſulted from the peculiar circumſtances of the Athenians, during the time of its introduction and continuance. The people of all ranks at Athens were then too deeply engaged in the military and political tranſactions of their country, to enjoy any amuſement which did not either directly flatter their paſſions, or bear an immediate relation to the great and important intereſts of the republic. It was during the confuſion and calamities of the Peloponneſian war, that all the comic pieces which

[63] Horace has expreſſed, with his uſual felicity, the ſituation of the ſpectators, and the fatal neceſſity of humouring it.

——— Aſper
Incolumi gravitate jocum tentavit; eo quod
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus.
Spectator, functuſque ſacris, & potus & exlex.

[64] Φαλλος. Priapus ξυλον επιμηκες εχων εν τω ανεχω σκυτινον αιδοιον. Suidas. This was carried in proceſſion, accompanied with the φαλλικα ασματα.

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which remain were originally repreſented; a period too diſorderly and tumultuous to reliſh comedies, ſuch as are now written, or ſuch as were compoſed in Greece by Menander, in an age of greater moderation and tranquillity. The elegant and ingenious, the moral and inſtructive ſtrains of Moliere or Menander, may amuſe the idleneſs of wealth and the ſecurity of peace. But amidſt the fermentation of war and danger, amidſt civil diſſentions and foreign invaſions, the minds of men are too little at eaſe to enjoy ſuch refined and delicate beauties, which then appear lifeleſs and inſipid. In ſuch turbulent circumſtances, the reluctant attention muſt be excited by real, inſtead of imaginary characters; by a true, inſtead of a fictitious event; by direct and particular advice concerning the actual ſtate of their affairs, inſtead of vague or abſtract leſſons of wiſdom and virtue. Coarſe buffoonery may often force them to laugh; delicate ridicule will ſeldom engage them to ſmile; they may be affected by the ſharpneſs of perſonal invective, but will remain impenetrable to the ſhafts of general ſatire.

General notion of the pieces of Ariſtophanes.

By combining the different parts of this deſcription, we may form a tolerably exact notion of the writings of Ariſtophanes, which commonly conceal, under a thin allegorical veil, the recent hiſtory of ſome public tranſaction, or the principal features of ſome diſtinguiſhed character, repreſented in ſuch a ludicrous light, as reflects on thoſe concerned, unexpected, and often unmerited, but not therefore the leſs ſtriking, flaſhes of inſolent ridicule. Such was the nature, and ſuch the materials of the ancient comedy, which, in its form, agreed entirely with tragedy, having borrowed from this entertainment (which was already in poſſeſſion of the theatre) the diſtribution of the whole; as well as the arrangement of the ſeveral parts;

parts; the muſic, the chorus, the dreſſes, decorations, and machinery; all of which were ſo modified and burleſqued as ſuited the purpoſes of the comic writer, and often rendered his pieces little elſe than parodies of the more faſhionable tragedies of the times.

He and his aſſociates encouraged at Athens by Pericles.

This ſingular ſpecies of drama, which, in its leſs perfect ſtate, had long ſtrolled the villages of Attica, was ſimply tolerated at Athens, until the profuſion of Pericles, and his complaiſance for the populace, firſt ſupplied from the exchequer the neceſſary expences for the repreſentation of comedies, and propoſed prizes for the comic, as well as for the tragic, poets and actors. But, by this injudicious encouragement, he unwarily cheriſhed a ſerpent in his boſom. Ariſtophanes and his licentious contemporaries having previouſly ridiculed virtue and genius, in the perſons of Socrates and Euripides, boldly proceeded to avail themſelves of the natural malignity of the vulgar, and their envy againſt whatever is elevated and illuſtrious, to traduce and calumniate Pericles himſelf; and though his ſucceſſors in the adminiſtration juſtly merited (as we ſhall have occaſion to relate) the ſevereſt laſhes of their invective, yet, had their characters been more pure, they would have been equally expoſed to the unprovoked ſatire of theſe inſolent buffoons, who gratified the groſs appetites of the vulgar, by an undiſtinguiſhed maſs of ridicule, involving vice and virtue, things prophane and ſacred, men and gods.

The Grecian feſtivals;

Dramatic entertainments formed an eſſential part of the feſtivals conſecrated to the bountiful author of the vine. Minerva, who had given not only the olive, but what was deemed far more valuable, her peculiar protection to the city of Athens, was rewarded with innumerable ſolemnities.

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ties. Jupiter enjoyed his appropriated honours; but more commonly, as is atteſted by Athenian medals, the worſhip of the father of the gods was aſſociated with that of his wife and warlike daughter. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of the feſtival and myſteries of Ceres, who taught the Athenians the important knowledge of agriculture, which they were ſuppoſed to have ſpread over the ancient world. It would be endleſs to mention the inſtitutions in honour of inferior or leſs propitious divinities, which rendered the feſtivals at Athens twice more numerous thàn in any other Grecian city. Nor did their frequency abate any thing of the expenſive ſplendor which accompanied them. The ſhops and courts of juſtice were ſhut; the mechanic quitted his tools, the huſbandman ceaſed from his labours, the mourner intermitted his ſorrow. The whole city was diſſolved in feaſting and jollity; the intervals of which were filled up by pompous ſhows and proceſſions, by concerts of muſic, by exhibitions of painting; and at ſeveral feſtivals, particularly the Panathenæan, by hearing and judging the nobleſt productions of eloquence and poetry [44]. We ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome particular ceremonies of a more melancholy caſt: but the general character of the Grecian religion was as chearful and attractive, as the ſuperſtition of the Egyptians, from whom they are ſuppoſed to have borrowed it, was gloomy and forbidding. Even the Egyptian hymns conſiſted in diſmal complaints and lamentations [45]; the Grecian ſolemnities concluded with ſongs of joy and exultation. The feaſts which followed the ſacrifices were enriched by all the delicacies and luxuries of

The ſplendour with which they were celebrated.

[44] Iſocrat. Panegyr. & Panathen.
[45] Apuleius de Genio Socrates.

of the ancient world; and to uſe the words of Ariſtotle, many perſons thought it their duty, at thoſe religious entertainments, to get drunk in honour of the gods [46].

Manners of the Athenians in private life.

It ſeems extraordinary, that the revenues of Athens, notwithſtanding their improvement by Pericles, ſhould have ſufficed for this multitude of expences. But we muſt conſider, that the general ſimplicity of manners in private life, formed a ſtriking contraſt with the extravagance of public feſtivals and amuſements. The houſes and tables of the moſt wealthy Athenians were little diſtinguiſhed above thoſe of their pooreſt neighbours. Pericles himſelf, though never ſuſpected of avarice, lived with the exacteſt œconomy; and the ſuperabundance of private wealth, which would have created envy and danger to the owner, if he had employed it for his particular convenience and pleaſure, procured him public gratitude and eſteem, when expended for the ſatisfaction of the multitude.

Condition of the female ſex.

For reaſons which will immediately appear, we have not hitherto found it neceſſary particularly to deſcribe the manners and influence of the Grecian women; but the character and condition of the fair ſex, will throw light on the preceding obſervations in this chapter, and preſent the moſt ſtriking contraſt of any to be met with in hiſtory. If we knew not the conſideration in which women were anciently held in Greece, and the advantages which they enjoyed at Sparta, after the laws of Lycurgus had revived the inſtitutions of the heroic ages [47], we ſhould be apt to ſuſpect that the ungenerous treatment of the feebler ſex, which afterwards

[46] Ariſtot. Ethic. ad Nichom. l. viii. c. iii.
[47] Ariſtot. Politic. l. ii. p. 105.

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afterwards ſo univerſally prevailed, had been derived from the Egyptian and Aſiatic colonies, which early ſettled in that part of Europe. Excluded from ſocial intercourſe, which nature had fitted them to adorn, the Grecian women were rigorouſly confined to the moſt retired apartments of the family, and employed in the meaneſt offices of domeſtic œconomy. It was thought indecent for them to venture abroad, unleſs to attend a proceſſion, to accompany a funeral [48], or to aſſiſt at certain other religious ſolemnities. Even on theſe occaſions, their behaviour was attentively watched, and often malignantly interpreted. The moſt innocent freedom was conſtrued into a breach of decorum; and their reputation, once ſullied by the ſlighteſt imprudence, could never afterwards be retrieved. If ſuch unreaſonable ſeverities had proceeded from that abſurd jealouſy which ſometimes accompanies a violent love, and of which a certain degree is nearly connected with the delicacy of paſſion between the ſexes, the condition of the Grecian women, though little leſs miſerable, would have been far leſs contemptible. But the Greeks were utter ſtrangers to that refinement of ſentiment [49], which, in the ages of chivalry, and which, ſtill in ſome ſouthern countries of Europe, renders women the objects of a ſuſpicious, but reſpectful paſſion, and leads men to gratify their vanity at the expence of their freedom. Married or unmarried, the Grecian females were kept in equal reſtraint; no pains were taken to render them, at any one period of their lives, agreeable members of ſociety; and their education was either entirely neglected, or confined at leaſt to ſuch humble objects, as, inſtead of elevating and enlarging the mind, tended only to narrow

[48] Lyſias, p. 420.

[49] Lyſias, p. 435.

narrow and to debaſe it. Though neither qualified for holding an honourable rank in ſociety, nor permitted to enjoy the company of their neareſt friends and relations, they were thought capable of ſuperintending or performing the drudgery of domeſtic labour, of acting as ſtewards for their huſbands, and thus relieving them from a multiplicity of little cares, which ſeemed unworthy their attention, and unſuitable to their dignity. The whole burden of ſuch mercenary cares being impoſed on the women, their firſt inſtructions and treatment were adapted to that lowly rank, beyond which they could never afterwards aſpire [50]. Nothing was allowed to divert their minds from thoſe ſervile occupations in which it was intended that their whole lives ſhould be ſpent; no liberal idea was preſented to their imagination, that might raiſe them above the ignoble arts in which they were ever deſtined to labour; the ſmalleſt familiarity with ſtrangers was deemed a dangerous offence; and any intimacy or connection beyond the walls of their own family, a heinous crime; ſince it might engage them to embezzle the houſehold furniture and effects committed to their care and cuſtody. Even the laws of Athens confirmed this miſerable degradation of women, holding the ſecurity of the huſband's property a matter of greater importance than defending the wife's perſon from outrage, and protecting her character from infamy [51]. By ſuch illiberal inſtitutions were the moſt amiable part of the human ſpecies inſulted, among a people in other reſpects the moſt improved of all antiquity. They were totally debarred from thoſe refined arts and entertainments,

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[50] Xenoph. Memorab l. v. paſſim. particularly Socrates's Diſcourſe with Iſchomachus.

[51] See the laws quoted by Lyſias explained in my Introductory Diſcourſe to that orator, p. 100.

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to which their agreeable qualities might have added a new charm. Inſtead of directing the taſte and enlivening the pleaſures of ſociety, their value was eſtimated, like that of the ignobleſt objects, merely by profit or utility. Their chief virtue was reſerve, and their point of honour, œconomy.

Grecian courtezans;

The extreme depreſſion of women levelled the natural inequalities of their temper and diſpoſition; the prude, the coquette, with the various intermediate ſhades of female character, diſappeared; and all the modeſt and virtuous part of the ſex (if virtue and modeſty can ever be the effects of reſtraint) were reduced to humble imitation and inſipid uniformity. But, in the time of Pericles, there appeared and flouriſhed at Athens a bolder claſs of females, who diveſted themſelves of the natural modeſty, diſdained the artificial virtues, and avenged the violated privileges of their ſex. Aſia, the mother of voluptuouſneſs, produced this dangerous brood, whoſe meretricious arts and occupations met with no check or reſtraint from the laxity of Ionian morals, and were even promoted and encouraged by the corruptions of Pagan ſuperſtition. In moſt of the Greek colonies of Aſia, temples were erected to the *earthly* Venus; where courtezans were not merely tolerated, but honoured, as prieſteſſes of that condeſcending divinity [52]. The wealthy and commercial city of Corinth firſt imported this innovation from the eaſt; and ſuch is the extravagance of the human mind, that after the repulſe of Xerxes, the magiſtrates of that republic aſcribed the ſafety of their country to the powerful interceſſion of the votaries of Venus, whoſe portraits they cauſed to be painted at the public expence, as the Athenians had done thoſe of the warriors

[52] Athenæus, l. xiii. & Plutarch. p. 637.

warriors who gained the battle of Marathon [53]. But the fame of all thoſe accompliſhed, but mercenary beauties, though highly celebrated by the poets and hiſtorians of the times, was eclipſed by the ſplendour of Aſpaſia of Miletus, who ſettled at Athens under the adminiſtration of Pericles, and is ſaid to have embarked in the fleet with which that fortunate commander ſubdued the powerful and wealthy iſland of Samos. The perſonal character of Aſpaſia gave temporary luſtre to a profeſſion, which, though exalted by the caſual caprices of ſuperſtition, muſt naturally have fallen into contempt; ſince later writers among the Greeks [54] acknowledge, that though ſhe carried on a very diſhonourable commerce in female virtue, yet her wit and eloquence, ſtill more than her beauty, gained her extraordinary conſideration among all ranks in the republic. The ſuſceptible minds of the Athenians were delighted with what their abſurd inſtitutions rendered a novelty, the beholding the native graces of the ſex, embelliſhed by education. Aſpaſia is ſaid to have acquired a powerful aſcendant over Pericles himſelf; ſhe certainly acquired his protection and friendſhip; which is leſs extraordinary than that her converſation and company ſhould have pleaſed the diſcernment of the ſage Socrates. She is accuſed (as we ſhall afterwards have an opportunity to mention) of having excited, from motives of perſonal reſentment, the war of Peloponneſus; yet, calamitous as that long and obſtinate conflict proved to Greece, and particularly to Athens, it may be ſuſpected that Aſpaſia occaſioned ſtill more incurable evils to both. Her example, and ſtill more her inſtructions, formed a ſchool at Athens, by which her dangerous

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their artifices and influence.

[53] Simonides apud Athen. l. xiii. [54] Plut. in Pericle.

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dangerous profeſſion was reduced into ſyſtem. The companions of Aſpaſia ſerved as models for painting and ſtatuary, and themes for poetry and panegyric. Nor were they merely the objects, but the authors of many literary works, in which they eſtabliſhed rules for the behaviour of their lovers, particularly at table, and explained the art of gaining the heart, and captivating the affections [55]; which would have been an imprudence, had they not conſidered, that the myſteries of *their* calling alone, loſe little by being diſcloſed, ſince men may often perceive the ſnare, without having courage to avoid it. The dreſs, behaviour, and artifices of this claſs of women became continually more ſeductive and dangerous; and Athens thenceforth remained the chief ſchool of vice and pleaſure, as well as of literature and philoſophy.

It has been already hinted, that the fine arts, and particularly painting, were proſtituted to the honour of harlots, and the purpoſes of voluptuouſneſs. Licentious pictures are mentioned by ancient writers as a general ſource of corruption, and conſidered as the firſt ambuſh that beſet the ſafety of youth and innocence [56]. Yet this unhappy effect of the arts was only the vapour that accompanies the ſun; ſince painting, architecture, and above all, ſtatuary, attained their meridian ſplendour in the age of Pericles; and ſhed peculiar glory on this period of Athenian hiſtory, not only by the powers of genius which they diſplayed, but by the noble purpoſes to which they were directed. But the arts of deſign form ſo important a ſubject, that they merit to be examined apart, in a particular chapter.

[55] Athenæus, ibid. [56] Euripid. in Hippolyt.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

BIBL CANT ACAD